GUIDE TO THE SF24 URU FILE

[This file presently consists of nine sources, five in English and four translations from the French. A number of important sources, mostly in French or Spanish, have not been processed for the file as yet because of insufficient funds. Many of the key unprocessed sources are reviewed in category 112 and will be referred to in the following discussion. Further bibliographical references may be found in category 113, and a rather full bibliography is presented in O'Leary (1963: 159-61). (Note: Cited references not included in categories 111 or 112 will be listed at the end of this guide.)

The Uru-Chipaya constitute an ethnolinguistic unit centering about Lake Titicaca in Perú and Bolivia, and in the Bolivian altiplano south of the lake. For an initial ethnological orientation, an article by Vellard (1959-60; see cat. 112) is highly recommended. He presents an historical and contemporary analysis of the predominant linguistic, racial, and sociocultural patterns and interrelations of the three major population groups inhabiting the Lake Titicaca region, i.e. the Aymara, the Quechua, and the Uru-Chipaya.

The question of Uru-Chipaya linguistic affiliations is a complex one. Most authorities agree that Uru-Chipaya is not closely related to either Aymara or Quechua. Vellard (1959-60: 13; see cat. 112) concludes that the Uru-Chipaya are the modern remnants of groups that spoke a widely dispersed and dialectally varied language called Pukina (Puquina) in the Spanish chronicles. 5: La Barre (p. 575) tentatively reaches about the same conclusion, but warns that this "Pukina" is not the same as the "Puquina-Uro" of De la Grasserie (1894). On the problem of broader linguistic affiliations, 5: La Barre (p. 575) accepts Métraux's classification of Uru-Chipaya as an independent linguistic family, noting that "Rivet's classification of Uru as Arawakan has not been widely accepted by linguists." This represents a change from his earlier position

(9: La Barre, p. 493), where he indicated a possible Arawakan affiliation. Mason (1950: 224) says that the relationship of Uru and Pukina to Arawakan "is quite illogical," and McQuown (1955: 542) lists Uru as a single unclassified language. On the other hand, an authority such as Greenberg (in Steward and Faron 1959: 22-23) classifies Uru as Arawakan.

Despite their probable historical and linguistic relationships, the Uru and the Chipaya constitute distinct ethnic units, both geographically and culturally. A good ethnographic summary of each group, outlining their main features and revealing some of the major differences between them, is provided in 5: La Barre. It should also be noted, however, that both groups have undergone a significant degree of Aymara acculturation, and that they now all speak Aymara as well as, or instead of, their own languages.

The Chipaya have long been reduced to a single village situated in the southern part of Carangas Province, Bolivia, to the southwest of Lake Poopó. 2: Métraux remains the basic ethnography, while Vellard's book (1954: 209-34, see cat. 112) includes a valuable first-hand report on this group, which seems to be the first substantial account to appear since Métraux's work in the early '30s. Another article by Métraux (1945; see cat. 112) provides probably the best compact summary of Chipaya environment and culture, and is illustrated with excellent photographs. 6: Ruiz and Roca, and 7: Ruiz Camacho are slight articles of minor ethnographic value. With respect to Métraux's work, it should be pointed out that he used Spanish as his research language, via an Aymara interpreter, and that he spent a relatively short time in the field, although it is not possible from his published accounts to determine the length of time with any precision. Therefore, the reliability of his Chipaya data should be critically evaluated by any researcher wishing to make use of them.

The Chipaya have diverged more than the Uru from what is presumed to be their common traditional subsistence economy of fishing and hunting, and are now primarily pastoralists, supplementing their economy by a little agriculture, hunting, and gathering. Métraux estimated the Chipaya population to be about 350 in 1930-31, and concluded that they were gradually disappearing as a distinct ethnic group. But in the early 1950s, Vellard (1954; see cat. 112) found their community to be flourishing and the population increasing — he estimates a population of between 400 and 500. Chipaya social organization is poorly reported, and the reliability of the data doubtful, but some of the main features seem to be a physical division of the village into nonexogamous, antagonistic moieties; patrilineal descent (or at least an emphasis on patrifiliation); and temporary patrilocal marital residence. Finally, Métraux stresses the "archaic" nature of Chipaya culture, in the sense that they are claimed to have retained many ancient Andean culture traits. As a consequence, Chipaya culture is said to provide a basis for a clearer understanding of Incan and other Andean ethnographic and archeological data or problems.

In contrast to the Chipaya, the twentieth-century Uru (Kot'sufis) have remained a more numerous and heterogeneous people — if one includes a number of small, dispersed groups which are evidently of Uru descent, although most are now highly mixed ethnically. On the other hand, as Vellard (1957-58: 57; see cat. 112) points out, at the end of the nineteenth century there remained only two Uru groups retaining their language and traditions. Both groups were located on the banks of the Rio Desaguadero, one group at Sojhopajha in Peruvian territory, and the other at the village of Iru-Itu (Ancoaqui?) in Bolivian territory.

The Sojhopajha group soon dissipated, and we have practically no information about them; whereas the village of Iru-Itu maintained its ethnic viability until the 1940s, and this group is the source of the bulk of the extant data concerning the Uru. Unfortunately, a disastrous drought in the years 1940-45 essentially destroyed the cultural life of Iru-Itu (see 3: Vellard; and Vellard 1950 and 1954, category 112).

5: La Barre (pp. 575-76) divides the Uru into two major groups, the Highland Uru and the Coast Uru, noting that the latter are culturally similar to the Chango. But he admits that there is no definite historical or linguistic evidence of any relationship between his two divisions. It seems best, therefore, to retain the ethnic label Uru only for the highland population.

The Uru may be divided into three main geographical clusters: (1) groups living along the shores or out in the totora reed beds of Lake Titicaca, with what seems to be the largest remaining group centered in the Bay of Puno (2) groups living along or near the Rio Desaguadero between Lakes Titicaca and Poopó; and (3) a group called the Moratos living near the shores or among the totora reed swamps of Lake Poopó. The Uru affiliation of the Moratos is not certain, however, since we have very little information about them.

9: La Barre presents a comprehensive and useful summary of Uru ethnography based on data available up to 1941, and 4: Vellard presents the main ethnographic passages concerning the Uru that he was able to extract from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish sources. 1: Métraux is a relatively short study of the ethnography and language of the Uru of Ancoaqui (presumably the same village which Vellard and Palavecino call Iru-Itu), based on only one week of field work, while 8: Fain is a brief, superficial account,

with excellent photographs, of a short visit to Iru-Itu by a nonsocial scientist. Polo's account (1901; see cat. 112) long remained a standard source on the Uru, drawn upon by many subsequent writers. Among its most important features are a detailed listing of places along the Desaguadero River where the remnant Uru population was located near the end of the nineteenth century, and the valuable map of the Desaguadero region drawn by Juan Bergelund. Palavecino's ethnographic study (1949; see cat. 112) provides an important complement to Métraux's work, since he did his field research only two years later, evidently in the same village.

The major authority on the Uru is Jehan Vellard, and his book (1954; see cat. 112) is the basic source on Uru ethnography and culture history. However, some of the more technical details on various aspects of Uru anthropology are omitted from the book and must be derived from his various articles. His publications result from a long-range, multidisciplinary, research project, which he directed, centering upon the Lake Titicaca region of the Andean area. A significant part of Vellard's own work focused on the Uru of Iru-Itu, and he had contact with this group for various periods of time during the years from 1938 to 1954. 3: Vellard is an important, although disappointing, source. It consists mainly of analyzed linguistic texts on a variety of cultural topics, and a study of physical anthropology. Vellard (1950; see cat. 112) includes primarily a vocabulary list arranged topically, while Vellard (1951 ; see cat. 112) is essentially a continuation of this vocabulary list. Most of Vellard (1957-58; see cat. 112) is devoted to a detailed study of Uru physical anthropology, but Vellard (1952; see cat. 112) is a valuable study, focusing upon the identification, description, history, and comparison of the various fishing groups in the area of Lake Titicaca and Poopó that may be classified as Uru or as being of mainly Uru derivation. Vellard's

book (1954) deals principally with the Uru of Iru-Itu, but it also includes the only substantial ethnographic description available of the Uru of the Bay of Puno (on pp. 105-16) and, as already mentioned, the first important account of the Chipaya since that of Métraux.

The Uru mostly follow their traditional subsistence economy, based on fishing and aquatic bird hunting. The Iru-Itu group also practice a little animal husbandry, some gathering, and a minimal sort of agriculture. Much of their material culture is based on the use of totora reeds, such as the highly distinctive technology involved in their manufacture of balsa boats. Metallurgy is unknown, and pottery making has been abandoned in recent times. Again, the data on social organization are very scanty, but Vellard's chapter on the subject (1954: 167-78) is quite important. He claims that traditional Uru social organization has mostly disappeared, but unfortunately he does not give any comprehensive description of the social system that existed during his periods of observation. He does make two highly significant negative points, however. First, he states that the people of Iru-Itu have not adopted Aymara patterns of community organization; and second, he argues convincingly (on p. 169) that contrary to previously published information by Posnansky, Métraux, and others (including Vellard himself), the Uru never had a system of clans. Iru-Itu is divided into surname groups (probably a recent development, since the names are Spanish), but these are neither sibs nor ayllus. Vellard found that if pressed on this question, the Uru, to satisfy the inquirer, will give a list of sibs, such as the four names recorded by Métraux, but that these are actually Aymara sibs belonging to the community of Jésus de Machaca to which Iru-Itu is annexed. Thus 5: La Barre (p. 581) is also incorrect in assuming that these names refer to Uru ayllus.

GUIDE TO THE SF 24 URU FILE

In conclusion, the anthropological coverage in the Uru-Chipaya file--and this seems to be fairly representative of the coverage in the literature as a whole--may be summed up as follows: There is a good deal of information about ecology, subsistence economy, and material culture; there is a fair amount of information about history, language, religion, population and settlement patterns, and physical anthropology; and there is very thin information on social organization, values, and psychological anthropology. Also, there is very little concrete behavioral data.

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Processed: 1965-1968
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

1:Métraux--1 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uru SF24
Ancoaqui

[75]

Introduction

[121] [114] [101] [361] [161] It was solely with the intention of obtaining some elements of comparison for my Tupaya dictionary that I, in the company of Professor A. Posnansky, made a one week visit to the Uro of the Desaguadero in June, 1931. These Indians live in the village of Ancoaqui, on the right bank of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from the Bolivian port of Guaqui. There are only a handful of them, 40 at the very most. Even taking into account those who were absent and the small agglomerations spread throughout the region, I seriously doubt whether the remaining Uro number a hundred. It was, therefore, imperative to record their language. The case of the Uro is typical of the rudimentary and anarchic state of South American ethnography. For a long time these Indians have been considered one of the most interesting ethnic elements of the Andean region. Nevertheless, no one has thought of living among them and devoting a serious and methodical study to them. The excellent monograph of Dr. Rivet (1) and Mr. de Créqui

[Text continues on p. 3]

113 1. Créqui Montfort (G. de) and Rivet (P.). "La langue uru ou pukina /The Uru or Pukina Language/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, new series, Vol. XVII (1925), pp. 211-244; Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 111-199; Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 57-116. To the texts assembled in this article the following must be added:

113 105 McCutchen McBride (G.). "The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia." American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 5, New York, 1921, p. 17. "There are the Uros that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains

2/Mexico--3 F-5 (1930-1931) 193a, 1936 Sf'24 Uru Sf'24

Cayanga:-
Chipaya

/111 cont./

Foreword

121 In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations
101 that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion,
[119] and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among
whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the
Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had
123 singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the
very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and
luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya,
convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my
distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/
124 to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an
Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and
who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a
member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/
as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting in-
quiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me.
Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover
the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered.
191 Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very
little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most
gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have
had pitiful informants in them.

121 A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly,
I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they
had celebrated before me practically the entire cycle of their
main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would
[183] have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case
very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, un-
fold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual
religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these
198 Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not
forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 5]

[illegible] F-1 (1930-1931) 1930, 1938 SF2a Uru SF2a
Cayapa-
Cayapo

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The Tribe and Its Environment

[21] [20] Location of the Cipaya. The Cipaya Indians still make up today a small, semi-independent tribe situated in the southern part of Carangas Province in Oruro Department (Bolivia) (Map 1). The area of their territory is approximately 300 square kilometers (1).

[12]

1. In order to determine the exact location of the Cipaya and to guide myself during my trips in Carangas Province, I used the following maps: Mapa topográfico de la Altiplanicie central de Bolivia, trabajado en los años 1867 para el proyecto de canalización y ferrocarril a la ruta del Océano Pacífico /Topographic map of the central Altiplano of Bolivia, made in the years /sic/ 1867 for the project to build a canal and railroad to the coast of the Pacific Ocean/, by Hugo Reck; Part of the bolivian Table land from a Trigonometrical Survey executed for the National Government in 1892 by J.B. Minchin; Régions des hauts-plateaux de l'Amérique du Sud (Bolivie, Argentine, Chili, Pérou) parcourues par la mission française /Regions of the altiplano of South America (Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Peru) traversed by the French mission/ (G. de Créqui Montfort and E. Sénéchal de la Grange, 1903). Map drawn by

/114 cont./

penalty filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Mogilon's map unanimously the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is located practically at the intersection of 68° meridian west and 19° latitude south.

It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will help to explain the strength with which Aymara influences manage itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Isoora, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the southeast is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make the estimate the distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca near the Pampa, after three days on foot, and Orinoca, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

Taking the data on the map of the Colegio Militar Mission as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Chipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "wayu houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

1. Bacarezza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor..... comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor..... commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

/190 cont./

4 *[147] 341 A 342 the circular hut is not exclusively peculiar to Chipaya. Near Toledo at Kxulliri an agglomeration exists formed of perfectly round huts which from a distance recall those of the Čipaya although much larger. I stopped for a night in this village to study them, but unfortunately having used up my store of film I could not take photographs of them. These huts were architecturally much more perfected than those of Chipaya. The dome which surmounted them although covered with straw did not rest on a frame of tola but on a cupola made of 22 tiers of clods whose perfection I could admire. The clods that composed it were smaller than in Chipaya and fitted with more care. Given the width the diameter of the hut, and its height, the erection of this roof must have demanded much time and not a little precision. When going through this village so like that of the Čipaya which I had just left, I though that I had discovered a new Uro tribe. My hypothesis was legitimate because the region which I 4 [101] was traversing had formerly been occupied by numerous ethnic islands of this race. I inquired among the inhabitants for the reasons which made them prefer the circular form of the huts to the rectangular plan adopted everywhere else in Aymara territory. They replied that they were obliged to build houses on this model because of lack of wood. The plain where the village of Kxulliri was standing does, in fact, very much recall in its bareness that of Chipaya. This is, I believe, the reason why the Čipaya also have kept the circular 4 A [829] hut of their ancestors. To construct a house on a rectangular plan with a double-pitched roof, wood is necessary, /191/ at the very least laths of Cereus, and this cactus does not grow everywhere. The Aymara who have been fortunate enough to have this plant close to them have been able to change the type of their primitive habitation. The others, less favored by nature or too poor to buy the necessary wood, have remained, like it or not, more conservative. Midway between Oruro and La Paz when traveling by train, one sees some villages on the right where the huts are round and of an identical construction with those of Kxulliri. Besides this Forbes (1)

2:Métraux--216 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/337/

The Uro Language

(Chipaya Dialect) (2)

2. Gathered by the author during January-February 1931.

Introduction

My trip to Chipaya had as its basic goal saving the Uro language. Nothing was closer to my heart during my entire stay than collecting as complete documentation as possible on this dying language. My zeal was sustained by the conviction that I was certainly the last ethnographer who would have the chance to gather the last sounds of an undoubtedly very old speech. I must admit that the results did not come up to my efforts and that I am far from having obtained the documents which I hoped to collect. Nevertheless, if my dictionary and texts give only a partial ideal of Uro-Chipaya, this is because in 1931 it was already too late to collect the elements of this language which would have permitted an exhaustive study of it. If the fatidic twelfth hour of which the German ethnographers love to speak has not already sounded for the Uro language, I can assure you that its days are numbered. Its disappearance is a matter of only a few years. Nothing is more disappointing than being present at the death of a language. Every instant one is confronted by gaps, by holes filled by foreign elements which give the language the appearance of a patched cloth. One would like to reconstruct the missing pieces, one hunts for words and expressions, but this pursuit is for the most part in vain: the word has disappeared from the consciousness of all the individuals composing the group. However painful an investigation conducted under these /338/ conditions may be, it does not lessen the possibility of making some interesting observations on the way in which one language is substituted for another. Uro, as much in Chipaya as

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

101 36 161 The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-Itu, or Angoake, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

731 133 A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

[101] [162] [137] At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Itu had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

731 433 178 Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, hispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

161 [167] [887] [178] Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

356 [162] [144] In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

/146 cont./

161 According to the latest news the group of Iru-Itu seems to [162] be reduced to some 12 people, although since 1946 the level [133] of the lake has risen considerably; in February 1947 it had already risen 90 centimeters. This rising movement is continuing, and the totora beds are slowly beginning to reform.

[731] The old Uru remembered having seen in their youth, around 1870, an even worse drought than that of these last years. But at that time they were more numerous and the group was able to subsist. Now it is too diminished to reconstitute itself and its disappearance seems definite.

●101 I visited the Uru of Iru-Itu for the first time in 1938. During my stay in Bolivia from 1940 to 1944 I was in constant con- 121 tact with them. Their misery and their decline did not allow me to glean important observations on their material culture, already studied by the numerous ethnographers who have stayed among the Uru of the Desaguadero. Their imminent disappearance made it necessary, however, to bring together everything which might still exist among them: anthropological observations, traditions, and linguistic records, in order to compare them with the other populations of the region and especially with the different groups of fishers on Lake Titicaca.

These are the results of this study, the publication of which we are beginning.

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Note I

Accounts and Conversations

114 The linguistic records at our disposal on the Uru are reduced to some quick observations and more or less expanded vocabularies gathered by travelers in the course of brief stays in the region of Iru-Itu. Métraux is the only one to have published texts in the Chipaya dialect. No text exists in the Iru-Itu dialect, and the best sources of linguistic information on

/170 cont./

*539 731 178 433 511 23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

*539 731 178 161 433 This account, dictated by an old Uru about 90 years old, Manuel Inta, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1940 to 1946. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara populations. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Urus, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working [167] in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Urus have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Amaracized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

*539 192 193 [101] wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui, on the small lake. ǒx'ša, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymaras. Note the particle ču intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: Káya -čúčay, tánáču- čay, lúx-káču -čay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ki intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending čay indicates the future. The verb Káči- čay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." tumíni, a

*539 192 tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1. kustúmbro, "custom"; 5. isú-čay, esto or eso, "that"; 17. ni- únu, "this alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

/171 cont./

*539 192 193 1. píni means "many"; with hána it may be rendered by "no more"; učúmi, exclusive personal pronoun /172/ for the first person plural. 2. šalák, probably the Spanish chacra, "cultivated field"; the Uru do not have their own word to designate fields. 4. The ending čay added to a root gives it [136] the verbal form. 6. xui, interrogative particle. 7. suche, small kind of sheatfish from the Titicaca region; it is the [804] Trichomycterus dispar. 8. totora, Scirpus totora, the reeds of Lake Titicaca used by the Uru to build their balsas, cover their houses, and for other uses. 12. ke-, particle of repeti- [101] tion. 14. tòxša, literally "other persons," designates all men other than the Uru; nak' for náka, plural form of pronouns.

*539 396

II. Manufacture of Balsas from Totoras
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 154 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

[283] 1. Let us go, as is our custom, to find totoras to make a balsa. 2. We are accustomed to go far to make the straw ropes /necessities/. 3. Three days are needed to dry (the straw ropes). 4. The straw ropes are well dried now. 5. Now all these totoras are well dried. 6. Let us make the balsa. 7. A man cuts the totora. 8. The totora is tied (in bunches). 9. Three have to be made (bunches of totora): the heart (the middle spindle) and the two side spindles of the balsa. 10. We tie (the spindles); now we are going to squeeze them together very tightly, at first it takes two men to squeeze it together. 11. We have the custom of sprinkling (the totora) with water so that it does not dry. 12. Now we are going to tighten; to tighten we are accustomed to use a hook. 13. We beat (the totora) with /173/ a rock (in order to compress it).

/181 cont./

*539 [501] it will not rot. 8. This is a balsa from the big lake. 9. Its prow is raised. 10. That one is a big balsa. 11. That one is a small balsa. 12. There are no other balsas. 13. This is a house of the other people (the Aymara). 14. This is a house of unburnt bricks (adobes). 15. This is a house of the Aymara community (lit., "of the other people"). 16. What more shall I tell thee? That is all. 17. Now I want to rest, oh father.

Remarks

*539 124 This text reproduces the comments of old Manuel Inta, looking at a series of photographs of his native village, Iru-Itu, and of the region. The photographs of Iru-Itu were recognized without difficulty; those of less familiar sites provoked various reflections before being well identified (13-15).

*539 193 1. xwí, interrogative particle; kapílá, this is the Spanish word capilla, "chapel." 4. We have not found any passive form among the Uru; to express the idea "has been seen from the back," the informant used the active voice: cèrk'- ku ţi- nís- čay (1 2 3), literally one he has seen (2 3 1); ku indicates the recent past. It must be noted that this cast of mind was spontaneous, no question having been put to him; ţ used in the text is an elision for i, "one," and has suffered a contraction with the previous vowel. 9. hoća expresses the idea of "point," being able to indicate as well as the raised prow of the balsa, a mountain summit, the nose, or the verb "to point" in the sense of being in a pointed form. 9-10-11. The narrator describes the three *539 [501] principal types of balsas of the Uru: with a raised, pointed prow for navigation on Titicaca (big lake); the big fishing balsas of the Desaguadero for three or four people, and the small balsas for one or two people. 13-15. tòxša, "others," or tòxša náka, /182/ "other people," the usual way to designate

[101 829]

/182 cont./

*539 101 829 the Aymara used by the Uru, who consider themselves as constituting a pre-human species (not a race) apart. There are two human species, the Uru, a primitive species representing the first, pre-human creations, and the Aymara, who belong, as do all the other present-day people, to the last creation.

*539 192 [648] 15. Note a Hispanicism, kumunitá, to designate the native community of Jesus de Machaca, upon which the Uru are now dependent; it is an idea which is foreign to their own sociology.

16-17. The narrator, tired by his interpretive efforts, has no more to say and wants to rest. Note the polite form háp'- pay, [576] father," corresponding to "monsieur."

*539 821

VIII. Xoxi-cay, the Thunder
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 166 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. It will still thunder very strongly; the storm is coming. 2. The roof of the house will let the water through; it is not good at all. 3. Look again to see if the storm is going away. 4. It is thundering again. 5. The thunder can only kill a person of another race. 6. Never, since the most ancient times, has the thunder killed one of us. 7. The thunder has made me very afraid.

Remarks

This text makes allusion to a very deeply rooted belief among the Uru: they cannot be struck by lightning, so feared by all the populations of the altiplano. According to them [829] lightning only strikes the people "of another race": Aymaras, half-breeds, or Europeans. Also the Uru do not have any

[pg 20 omitted in pagination.]

/184/

*539 764

IX. Funeral Customs
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 167 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

[1975] [1982] 1. We others, we have the custom of making a meal in honor of the soul. 2. We offer libations to the souls. 3. At night we have the custom of digging (the grave). 4. Then we have the custom of coming to burn (the clothes of the dead person). 5. We have the custom of burning the clothes of the soul. 6. Let us go burn these clothes. 7. Let us light the fire. 8. We burn only the clothes.

Remarks

In this short account the informant summarizes several funeral practices of the Uru. At first it is the evening of the funeral, during which relatives and friends eat in honor of the dead person (1) to whom libations of alcohol, chicha, and coca are offered (2). After the burial, without a coffin, in a simple ditch dug during the night (3), and which will not subsequently be marked by anything, the clothes of the dead person are burned.

*539 764 191 These practices are very different from those of the other natives of the Cordillera, speakers of Aymara or Kešwa, who gather several days after the burial to wash the dead man's clothes and divide them up. The customs of the Uru recall those of numerous Amazonian groups.

The complete abandonment of the grave after burial must also be noted; it contrasts with the care which other populations of the Cordillera give to graves.

*539 ●101 193 1. učúmi; this is the personal pronoun of the first person plural, with the exclusive meaning "we others, the Urus."

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 23]

/185/

Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkíčay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ču followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking). 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

/29/

121 In several previous works we have cited a series of his-
175 toric documents on the Uru.

Some of these documents were published by Créqui-Montfort and Rivet in their study on "La langue uru ou Pukina /The Uru or Puquina Language/," which appeared in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, XVII, XVIII, and XIX, 1925, 1927.

Others are unpublished or were published individually in hard-to-obtain periodicals.

It seemed to us necessary, as a sequel to Créqui-Montfort's and Rivet's work, to publish the texts of some of these documents. We were unable to reproduce them in their entirety, but we extracted from them the chief passages concerning the Uru.

For other, recent works, we have merely listed bibliographic references.

Notes on the Uru

●101 The Uru give themselves the name of Kot'suñs, "people of the Lake." In old tales they are sometimes called uchumi (ouchoumi), a personal pronoun of the first person plural with an exclusive sense, meaning in their language "we, the like of us" as opposed to other men. The name ochozuma, found in Father de la Calancha's chronicle, corresponds to uchumi suñs (ouchoumi souñs), literally "our people" or "we, our kind of people," as opposed to other peoples. The Uru call other men toxs'naka, "different people," or kont'sun'chay, "dry men," "land people." Similarly, Aymaricized fishermen call Aymara agriculturalists huaña hake, also /meaning/ "dry men."

The Aymara of the settlements call their Uru neighbors /30/ uru or uro (ourou, ouro), giving the second u a sound

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

● 101 between ou and o /French sounds/; or else urito (ourito), an affectionate diminutive, or chana wawa, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of hosle or huslé, "bastard," without father or master," or on the other hand the very respectful one of hakê waka, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives uru, uro, kotá-hakê ("men of the Lake"), uma-hake ("water men"), and chaihua-uira ("fishermen") in Aymara; laguneros /"lake men"/ in Spanish; uru, uru-kuna ("Uru men"), cocha kuna ("men of the Lake"), kocha-la ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Chroniclers

101 175 Morua (Fr. Martin de)

...but since the peoples of Peru are many, very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the bigness of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull, as in Collao and other areas; [131] [262] because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and subsisted on the totora and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Puquinas, some of them or generally most raise livestock, and some live near the said 195 lake, intermixed with the said Uros; and these eat raw fish, [262] which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore [501] clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and [291] cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they [294] made a sort of jacket which they were accustomed to wear; [241] and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make [342] houses, but they merely subsist on plants, although there also [222] exists among them a seed similar to millo, which grows on

[16th Century]

/31 cont./

[175] They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes, [342] which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tule...."

[262] ...They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant, [181] although not very good....They dress badly and eat, aside from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land; they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They [648] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general [651] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/..., 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua: Juicio de limites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/, Barcelona, 1906, I, 295-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[824] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats [101] and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/..., Madrid, 1601-1615, III, 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[133] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current, according to what they say.

[16th Century]

/32 cont./

175 [491] [824] according to what they say. It[1] is crossed on a remarkable contrivance, peculiar to the Indies, a straw bridge placed on the water itself, which is of such light material that it does not sink, and it is a very safe and easy crossing...there grow large quantities of a type of reed that the Indians call totora, which they use for a thousand things, because it is food for pigs and for horses, and for the people themselves; and with it they make house and fire, and boat and whatever is needed; so much do the Uros find in their totora. These Uros are so [101] brutish that they themselves do not regard themselves as men. It is said of them that when asked what people they were they replied that they were not men but Uros, as though this were another class of animals. [361] Entire pueblos of Uros were found living on the lake, on their totora rafts, joined together and fastened to some large rock; and they may fetch themselves off from there and move a whole pueblo to another location; and thus when sought today where they were yesterday, no trace of them is to be found, or of their pueblo..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia natural y moral de las Indias /Natural and Moral History of the Indies/, 1590. Book II, Chap. VI.)

Noticia sobre los Indios Uros en un Memorial de la Epoca del Virrey Toledo /Note on the Uro Indians in a Memorial of the Epoch of the Toledo Viceroy/.

175 648 [511] The Inca, being below Lima, sent one of his captains, called Casiracapa, to those heights with many men, to survey the land and recount to him what he saw there, /33/ and while traveling through the land he came across some people whose dwellings were like those of animals, and who lived in them like brutish animals, around a large Lake, naked, and eating nothing but roots of plants that grew in the Lake, and some Fish if they caught it, and when the Captain saw these people, [728] [509] he recounted the fact to the Inca and was sent by him to remove them from the Lake and resettle them among the

[1] [i.e., Lake Titicaca outlet--Analyst]

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them:
648 The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-
728 settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the
599 inhabitants, unable to bear with it, asked Casiracapa to rid them of those people, because they robbed them, ate their livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the Captain advised the Inca of this and he was ordered to return them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it;
[101] these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where
[131] they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small
[262] villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable: they are infidels in addition, Your Excellency would perform a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so
[356] that they and their descendants might become Christians, and giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings defy description. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

175 Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima, 1568/.

[14] This document from the General Archives of the Indies in Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed by Marie Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-150, 1951.

[19th Century]

175 /36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues
361 east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are
103 resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from
648 other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

197 ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town....
191 Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake....They
262 are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat
142 a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long
308 and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a
181 knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

101 In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of
131 Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Similiake.

423 ...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all
489 defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths
926 throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we
175 shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this
72 cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

THE URU-CHIPAYA

By Weston La Barre

THE URU

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Uru* (*Uro, Huno, Ochomazo, Ochozuma, Uchumi, Kjotsuni, Bukina, Pukina, Puquina, Urocolla, Uroquilla, Yuracare* (not to be confused with eastern Bolivian *Yuracare*), *Kiuchacatati* or "Big-livered People," and *Chancumankkeri* or "Water-greens Eaters," the last two opprobrious *Aymara* nicknames, inhabit the region of Lake Titicaca and some of the watercourses of the inter-Andean Plateau (map 1, *No. 6;* map 4). "Uro" or "uru" seems to have been used commonly in the 17th century to mean "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. It is now the most common name of these people. They call their language *Puquina.*

The *Uru* language has no connection with either *Quechua* or *Aymara.* It is probably the same, however, as the *Puquina* of the 17th century (Oré, 1607), although it is not the same as the *Puquina-Uro* of De la Grasserie (1894). The *Puquina* spoken by the Desaguadero *Uru* is closely related to the *Chipaya* of Lake Poopó, and Métraux (1936 a) therefore established an *Uro-Chipaya* family. Rivet's classification of *Uru* as *Arawakan* has not been widely accepted by linguists. We consider *Uro-Chipaya* to be an independent linguistic family.

Uru was called a "lengua general" of Perú by 16th-century writers (the "Relaciones geográficas de Indias" in 1582 calls it "one of the three general languages of the kingdom"), although its known distribution at a later date was confined to a few people scattered on the islands of Lake Titicaca, in the Río Desaguadero swamps, and near Lake Poopó. Vázquez de Espinosa (1942) found *Puquina* spoken in Sucre and *Uru* settlements in the Cochabamba Valley. *Uru* evidently once had a much wider distribution than in recent times.

The Highland *Uru* all now speak both *Aymara* and *Uru*, and a few know a little Spanish.

The *Uru* of the coast of Tarapacá and Tacna are similar culturally to the *Chango* and are sometimes even called *Chango.* They are said to be descendants of the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca sent as colonists (mitimaes) in *Inca* times. But, as all now speak Spanish and no trace

754456—47——39

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chearaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

6: Ruiz and Roca T-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is d i v i d e d into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleevless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on P. 217]

6: Ruiz and Roca T-3[illegible] (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

of this gallant village which should be preserved because of its anthropological value and, above all, for its human value:

1.—Return of the extensions of pasture land of which the villagers were deprived by the neighboring Aymara communities.

2.—Periodic visits of medical and sanitary personnel in order to care for the minimal necessities of vaccination, care of the sick and preventative services.

3.—Teaching material to aid in operation of the school.

4.—Agricultural tools and basic training in improved practices of agriculture and animal husbandry.

5.—Realization of a scientific study comparable to that done by Métraux thirty years ago, to be extended to the neighboring Aymara communities in order to determine the degree of influence which one town has had upon the other. Likewise, a detailed study of the remaining branches of ethnography and folklore of the Chipayas.

6.—A plan of archeological excavations on the site called Los Chapel five kilometers to the north-west of the town of Santa Ana de Chipaya, which appears to be the ancient residence of the Chipaya people, according to their own account, during the period in which they were still *chullpas*.

7.—The establishment of contact, for study purposes, with the Morato Indian group, apparently a sub-group of the Chipaya tribe, which at the present time, in reduced numbers, carries on a nomadic life in the territory to the south-west of the Chipaya and whose members speak a distinct language".

(From *Educación Boliviana*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 31-33).

[p 219]

IT MIGHT STILL BE A.D. 1500 in a remote section of Oruro Department of Bolivia today. Here is the retreat of the Chipaya Indians, the living people who can give us an idea of rural life in a distant corner of the great Inca Empire. The few hundred individuals of Santa Ana de Chipaya are the remainders of a once numerous people whose territory extended to the northern shores of Lake Titicaca. Their language, Uru-Chipaya, was called "one of the three main languages of the kingdom" by the sixteenth-century chroniclers of Peru, which included what is now Bolivia. Over the centuries the more powerful Quechuas and Aymaras have seized their lands, forcing them back into a region where life is particularly difficult. But they have made remarkable use of their harsh, ungenerous environment. In their isolation, they have retained their pre-Columbian customs more completely than any other Andean group.

And they are isolated. The modern world did not even know of their existence until it was reported by the famous Peruvianist Max Uhle toward the end of the nine-

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

Professor VELLARD from the University of San Marco, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.

Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they extended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro, which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru', meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers, DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds them in low esteem, remarking that they have no talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO

By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *totora* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—*viz.*, scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.[1]

Location. According to Polo, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Ahualla maya*, some 20 km. from Ancoaqui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoaqui*, on the left[2] bank of the Desaguadero, 23 km. from Lake Titicaca *Iruitu*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31′40″);

[1] The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uru-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South America ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

[2] Métraux, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 26, p. 75) is in minor error in locating this *communidad* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Nazacara, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Ahuallamaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiñaque*, an islet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sojapata*, 5 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Urus"; it is an *estancia* where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro *haciendas* of *Chearaque*, *Taguau*, *Tacacatani*, *Chicani-uma*, *Machacamarca*, *Urcuni-uma*, *Huallaqueri*, *Calayampani*, and *Tocavi* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taguau* (W.LaB.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero numbered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.[3]

In March 1938[4] the population of Ancoaqui (*hanq'o-haq'e*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *communidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *ilacate* (head of the *communidad*,? from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancoaqui and the entire region as well in 1931.[5]

This Aymára *communidad* of Ancoaqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancoaqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

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[3] José Toribio Polo, *Indios Uros del Peru y Bolivia* (Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima, 1901, 10: 445–482), p. 446. D. M. Jimenez de la Espada (in Neveu-Lemaire, *Los lagos de los Altiplanos de la América del Sud*, *La Paz*, 1909, p. lviii) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of *Chuchito*." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; *Chucuito*, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[4] As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Amyára ethnography.

[5] Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The legal term "communidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organization of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the *altiplano*). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Communidad"—as opposed to the term "finca" (="estancia," "hacienda") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so-named.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

[*de Indias*, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1582, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the kingdom." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace.

Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Ore with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raoul de la Grasserie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquinas, known also by the name of Urus, Uros, Hunos and Ochomazos, etc." Ehrenreich also lists the "Uro or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Grasserie:

> In the midst of the Kolya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raoul de la Grasserie seems to belong to a different people.

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uros of Iruitu [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruitu ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uro of Raoul de la Grasserie is totally different from my Uro."[3]

More recently Métraux has done linguistic work with both the Chipaya of Lake Poopo (Carangas) and the Uru of Ancoaqui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chipaya, of the group he calls "Uro-Čipaya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Métraux with my own and Polo's make it clear that:

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chipaya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

[3] Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York 1891), pp. 223–224. Raoul de la Grasserie. *Langues Américaines: Langue Puquina, Textes Puquina Contenus dans le Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum de Geronimo de Ore* (publié à Naples en 1607 avec texte espagnol en regard, traduction analytique interlinéaire, vocabulaire et essai de grammaire, Leipzig, 1894), p. 67. (De la Grasserie used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Brinton, according to Chamberlain, used a British Museum copy of Ore.) Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Ethnographie Sudamerikas im Beginn des XX Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturvölker* (Archiv für Anthropologie N. F. 3: 39–75, 1905), p. 65. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896; cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uran: A New South American Linguistic Stock* (American Anthropologist 12: 417–424, 1910), p. 418, from which this résumé is taken. See also M. Uhle, *Reisen in Bolivia und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlung 23, 1896), pp. 357–360; *idem*, *Ueber die Sprache der Uros in Bolivia* (Globus 69, 1896), p. 19.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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(but further complicating the matter by bringing in the dispute about the possible relationship of Atacameñan and Uran, which relationship he finally denies).[10] The problem, of course, awaits the attention of the linguistic specialist who shall have complete access to all the documents in the case. Garcilaso de la Vega, it is true, in his *Historia General de las Indias* listed "the Puquinas, Collas, Urus, Yuncas, and other Indian nations." But the Colla and Yunca were subdivisions of the Aymará-speaking stock, which weakens Chamberlain's citation of this as proof of the distinctness of the Uru and the Puquina. *Prima facie* evidence suggests that they are the same; meanwhile, where are we to find any considerable group in the Lake Titicaca region to have spoken the non-Aymará, non-Quechua "lengua general" of "Puquina" *except* the linguistically moribund and heavily Aymarized Uru-Chipaya?[11]

Name. The present-day Uru of the Rio Desaguadero have been given various names by chroniclers and ethnologists. De la Grasserie gives the synonymy *Urus*, *Uros*, *Hunos*, and *Ochomazos*, as well as the controversial "Puquinas"; Calancha, however, gives the name as *Ochozumas*, and Brinton *Ochozomas*. Posnansky says the name of the Uru for themselves is *Uchumi*, and their language *Uchumitaku;* they also call themselves *Kjotsuni*, but never "Urus" or "Puquinas." Métraux, however, found the Ancoaqui Uru

[10] Métraux (JSAP 27, 1934), p. 89. Eric Boman, *Les Antiquités de la Région Andine de la République Argentine* (Paris 1907–1908), pp. 67–73. Boman (p. 72) identifies the Desaguadero Uru with the Changos, also called "Uros," of the Pacific coast farther south, making them the pre-Quechua, pre-Aymará, pre-Yuncan aborigines of the Peru-Bolivia region. Chamberlain thinks they must have been Inca "colonists; so too Brinton (*American Races*, 221) who notes that Oliva (quoted in A. Bastian, *Culturländer des Alten Americas* (1878 Berlin, vol. 2), p. 93) averred some of them were found on the coast near Lambayeque. Since "Chancu" was one of the Aymará nicknames for the Desaguadero Uru, this coastal group of "Changos" may indeed be Uru. Wissler, *The American Indian*, 2nd ed. pp. 312–313, lists and maps a northern "Puquinan" stock and a southern "Uran" stock; but on the linguistic map of South America (Fig. 82) he places "Puquinan" north of Lake Titicaca, and "Uros" in northern Chile, apparently following Boman on this point.

[11] The possible Arawakan affiliation of the Uru-Chipaya is another matter. Rivet and Crequi-Montfort have discussed this problem at length. Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 402–403, suggests connections of the Chipaya with the Chané and the Arawakanized Chiriguano, on the basis of zoomorphic characters in myths; but he further suggests the possiblity that both the Chané and the Chiriguano got their mythical figures from the Aymará-Quechua general Andean folklore, as well as from the Uru-Chipaya. This second direction of diffusion appears to me more plausible: the myths Métraux (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67–102, collected from the Uru-Chipaya are nearly all tales identical with those of the neighboring Aymára. It is my opinion, however, that neither Nordenskiöld's nor Métraux' myth material is sufficiently specific in reference to bear any such burden of proof; some of them show Asiatic, Siamese, Shuswap, and Nootka parallels, *i.e.*, the data are pan-Amerind, indeed, proto- and pre-Amerind.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

calling themselves "Bukina" or "Pukina," which agrees with the synonymy of Ehrenreich, Hervas, *et al.* The "*Uroquillas*" of the early chroniclers appears to have meant the Uru; but Chamberlain's "Urinsaya" is the name of a *moiety*, not of the tribe, and is moreover an Aymará word.

Bertonio, a missionary of the late 16th century, gives the Aymará name, probably opprobrious, "*Kiuchacatati:* Big-livered [People], Nickname of the Puquinas." Chamberlain notes the Quechua name for the Uru as *Yuracare*, but Mossi says their Quechua designation is *Urocolla*. Paredes says the Aymára call the Uru "*Chancumankkeris*" [etymologized by my interpreter as *čanku-manq'eri*, lit. "water-*helecho*-eaters," i.e. eaters of the water-plants of the genera *Myriophyllum*, *Potomogeton*, *Clanaphora*, *Elodea*, and *Chara*] or "Chancu." The tradition was that their ancestors were brought from the Pacific coast by the great Colla or Aymára conqueror, Tacuilla, but the Aymára say that the "*achachila*" or place-deity of the Uru is the swamp itself, much as Mt. Illimani is the place-deity of the Aymára in its region. Neveu-Lemaire[12] says that the Uru were the group from whom the Inca exacted the famous tribute of lice.

Posnansky notes several place-names—Urubamba, Urupampa, Urmiri, Urucollo, Uru-Uru (Oruro), and others—which he believes incorporate the name Uru, but these are etymologizable in Aymará, in which language "uru" means "day," or according to some authorities "worm."[13] Polo suggests the implausible etymology from "uri" (Aymará "unconquered, brave"); but in the 17th century "uro" or "uru" seems to have been in current use in the sense of "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. A punning proverb, "De indio Uro ningun hombre esta seguro" ("No man is safe from an Uru Indian"), appears to testify to the treachery of an incompletely subjected minority.

Temperament. The temperament of the Uru has been spoken of in no very flattering terms by all who have known them. Acosta said that they were so brutish as not even to have considered themselves human: "Son estos *Uros* tan brutales que ellos mismos no se tienen por hombres." Garcilaso de la Vega called them "rudos y torpes," rude and stupid. Even the

[12] Neveu-Lemaire, *Los Lagos, LX–LXI;* this authority also says that the name of the Departamento of Oruro and its capital city in Bolivia comes from the reduplication "Uru-uru." Other authorities in this paragraph not heretofore listed: Arturo Posnansky, *Astropología y Sociología de las Razas Interandinas y de las Regiones Adyacentes* (La Paz, 1937), p. 59; Lvdovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara*, Iuli (Chucuito) [Peru] 2 vols. 1612 [facsimile edition, J. Platzmann, Leipzig 1869] vol. 2, p. 303; Honorio Mossi, *Diccionario Queshua* (Sucre, 1860); Rigoberto Paredes, *Mitos, Supersticiones y Supervivencias Populares de Bolivia*, 2nd ed. (La Paz, 1936), p. 25.

[13] In connection with the meaning "day" see the myth in Métraux JSAP 27: 395 ff.

11:Carter E-4,5 (1953, 1960-1961) 1965
SF5 Aymara SF5
Uru SF24

and sweets that could be purchased in La Paz. They could be presented any night when there was a full moon. In order to pay for them, each peasant contributed about eight cents (U. S.) for every cow he owned, for *totora* was the main source of fodder for the hacienda.

The *camana* of the lake received no usufruct rights for his work. His main recompense came from the wild duck eggs he could find among the reeds. At times these amounted to from 80 to 100 per day, and could either be exchanged with other peasants for their products, or sent to La Paz for sale. As a sanctioning arm of the community, the *camana* of the lake could take a forfeit piece of clothing or equipment from anyone who disregarded his rules. He could not keep them, however; they had to be turned over to the *jilakata* who would then release them upon receipt of a ransom of alcohol.

Those drawn into the tribute system just described were principally the heads of households. Except for the *camana* of the lake, they possessed house plots and farm lands in usufruct. Within nearly every hacienda, however, there were a number of mature males who had no usufruct rights. Some of these, called *utaguaguas*, or "house babies," were descended from outside families who had settled there, often in an attempt to escape an unbearable landlord.[1] These were the ones most likely to be selected for the office of *camana* of the lake. Other householders without direct usufruct rights were young people who had married, but who had not been assigned their own plots of land. The *utaguaguas* had no direct obligations whatsoever to the landlord of the hacienda where they settled. They lived off what products they could obtain from other peasants in exchange for labor. The young married couples, however, usually resided with parents or relatives and assumed part of the latter's hacienda obligations.

A person having full usufruct rights was known as a *persona*, or full man. Upon his death, if his usufruct right were divided between two sons, each came to be known as a *sulka persona*, or half-man, and had only half the obligations of a normal householder to the hacienda. If the usufruct right was further divided, it could give rise to *cuarta personas*, or fourth-men, each having one-fourth of the labor obligations of a full householder.

Every full householder had to take his turn at all the major rotative

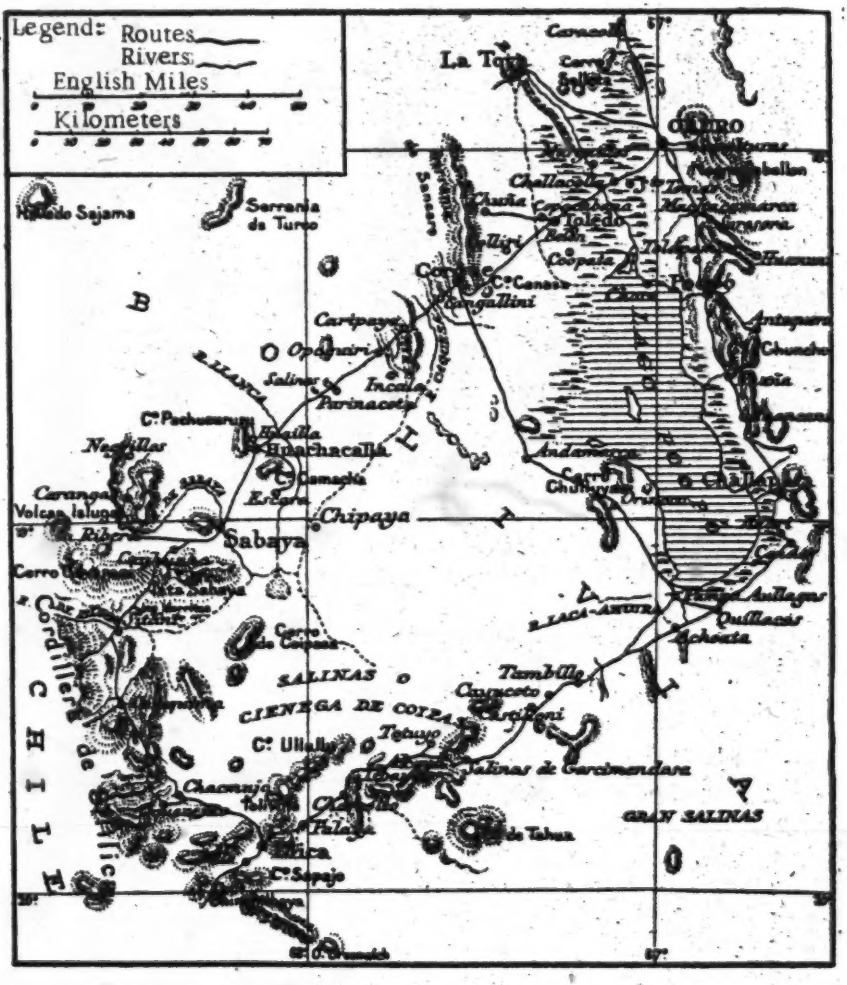
1. It is possible that these house babies are descendants of the group referred to in colonial days as Urus. Numerous references in the 1567 document formerly cited indicate that the Urus were landless and poor and that they lived in lakeshore communities at the suffrance of the other Indians. Because of their poverty, they were often used by the *caciques* as house servants and rest house attendants (5, pp. 140, 146, 209).

2:Métraux--4 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas—
Chipaya

/112 cont./

● 102
131
133
489



Map 1. — Carangas Province, after J.-B. Minchin.

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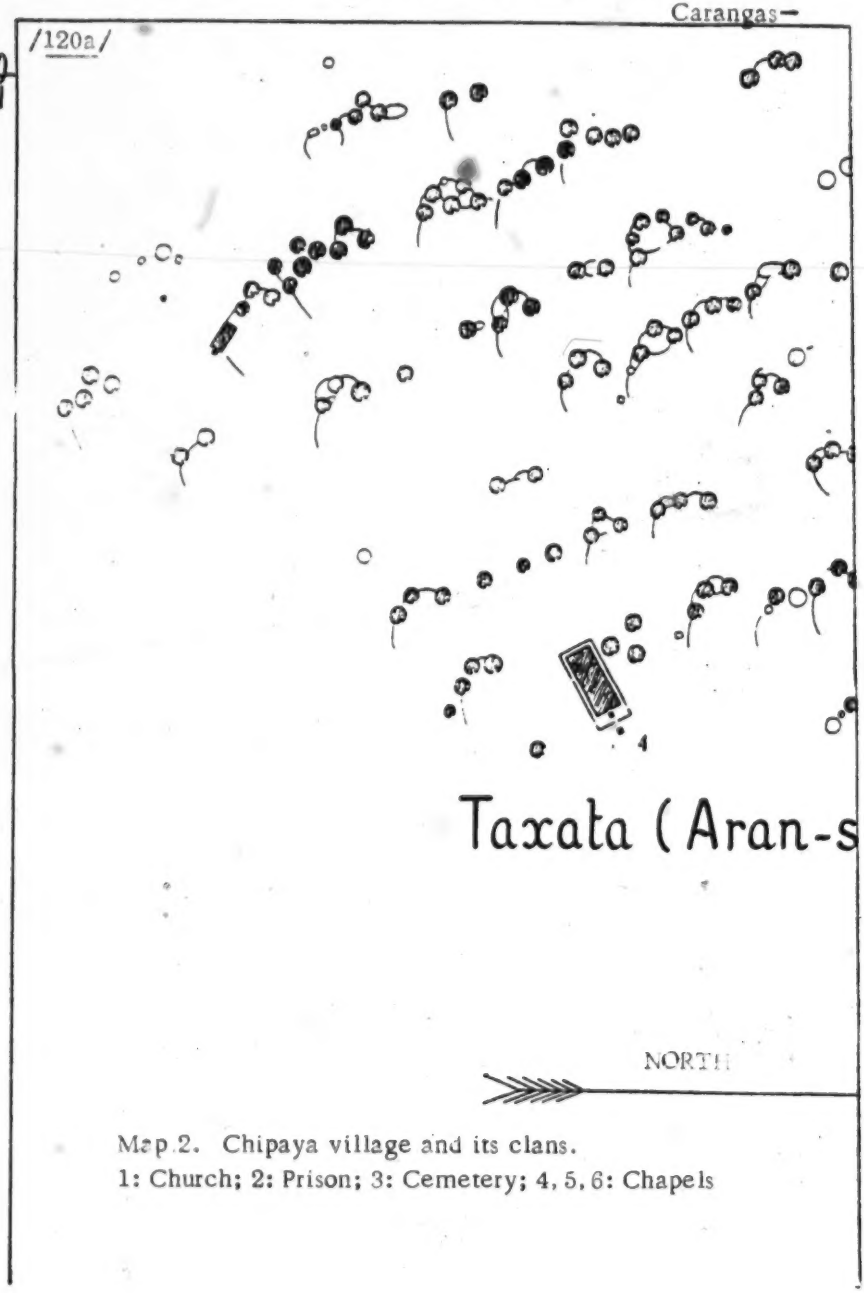
p. 18a	p. 18c	
p. 18b	p. 18d	p. 18e

Chart of Positions of Map 2.
[Facing p. 18a]

2:Métraux--18a E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya
Carangas—
/120a/
107
361



Map 2. Chipaya village and its clans.
1: Church; 2: Prison; 3: Cemetery; 4, 5, 6: Chapels

Carangas-
Chijaya

/120a cont./

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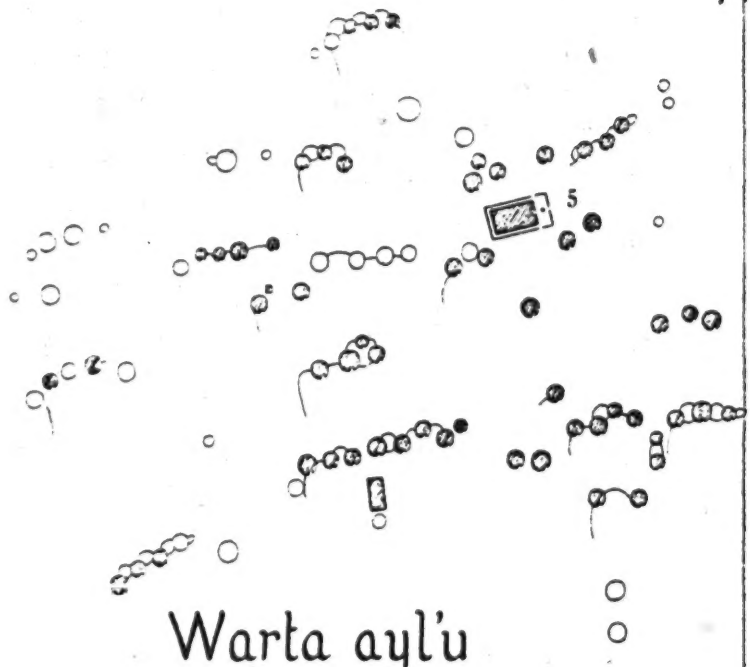
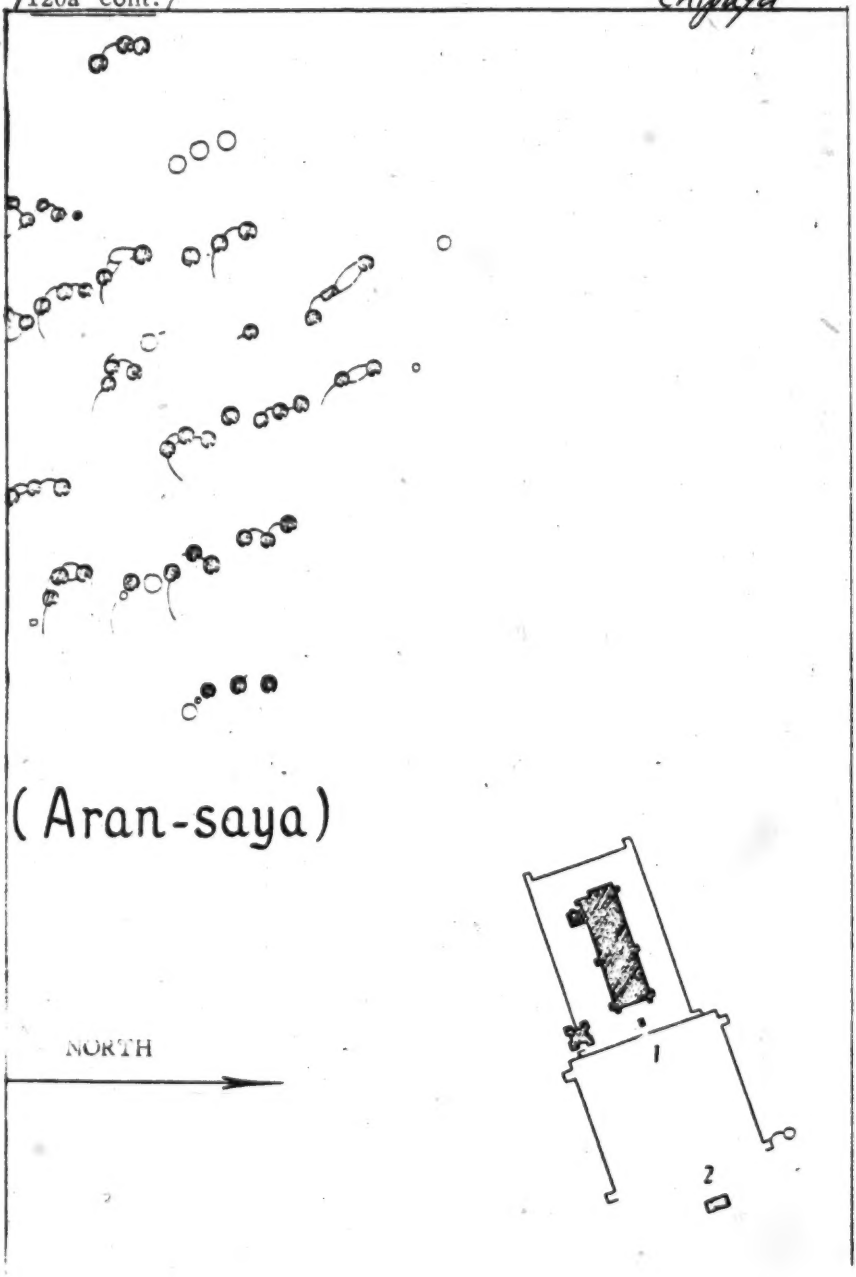
361



Carangas—
Chipaya

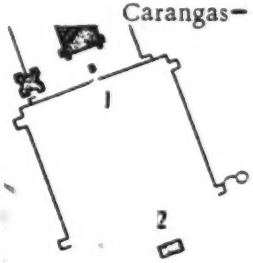
/120a cont./

102
361

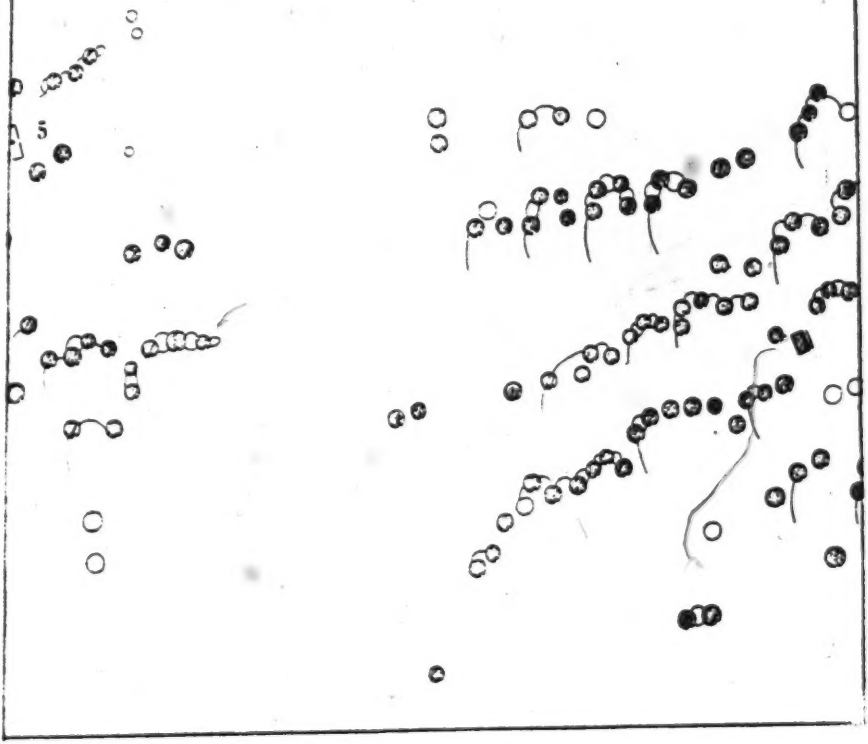


2:Métraux--18d E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24 Chijaya
Carangas-

107
361



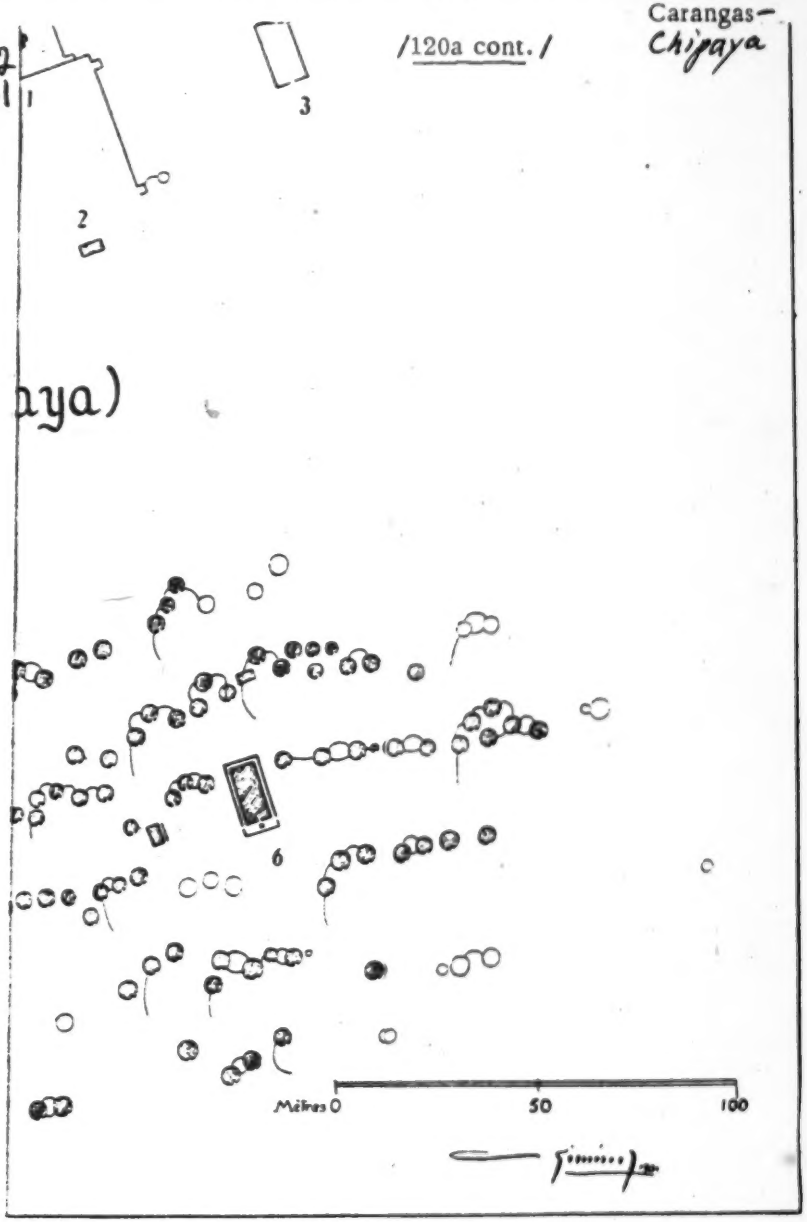
Tuanta (Manan-saya)



Carangas—
Chipaya

/120a cont./

102
361



/347 cont./

*1796 prehistoric necklaces, in each cupule. He did the same with a piece of iron pyrite. His helper put small pieces of gold and silver leaf, small quantities of pink and blue mineral powder, incense, cinnamon bark, white and black maize flour, etc. in each cupule.

*1796 539 The Officiant then planted a cross and his sacred stick facing east and knelt before them. He then began to recite, with eyes half-closed, in a loud and penetrating voice a series of prayers, of which I was able to record the following:

Tata	Santiago,	araxpaǩa	Santiago,	kimsatunxsoxtani
Father	Santiago,	sky	Santiago,	36

platu	resibite	tarapital'a,	ukˣaro	Santo San Felipe,
dishes	receive	thou wilt receive,	next	Saint Saint Philip

ukˣaro	Santo	San	Geronimo,	Santo Yunguyo(1)	resibe
next	Saint	Saint	Jerome,	Saint Yunguyo	receive

●[103]

1. Yunguyo is the name of a group of huts where Espíritu Mamani, who recited this prayer to me, lived.

tarapital'a	aka insensio,	resibe	tarapital'a
thou wilt receive	this incense,	receive	thou wilt receive

todos abogados	araxpaǩa,	suma karpa,	waino (2)	karpa,
all intercessors,	sky,	good rain,		rain,

[193] [192]

2. This word, which always precedes a significant word — "rain," "weather," or "year," has always been translated for me by "good"; I have felt some doubts, however, about the precision of my transcription. Its pronunciation

Carangas-
Chipaya

/364 cont./

*798 *796 539

xal'al'a	L'auca,	wasi	ʧoksä,	awiatori,	maitiñi,
hallelujah	Lauca,	?	?	shepherd,	he who grants,

Saxama	mal'ku,	ʧep-pakʃal'a,	awianta,
Sajama	demon,	three kinds of livestock,	make graze,

Sikwanku (2),	Paʧata (3),	Turi-mal'ku,	t'apa	pokara,
Little bench,	Pachata (3)	Tower-demon,	all	demons,

[03]

2. Sikwanku: "chico banco" "little bench." Name of a mountain which is visible from Chipaya.

3. Summits visible from Chipaya.

L'auka-mal'ku,	Maria tokatoka	Mama sapo,	Tata-sapo,
Lauca-demon,	Mary toad	mama toad,	father toad,

uruisxapa,	Sinata,	Pumari (3) /see above/	mara
to create for,	?	Pumari	year

aka	paʧa	arax-paʧa,	mamita	Santa-Ana,	Samiri.
this time		sky,	mama	Saint Anne,	Samiri.

"Demon Kant, demon Kusil'er, demon Kilimint, Kusil'aviri, let graze, mountains of the country, demon Kemperan, demon Stephen, hallelujah, Lauca river, ??, thou who makest graze, thou who grantest, demon Sajama, we the three kinds of livestock of our herds, Mount Sikwanku, Mount Pachata, Demon Tower, divine Lauca, Mary toad, mama toad, father toad, create for us, Sinata, Pumari, grant us a new year like this one, you, sky, Mama Saint Anne, Samiri."

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/35 cont./

175 (Juan Alfonso Carrizo, Cancionero popular de Jujuy /Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy/, p. XV, Tucuman, 1935.)

/36/ Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada /Moral Chronicle/ of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

[162] [181] In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor Lorenço de Aldana gave us...; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uro Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscene and dark-skinned /renegrida/ they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. The chief [103] pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Volume I, p. 353.)

[162] [997] [181] This pueblo (of Challacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians who were being catechized by our Order.... These are crude Uro Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned /renegrida/, without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all [226] prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish in the lake of Paria...those who live on land /do so/ in [342] sepultures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails...the [137] Uro Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here [291] they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold [997] land) than some mats of these cattails.... Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion. [103] [997] There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a Priory with a subsidiary church of Uro Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away.... There is another pueblo four leagues

[17th Century]

175 /36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues
[361] east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are
[103] resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from
[548] other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

[797] ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town....
[771] Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake....They
[267] are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat
[142] a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long
[309] and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a
[181] knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

[101] In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of
[131] Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Simillake.

[423] ...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all
[489] defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths
[726] throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we
175 shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this
721 cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Nasacara, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Ahuallamaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiñaque*, an islet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sojapata*, 5 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Urus"; it is an *estancia* where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro *haciendas* of *Chearaque*, *Taguau*, *Tacacatani*, *Chicani-uma*, *Machacamarca*, *Urcuni-uma*, *Huallaqueri*, *Calayampani*, and *Tocavi* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taguau* (W.LaB.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero numbered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.[3]

In March 1938[4] the population of Ancoaqui (*kanq'o-haq'e*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *communidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *ilacate* (head of the *communidad*,? from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancoaqui and the entire region as well in 1931.[5]

This Aymára *communidad* of Ancoaqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancoaqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

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[3] José Toribio Polo, *Indios Uros del Peru y Bolivia* (Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima, 1901, 10: 445–482), p. 446. D. M. Jimenez de la Espada (in Neveu-Lemaire, *Los lagos de los Altiplanos de la América del Sud*, *La Paz*, 1909, p. lviii) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of *Chuchito*." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; *Chucuito*, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[4] As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Amyára ethnography.

[5] Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The legal term "communidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organization of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the *altiplano*). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Communidad"—as opposed to the term "finca" (= "estancia," "hacienda") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so-named.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

calling themselves "Bukina" or "Pukina," which agrees with the synonymy of Ehrenreich, Hervas, *et al.* The "*Uroquillas*" of the early chroniclers appears to have meant the Uru; but Chamberlain's "Urinsaya" is the name of a *moiety*, not of the tribe, and is moreover an Aymará word.

Bertonio, a missionary of the late 16th century, gives the Aymará name, probably opprobrious, "*Kiuchacatati:* Big-livered [People], Nickname of the Puquinas." Chamberlain notes the Quechua name for the Uru as *Yuracare*, but Mossi says their Quechua designation is *Urocollo*. Paredes says the Aymára call the Uru "*Chancumankkeris*" [etymologized by my interpreter as *čanku-manq'eri*, lit. "water-*helecho*-eaters," i.e. eaters of the water-plants of the genera *Myriophyllum*, *Potomogeton*, *Clanaphora*, *Elodea*, and *Chara*] or "Chancu." The tradition was that their ancestors were brought from the Pacific coast by the great Colla or Aymára conqueror, Tacuilla, but the Aymára say that the "*achachila*" or place-deity of the Uru is the swamp itself, much as Mt. Illimani is the place-deity of the Aymára in its region. Neveu-Lemaire[12] says that the Uru were the group from whom the Inca exacted the famous tribute of lice.

Posnansky notes several place-names—Urubamba, Urupampa, Urmiri, Urucollo, Uru-Uru (Oruro), and others—which he believes incorporate the name Uru, but these are etymologizable in Aymará, in which language "uru" means "day," or according to some authorities "worm."[13] Polo suggests the implausible etymology from "uri" (Aymará "unconquered, brave"); but in the 17th century "uro" or "uru" seems to have been in current use in the sense of "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. A punning proverb, "De indio Uro ningun hombre esta seguro" ("No man is safe from an Uru Indian"), appears to testify to the treachery of an incompletely subjected minority.

Temperament. The temperament of the Uru has been spoken of in no very flattering terms by all who have known them. Acosta said that they were so brutish as not even to have considered themselves human: "Son estos *Uros* tan brutales que ellos mismos no se tienen por hombres." Garcilaso de la Vega called them "rudos y torpes," rude and stupid. Even the

[12] Neveu-Lemaire, *Les Lagos, LX–LXI;* this authority also says that the name of the Departamento of Oruro and its capital city in Bolivia comes from the reduplication "Uru-uru." Other authorities in this paragraph not heretofore listed: Arturo Posnansky, *Antropologia y Sociologia de las Razas Interandinas y de las Regiones Adyacentes* (La Paz, 1937), p. 59; Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara*, Iuli (Chucuito) [Peru] 2 vols. 1612 [facsimile edition, J. Platzmann, Leipzig 1869] vol. 2, p. 303; Honorio Mossi, *Diccionario Quechua* (Sucre, 1860); Rigoberto Paredes, *Mitos, Supersticiones y Supervivencias Populares de Bolivia*, 2nd ed. (La Paz, 1936), p. 25.

[13] In connection with the meaning "day" see the myth in Métraux JSAP 27: 395 ff.

/89 cont./

French-Uro Vocabulary

104 The phonetic system used in this article is the same as the one that /90/ Dr. Paul Rivet uses in his article on the Uro language (1): č corresponds to the Spanish "ch"; š to the French

1. See note 1, p. 1.

"ch"; ǰ is an affricate which would be transcribed as "dj" in French; x is the Spanish "j," and l' the "ll" or liquid l of the same language. The combined sign k̆ is a half-occlusive, the cutting-off of which produces a sound close to the Spanish "j." A mark under the vowels indicates that they are very open. U̯ is a semi-vowel which is close to w.

193 The grammar of the Uro of Ancoaqui does not seem to
197 differ from that of the dialect of the Čipaya. One finds the same verbal endings, the same suffixes, etc.

192 The words preceded by one asterisk are those which are derived from Aymara, those marked with two asterisks derive from Spanish, and with three, from Kičua /Quechua/. /The word list, pp. 90-110, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

alcalde -- a functionary who is in charge of a saya and excercises the powers of a justice of the peace. He also intervenes in disputes, makes arrests and imprisonments, and receives accusations.

alferez ("banner-carrier")--the president and organizer of a religious festival

corregidor--a person with judiciary functions who represents the tribe before the government

demandas--complaints brought to the corregidor for injuries or alleged injuries

kaman-para--the sacred sticks, used in religious ceremonies

kʼeru--large wooden mugs used at festival times for libations of chicha

mal'ku--sacred objects endowed with supernatural powers

samiri--usually flat calcareous stones, worshipped as being sacred by the Chipaya.

/113 cont./

Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously. Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My documents have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); č corresponds to the Spanish "ch," š to the French "ch," ǰ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and l' is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign k^x is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel e is a very open e close to a closed a.

/150 cont./

104 The system of phonetic notation used is that of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Paris. The following remarks are necessary:

We have used, in addition to the mute occlusive palatal k and the spirant palatal K, a very deep k^{ϵ}, usually noted down Kj by students of Quichua and Aymara. x corresponds to a forward spirant palatal, (hard German ch or Spanish j); é to the spirant prepalatal (soft German ch); h is always voiced. /Pages 151-169, except for Plates II-V, which follow, are omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/75/

Introduction

/12/ [11] [10] [36] [16] It was solely with the intention of obtaining some elements of comparison for my Čipaya dictionary that I, in the company of Professor A. Posnansky, made a one week visit to the Uro of the Desaguadero in June, 1931. These Indians live in the village of Ancoaqui, on the right bank of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from the Bolivian port of Cuaqui. There are only a handful of them, 40 at the very most. Even taking into account those who were absent and the small agglomerations spread throughout the region, I seriously doubt whether the remaining Uro number a hundred. It was, therefore, imperative to record their language. The case of the Uro is typical of the rudimentary and anarchic state of South American ethnography. For a long time these Indians have been considered one of the most interesting ethnic elements of the Andean region. Nevertheless, no one has thought of living among them and devoting a serious and methodical study to them. /14/ The excellent monograph of Dr. Rivet (1) and Mr. de Créqui

[Text continues on p. 3]

/13/ 1. Créqui Montfort (G. de) and Rivet (P.), "La langue uru ou pukina /The Uru or Pukina Language/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, new series, Vol. XVII (1925), pp. 211-244; Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 111-199; Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 57-116. To the texts assembled in this article the following must be added: /13/ /105/ McCutchen McBride (G.), "The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia," American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 5, New York, 1921, p. 17. "There are the Uros that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains

/75 cont./

113
105

Lake Titicaca. Subsisting chiefly by hunting and fishing, they ply their reed boats (balsas) among the wide-extended swamps that here border the river. Their houses are of rude construction, being built of mud and thatched with straw or totora, the bulrush from which their boats are made. They appear to be among the oldest occupants of the plateau.... They enter any discussion of land tenure only in a negative sense, as they are almost entirely landless. They practice little if any agriculture, though some of them now own small herds of cattle and llamas. They form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them." /Cited in English./

Ogilvie (Alan G.), Geography of the Central Andes. A Handbook to accompany the La Paz Sheet of the Map of Hispanic America on the Million Scale. (Published by the American Geographical Society of New York, 1922). Beneath a photograph presenting an Uro woman crushing some quinua (Fig. 30), these lines appear: "Uru Indian woman grinding quinoa in a sheepskin. The house is of mud with a thatch of reeds secured by grass ropes to pegs in the walls. The sack contains llama dung for fuel. The water jar is made of clay dug from a bank near by." /Cited in English./

113
114

After these lines had been written, Mr. A. Posnansky published a study on the

SF 24 Uru-1-2

1: Métraux, Alfred. Contribution à l'Ethnographie et à la Linguistique des Indiens Uro d'Ancoaqui (Bolivie) /Contribution to the Ethnography and Linguistics of the Uro Indians of Ancoaqui (Bolivia)/. Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, n.s., Vol. 27, pp. 75-110. Paris, 1935.

4 end plates. /HRAF MS. pp. 1-25/.

Yale: C51 +Sol3 II. 27-28.

/Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Priscilla Reynolds.

/This source presents a succinct account of the material culture, social organization and religion of a group of Uru Indians living on the right bank of the Desaguadero River at the village called Ancoaqui, some twenty-five kilometers south of the Bolivian port of Guaqui. The author, accompanied by Professor A. Posnánsky, visited the village for a period of one week in June, 1931, for the primary purpose of obtaining some cross-cultural linguistic data for his Čipaya dictionary. In the process of collecting this linguistic information,

1: Metraux, Alfred.

however, many observations were made on other aspects of Uru ethnography, which form the content of this source. In his discussion of material culture, the author describes the following: dwellings and their furnishings, fishing and fishing equipment, fowling, agriculture (or lack thereof), construction of native boats (balsas), mat and rope making, and dress. The few aspects of social organization discussed in the text pertain only to a listing of clans, and moieties and a few brief notes on community leadership. Religion is treated in terms of customs related to the Pačamama or "earth mother." Additional brief paragraphs discuss native mythology, the general "character" of the Uru, and linguistics. The end plates have been renumbered for simplicity of reference./

Field date: 1931
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966

2: Métraux, Alfred. Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya de Carangas /The Uru-Chipaya Indians of Carangas/. Journal de la Société des Américanistes, n.s., Vol. 27, pp. 111-128, 325-415; Vol. 28, pp. 155-207, 337-394. Paris, 1935-36.

15 text figures; 2 tables; 14 plates; 2 maps; bibliography.

/HRAF MS: pp. 1-223/.

Yale: C51 +So13 II.27-28.

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Priscilla Reynolds.

Not translated for the Files: pp. 395-415 of Vol. 27, consisting of myths and texts; and pp. 342-394 of Vol. 28, consisting of word list, native texts, and bibliography.

[This is a basic source on the ethnography and language of the Chipaya segment of the Uru-Chipaya ethnolinguistic group of the Bolivian altiplano south of Lake Titicaca. The Chipaya are now "a small, semi-independent tribe" which is gradually disappearing as a result of both biological attrition and Aymara acculturation. At the time of Métraux's field work he estimated the population to be about 350, nearly all of whom lived in the one remaining village of Chipaya located in the southern part of Carangas Province. The monograph focuses upon religion, material culture (including the subsistence economy), and language, in that order, with valuable but much briefer data on environment, population, settlement patterns,

2: Métraux, Alfred.

and social organization. Probably the best section is that on material culture. The data on religion consist largely of traditional descriptions of rituals and ceremonies, with very little functional analysis. Most disappointing is the very inadequate treatment of social organization. Despite these deficiencies, Uru-Chipaya ethnography is of particular significance from a historical standpoint. Métraux demonstrates that the Chipaya have retained many ancient Andean culture traits. As a consequence, Chipaya culture provides a basis for a deeper understanding or interpretation of Incan ethnographic and archeological data. A good deal of comparative cultural material is presented concerning the Inca (SE13) and the Aymara (SF5). The foreign text has been repaginated as pp. 1-240.]

Field date: 1930-31
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966

3: Vellard, Jehan. Contribution à l'Etude des Indiens Uru ou Kot'suñs /Contribution to the Study of the Uru or Kot'suñ Indians/. Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines, Vol. 1, pp. 145-209. Paris-Lima, 1949.

3 tables; 9 plates containing 27 photographs; bibliography. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-51/.

Yale: Peru A65p In73t 1-4.

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Priscilla Reynolds.

Not translated for the Files: language texts on pp. 151-169; see category 116, foreign text.

/This is an important although disappointing source. It is the first of a series of articles by Vellard and his associates resulting from a long range, multi-disciplinary research project centering upon the Lake Titicaca region of the Andean area. A significant part of Vellard's own work has focused on the "Uru of Iru-Itu." He says he first visited the Uru in 1938; subsequently, he "was in constant contact with them" during his stay in Bolivia from 1940 to 1944. (In a later publication he notes that he made frequent trips to "Iru-Itu" between 1940 and 1954.) In view of this extensive field experience, the ethnographic data presented in the source at hand are not of the scope and quality one might have expected. The article opens with a short but very important discussion of the devastating impact upon Uru life of the severe drought which struck the area from 1940 to 1945. In essense, the consequence has been the virtual extinction of the Uru as an ethnic group. The bulk of the article then follows, divided into 2 major sections - first, linguistic and cultural data, second, physical anthropology consisting principally of anthropometric and serological

3: Vellard, Jehan.

data. The second section will not be discussed except to note that it includes a complete list of the population of "Iru-Itu" as of 1942 by name, sex, age, and some associated information. In the first section Vellard presents a series of Uru language texts on various cultural topics. He follows this with a three-part analysis of each text consisting of a) a free translation, b) a cultural commentary, and c) linguistic notes. The texts were obtained from two elderly, male Uru informants. The cultural topics and commentary deal mainly with the manufacture of balsa boats, fishing, acquatic bird hunting, funeral customs, and various beliefs and attitudes. Particularly interesting comparisons are made between Uru and Chipaya texts from the standpoint of linguistics and cultural emphases. /

Field date: 1938-1944
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1966

4: Vellard, Jehan. Notes et Documents Bibliographiques sur les Ourous /Bibliographic Notes and Documents on the Uru/. Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines, Vol. 7, pp. 29-41. Paris-Lima, 1959-1960.

Yale: Peru A65p In73t 5-8. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-16/.

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by A. Brunel.

Not translated for the Files: bibliography on pp. 40-41; see category 116, foreign text.

[This source consists of brief ethnographic extracts concerning the Uru taken from Spanish accounts dating mostly from the latter part of the 16th century and early 17th century. Vellard claims these are the chief relevant passages, which is unfortunate but understandable since the accounts deal mainly with the Incan empire and the Spanish colonial administration. Though scanty, the data are important and provide a valuable base line for a study of Uru cultural continuity and change. Vellard has performed a most useful service with the publication of these data and the relevant bibliographical citations. The bibliography at the end of the article does not refer to the text; rather, it lists many of the principal "modern" works concerning the Uru. Bibliographical references in the text have not been marked for category 113 since they appear on nearly every page and may be consulted as efficiently in category 116.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Anthropologist-4, 5
Processed in 1966

5: La Barre, Weston. The Uru-Chipaya. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143, Vol. 2, pp. 575-585. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946.

8 plates containing 27 photographs.

HRAF Copy.

[This is a detailed ethnographic summary of Uru and Chipaya culture, outlining the main features of each group, and revealing some of the major distinctions between them. The Uru are treated more fully than the Chipaya. Although La Barre did field work in this area, especially among the Aymara, he does not specify which, if any, of the data in this article are derived from his personal observations. Plates 1 through 112 accompanied other articles in Vol. 2, and were not processed for this file. Also, the full bibliographical references are incorporated into a general bibliography at the end of Vol. 2, pp. 979-1035, and should be consulted there.

Field date: 1937-38
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966

6: Ruiz, Jorge, and Augusto Roca. Visita a los Chipayas /Visit to the Chipayas/. Boletin Indigenista, Vol. 17, pp. 215-219. México, D.F.: Instituto Indigenista Inter-americano, 1957.

3 photographs.

HRAF Copy.

[Although the authors spent almost a month among the Chipayas, this very brief article is of minimal ethnographic value. Its usefulness lies mainly in its recent date, the impression it gives of lack of change in material culture from the time of Métraux's study some twenty-five years previously, and the research suggestions presented on p. 19. The text is in both Spanish and English on alternate pages.]

Field date: ca. 1956
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Educators-3
Processed in 1966

7: Ruiz Camacho, Rubén. Here the Past Lives On. Américas, Vol. 12, No. 8, pp. 19-22. Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, 1960.

6 photographs.

Yale: CF1401 A451 12.

[This is a pedestrian article containing very little if any data not previously covered in other sources. Also, it is not clear to what extent, if any, primary data are represented in the material.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Journalist - 3
Processed in 1966

8: Fain, Cynthia. The People of the Lake. Antiquity and Survival, Vol. 1, pp. 303-314. The Hague, 1955.

9 photographs.

Yale: B50 +An87 1.

[This is a brief, superficial account, with excellent photographs, of a short visit to an Uru village. Although it contains only scattered bits of useful data, it is of value because it is one of our few first-hand accounts of the village of Iruitu (Iru Itu), as well as one of the most recent. If the author's impressions were correct, one of the most striking points made in the article concerns the very marginal standard of living of the villagers.]

Field date: ca. 1954
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Traveler-5
Processed in 1966

9: La Barre, Weston. The Uru of the Rio Desaguadero. American Anthropologist, n.s., Vol. 43, pp. 493-522. Menasha: The American Anthropological Association, 1941.

4 photographs.

HRAF Copy.

[This is a comprehensive and very useful summary of Uru ethnography. It is based mostly upon the literature, but includes some personal observations made by the author in March, 1938, during a visit of "some days" to the village of Ancoaqui incidental to his main study of Aymara ethnography. Among the most valuable new data is the list of kinship terms which La Barre collected at Ancoaqui. Also, he differs with previous personality characterizations of the Uru, having found them to be much more congenial than the Aymara. Two other significant features are his summary of Polo's data concerning the distribution of Uru speakers at the end of the nineteenth century, listing specific communities and their locations, and his analysis of Uru linguistic affiliations, particularly the problem of the Uru identity of the ancient Puquina language. Beyond this, the article summarizes the major aspects of Uru culture, ranging from physical anthropology through subsistence economy and material culture, to social organization and religion.]

Field date: 1938
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1966

Vellard, Jehan. Etudes sur le lac Titicaca. VII. Populations indigènes des hauts plateaux andins Première Partie: Les Ourous-Chapayas /Studies About Lake Titicaca. VII. Indigenous Populations of the Andean High Plateaus. First Part: The Uru-Chipaya/. Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines, Vol. 6, pp. 51-94. Paris-Lima, 1957-1958.

Multiple tables; bibliography.

Yale: Peru A65p In73t 5-8.

/The first section of this article consists of a discussion of the three major ethno-linguistic groups occupying the area: (1) the Aymara (2) the Quechua, and (3) the Uru-Chipaya, including the mixed fishing groups of Lake Titicaca. Previous studies of physical anthropology among these peoples are briefly noted, followed by a short description of Vellard's own research on this topic. Following an introductory sketch of Uru culture and population history on pp. 56-60, a detailed study of Uru physical anthropology is presented, mainly in the form of anthropometric data. The data were derived from 75 subjects composed of 64 males and 11 females drawn from the various Uru population categories noted above./

Surveyed in 1966

Vellard, Jehan. Etudes sur le lac Titicaca. VIII. Origine des populations indigènes actuelles du haut plateau /Studies About Lake Titicaca. VIII. Origin of the Contemporary Indigenous Populations of the High Plateau/. Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines, Vol. 7, pp. 1-27. Paris-Lima, 1959-1960.

6 plates containing 16 photographs.

Yale: Peru A65p In73t 5-8.

/This is an important source for purposes of ethnological orientation, and it is highly recommended as a point of departure for the researcher interested in this area. (A useful complementary article is "The Present Distribution of Indian Languages in Highland Bolivia," by John F. Goins. Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 2, pp. 17-34. Berkeley, 1950.) Vellard presents an historical and contemporary analysis of the predominant linguistic, racial, and sociocultural patterns and interrelations of the three major population groups inhabiting the Lake Titicaca region, i.e., the Aymara, the Quechua, and the Uru-Chipaya peoples. The emphasis is upon ethnic history and the clarification of historical problems. For instance, on the vexed question of Uru linguistic affiliations Vellard concludes (p. 13) that the Uru-Chipaya are the modern remnants of groups that spoke a widely dispersed and dialectically varied language called Pukina in the Spanish chronicles. Changes in areas of occupation and population patterns are well-covered./

Surveyed in 1966.

Grollig, F. X. The Aymara and Uru Indians of the Peruvian Altiplano. Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science, Vol. 72, pp. 67-68. Indianapolis, 1963.

Yale: A53i 126 71-72

[Less than half of this very brief article deals with the Uru, but it is of some value since it is evidently based upon first-hand observations by a professional anthropologist. The "Uru" whom the author describes are those living out in Lake Titicaca (probably in the Bay of Puno) on totora reed "islands." Information is given on ecological conditions, subsistence patterns, and material culture. This same group is much more fully described in Vellard's book, Dieux et Parias des Andes (1954).]

Surveyed in 1966

Métraux, Alfred. La Religion Secreta y la Mitología de los Indios Uro-Chipaya de Carangas (Bolivia) /The Secret Religion and Mythology of the Uru-Chipaya Indians of Carangas (Bolivia)/. Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 7-84. Tucumán: Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, 1935.

10 plates containing 20 photographs; 3 text photographs.

Yale: Argentina NK10 †T79e v. 3[1]

[This article is basically a Spanish version of part of an article published in French which has been processed for this file - i.e., 2: Métraux. The arrangement of material differs a little in the two versions, but the data seem to be essentially the same. A few of the photographs may not have been reproduced elsewhere.]

Surveyed in 1966

Métraux, Alfred. Civilización Material de los Indios Uro-Chipaya de Carangas (Bolivia) /The Material Culture of the Uru-Chipaya Indians of Carangas (Bolivia)/. Revita del Instituto de Ethnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 5-130. Tucumán: Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, 1935.

16 plates containing 32 photographs: 1 text photograph.

Yale: Argentina NK10 +T75e v.3

[This article is basically a Spanish version of part of an article published in French which has been processed for this file - i.e., 2: Métraux. There seems to be very little if any difference between the two versions.]

Surveyed in 1966

Métraux, Alfred. People of the Past. Natural History, Vol. 54, pp. 425-431. New York: The American Museum of Natural History, 1945.

22 photographs.

Yale: S9 099 54.

[This is a good, compact summary of the major features of Chipaya environment and culture, many of which are illustrated in the excellent photographs. The archaic nature of Chipaya culture is stressed, along with its consequent value for an understanding of Incan culture, and the light it may shed on various problems of Andean archeology. The article has not been processed for the files because it contains very little if any ethnographic data not reported in previous, more technical works by Métraux.]

Surveyed in 1966

Palavecino, Enrique. Los Indios Uru de Iruito /The Uru Indians of Iru Itu/. Runa: Archivo para las Ciencias del Hombre, Vol. 2, pp. 59-88. Buenos Aires, 1949.

12 photographic plates; 8 text figures; 1 table.

Yale: Argentina NK10 B865e 2.

[This is a useful source combining information from earlier works with the author's own field data on the Uru of Iru Itu obtained in 1933. Palavecino's primary data were originally published in a series of three articles in the newspaper La Prensa in 1933-34. The main topics covered include the economy, clothing, dwellings, boats, industrial arts, social organization, religion, and music. These subjects have been dealt with fairly extensively in other works, and probably little is presented in the way of new material. But it would be of interest to make a close comparison between Palavecino's data and Métraux's (see this file, category 116, source 1), which were obtained only two years earlier, in 1931. Numerous bibliographical references are presented in the footnotes.]

Surveyed in 1968

Polo, osé Toribio. Indios Uros del Perú y Bolivia /The Uru Indians of Peru and Bolivia/. Boletin de la ociedad Geográfica de Lima, Vol. 10, pp. 445-482. Lima: Imprenta y Librería de San Pedro, 1901.

yle: Peru E10 So32 v.10.

[This long remained a standard source on the Uru, drawn upon by many subsequent iters. It incorporates some original data gathered by Polo during his trip down the saguadero River, from Lake Titicaca to the community of Nazacara, in February 1897. e most important sections of the article seem to be the following: (1) a review of data rived from Spanish chronicles and other historical sources, on pp. 447-53; (2) the detailed ting of places along the Desaguadero River where the remnant Uru population was located ar the end of the 19th century, on pp. 460-63; and (3) a Spanish-Uru vocabulary list on p. 464-79. Among other topics covered are the question of Uru linguistic relations, the mology of the name Uru, clothing, and some descriptive linguistics. Bibliographical erences are given in the footnotes. Finally, the article is accompanied by a valuable, tailed folded map of the Desaguadero region drawn by Juan Bergelund, which may be nd at the end of the volume.]

Surveyed in 1966

Vellard, Jehan. Contribution à l'étude des indiens Uru ou Kot'suñs. III. Vocabulaire /Contribution to the Study of the Uru or Kot'suñ Indians. III. Vocabulary/. Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines, Vol. 2, pp. 51-88. Paris-Lima, 1950.

Yale: Peru A65p In73t 1-4.

/The article opens with a three-page introductory section reporting on a return trip by the author to the Uru village of Iru-Itu in early 1950. He notes the decline in population and that the village is rapidly becoming Aymarized due to acculturation and intermarriage. Vellard concludes that there no longer exists a distinct Uru ethnic group. The bulk of the article consists of a vocabulary list which was gathered from 1941 to 1943. This material is especially valuable because it is topically arranged; the Uru terms along with a French translation are presented under 19 major subject headings as follows: (1) the human body (2) phases of the life cycle (3) kinship terms (4) geological and climatic phenomena (5) topographic and place names (6) astronomical phenomena, seasons, and directions (7) dwellings and furnishings (8) balsa boats (9) fishing equipment (10) hunting (11) clothing (12) wool working (13) cordage (14) miscellaneous implements (15) ceramics (16) food and its preparation (17) musical instruments (18) flora, and (19) fauna./

Surveyed in 1966

Vellard, Jehan. Peuples pêcheurs du Titicaca: les Uros et leurs voisins /Fishing Peoples of Titicaca: the Uru and Their Neighbors/. Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. 5, pp. 135-148. Bordeau: L'Institut de la France d'Outre-Mer de Bordeaux, 1952.

10 photographs; 2 maps; 1 table.

Yale: E10 B65C 5.

/In this source Vellard focuses upon the identification and description, history, and comparison of the various fishing groups in the area of lakes Titicaca and Poopó that may be classified as Uru or of mainly Uru derivation. He discusses population distribution, settlement patterns, and ecological conditions both historically and currently, and their relations with the Inca. For the modern groups he presents data on physical anthropology, language, material culture - including a check list on p. 144 indicating the distribution of material culture items among the various "Uru" groups, religious beliefs, and the social and ethnic position of the Uru groups in the context of their relations with surrounding ethnic groups, especially the Aymara. Most of these data are presented more fully in other works by Vellard, but this is a convenient comparative summary in which the similarities and differences among the Uru groups are most clearly delineated./

Surveyed in 1966.

Vellard, Jehan. Dieux et Parias des Andes. Les Ourous, ceux qui ne veulent pas etre des hommes /Gods and Pariahs of the Andes. The Uru, Those Who Do Not Wish to be Men/. Paris: Editions Emile-Paul, 1954.

Pp. 254; 26 photographs; bibliography; fold. map at end.

Library of Congress: F3430 .1 .P8V4.

/This is the basic source on the ethnography and culture history of the Uru segment of the Uru-Chipaya ethno-linguistic group. It has not been processed for this file as yet due to lack of finances. As an interim measure, a fairly detailed review of the contents will be given here.

Chapter 1, "The End of a Race" (pp. 9-13), opens with an Uru origin myth which is the basis of the subtitle; i.e., the Uru portray themselves as being a sort of distinct, nonhuman species created prior to man, and having special qualities. This is followed by a discussion of the current and apparently terminal phase of Uru existence as a distinct ethnic/cultural unit. A disastrous drought in the years 1940-45 practically destroyed the cultural life of the village of Iru-Itu, evidently the only remaining traditional Uru community.

Chapter 2, "The Sacred Lake of the Andes" (pp. 14-37), describes the regional setting of the Uru. They center about Lake Titicaca, which plays a prominent role in Andean legends and mythology. Three areal aspects are treated: the ecology, including topography, climate, flora and fauna; general culture history; and present ethnic and linguistic distributions.

Chapter 3, "The History of the Uru as Told by Themselves" (pp. 39-62), deals with traditional oral history, while Chapter 4, "The True History of the Uru" (pp. 63-81), examines Uru culture history as derived from archeological materials and the Spanish chronicles. The latter chapter is of particular interest, although many of the interpretations are rather speculative. Much more archeological research is required to test some of Vellard's conclusions. One of the most significant of these concerns the successive changes in ecological adaptation which the Uru underwent as a result of geographical displacements caused by pressures from surrounding Indian and later Spanish populations.

Chapter 5, "The Men and the Language" (pp. 83-103), covers physical anthropology, demography, and linguistic affiliations. General summaries of these topics are given, omitting the detailed data previously published in Vellard's more technical articles. (For guides to these articles see this file, categories 111 and 112.)

Chapter 6, "The Uru of the Bay of Puno" (pp. 105-116), is the only substantial ethnographic description available of this population group living out in Lake Titicaca. Although this group retains little of the Uru language or cultural traditions, are of mixed physical type, and object to being

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called Uru, they have retained an ecological mode of life which is even more traditional than that of the Iru-Itu group. They are adapted almost completely to an aquatic existence. Their small huts are built upon reed platforms situated in dense reed marshes, and they subsist largely upon fish, aquatic birds, and totora reed roots.

Chapters 7 through 11 focus upon the Uru of Iru-Itu. Chapter 7, "The True Uru: Those of the Desaguadero" (pp. 117-34), gives a detailed account of the recent history and present sociocultural conditions of the Uru groups living along the Desaguadero River, and specifically of the village of Iru-Itu. Chapter 8, "The Uru Mode of Life" (pp. 135-53), describes the subsistence economy (including food patterns) of Iru-Itu, and Chapter 9, "Uru Industry" (pp. 155-66), presents a rather superficial account of material culture and crafts. The latter are more thoroughly covered in other sources in this file.

Chapter 10, "Social Life" (pp. 167-78), is one of the poorest and yet one of the most important chapters in the book since so little is known about this subject. Some of Vellard's most significant points are negative ones. Thus, he claims it was impossible to reconstruct traditional Uru social organization. Unfortunately, he never actually describes the social system which existed during his periods of observation, although he states that the people of Iru-Itu have not adopted Aymara patterns of community organization. There are brief notes on marriage, kinship, and leadership, and kin terms are discussed although not given in the vernacular (these are included, however, in a vocabulary list published in an earlier article; see this file, category 112, Vellard 1950). A high point is the disclosure on p. 169 that contrary to previously published information the

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Uru never had a system of "clans" (i.e., sibs). Vellard maintains that former investigators such as Posnansky and Métraux (as well as Vellard himself in his first work) were misled on this matter, perhaps because of the difficult translation problem involving the use of three languages - Uru, Aymara, and Spanish. Iru-Itu is divided into surname groups (probably a recent development since the names are Spanish), but these are neither ayllus nor sibs. Vellard found that if pressed on this question, the Uru, to satisfy the inquirer, will give a list of sibs such as the four names recorded by Métraux (see this file, category 116, source 1), but these are actually Aymara sibs belonging to the community of Jesús de Machaca to which Iru-Itu is annexed. The final section of this chapter discusses Aymara-Uru relations. A striking feature of these relations is that although the Aymara are generally contemptuous of the Uru and treat them harshly, they have a certain fear and magical respect for them. Once a year the chiefs of the neighboring Aymara communities bring ritual gifts to Iru-Itu to appease the spirits of the Uru ancestors. This practice ceased after 1942.

Chapter 11, "Religious Life" (pp. 179-92), is a fairly brief and not especially informative account of beliefs and rituals. On the other hand, Chapter 12, "Other Uru Groups" (pp. 193-207), is a quite useful survey of a number of small, dispersed groups which are evidently of Uru descent, although most are now highly mixed and acculturated. Among the more interesting and least known of these groups are the Morato of Lake Poopó.

Chapter 13, "The Chipaya" (pp. 209-34), is a rare and valuable first-hand report on this group, the first substantial account to appear since Métraux's work in the early 1930s (see this file, category 116, source 2). Contrary to Métraux's expectations, the Chipaya have succeeded in maintaining themselves as a

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distinct ethnic group. In fact, their community is flourishing and the population increasing - Vellard estimated a population of between 400 and 500 in the early 1950s.

The two final chapters, Chapter 14, "Character and Evolution of the Uru" (pp. 233-41), and Chapter 15, "The Uru Are Nevertheless Men" (pp. 234-47), are concerned first, with general attitudes and emotional characteristics, and second, with contemporary developments and trends in the Uru way of life.

In conclusion, one may say that although this work falls far short of meeting modern ethnographic standards, it is still a useful and most worthwhile book which contains much of what we will ever know about a fascinating and nearly extinct people. /

Surveyed in 1968

Vellard, Jehan. Etudes sur le lac Titicaca. I. Contribution à l'étude des Indiens Uru ou Kot'suña. Note IV /Studies About Lake Titicaca. I. Contribution to a Study of the Uru or Kot'suñ Indians. Note IV/. Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines, Vol. 3, pp. 3-39. Paris-Lima, 1951.

Yale: Peru A65p In73t 1-4.

/This article is preceded, on pp. 1-2, by a short statement describing the broad research project on the Lake Titicaca region which has been directed by Dr. Vellard. Participating institutions and personnel are noted, as well as research dates. From the dates we may infer that Vellard worked among the Uru at various times during the years 1938, 1940-43, and 1948-51. The article itself consists mainly of a continuation of the vocabulary list started in his 1950 article (q.v., this file, category 112). Again the vocabulary is arranged topically, but this time mostly under grammatical categories such as adjectives and pronouns. A few substantive categories are of particular interest, as for instance the sections on social life, numbers, colors, the terminology of politeness, and medical terms. An introductory note discusses the author's researches in 1951 at Iru Itu and the Bay of Puno. At this time color films were made of the Uru at these two locales./

Surveyed in 1966.

Reference--1 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF34 Uro SF24
Aeroapqui

Introduction

It was solely with the intention of obtaining some elements of comparison for my Cayuya dictionary that I, in the company of Professor A. Ponansky, made a one week visit to the Uro of the Desaguadero in June, 1931. These Indians live in the village of Aeroapqui, on the right bank of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from the Bolivian port of Carapi. There are only a handful of them, 60 at the very most. Even taking into account those who were absent and the small agglomerations spread throughout the region, I seriously doubt whether the remaining Uro number a hundred. It was, therefore, imperative to record their language. The case of the Uro is typical of the rudimentary and anarchic state of South American ethnography. For a long time these Indians have been considered one of the most interesting ethnic elements of the Andean region. Nevertheless, no one has thought of living among them and devoting a serious and methodical study to them. The excellent monograph of Dr. Bingo (1) and Mr. de Créqui

(Ref continues on p 2)

1. Créqui Montfort (C. de) and Rivet (P.). "La langue uro ou pukina /The Uro or Pukina Language/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, new series, Vol. XVII (1925), pp. 211-264; Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 111-190; Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 97-116. To the texts assembled in this article the following must be added: McCulloch McBride (C.). "The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia." American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 5. New York, 1931, p. 27. "There are the Uro that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains

/Cont./

Lake Titicaca. Subsisting chiefly by hunting and fishing, they ply their reed boats (balsas) among the wide-extended swamps that here border the river. Their houses are of rude construction, being built of mud and thatched with straw or totora, the bulrush from which their boats are made. They appear to be among the oldest occupants of the plateau.... They enter any discussion of land tenure only in a negative sense, as they are almost entirely landless. They practice little if any agriculture, though some of them now own small herds of cattle and llamas. They form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them." /Cited in English./

Ogilvie (Alan G.). Geography of the Central Andes. A Handbook to accompany the La Paz Sheet of the Map of Hispanic America on the Million Scale. (Published by the American Geographical Society of New York, 1922). Beneath a photograph presenting an Uro woman crushing some quinua (Fig. 30), these lines appear: "Uru Indian woman grinding quinoa in a sheepskin. The house is of mud with a thatch of reeds secured by grass ropes to pegs in the walls. The sack contains llama dung for fuel. The water jar is made of clay dug from a bank near-by." /Cited in English./

After these lines had been written, Mr. A. Posnansky published a study on the

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1:Méraux--3 E-5 (1931) 1935 9F24 Uru 9F24
Ancoaqui

/75 cont./

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114

Uro entitled: "Los Uros o Uchumi /The Uru or Uchumi/." Actas y trabajos cientificos del XXV° Congreso internacional de Americanistas (La Plata, 1932). Vol. I. Buenos Aires, 1934, pp. 284-300. This work, very extensive, contains only a small amount of really scientific information on the Uro. It is more an attempt to bring some ethnographic theories into harmony with somewhat romantic archaeological reconstructions. One of the most serious dangers of this article is that it contains some precise details—notably on fishing among the Uro—which are mixed with interpretations and speculations which the author presents as facts noted in the field. Everything in this article concerning the present religion of the Uro is in the realm of fantasy.

In 1933 my friend Mr. E. Palavecino, of the Museum of Natural History in Buenos Aires, made a visit to the Uro on my advice. Some of his observations have been published in the Sunday, December 3, 1933 number of La Prensa under the following title: "Los Indios Uros de Iruito / The Uro Indians of Iruito/."

119 Montes itself, in which all the importance /75/ of the Uro problem is underlined, was not a sufficient factor to stimulate the scholars who during recent years have traversed Bolivia to give the Uro the attention they deserve. Such negligence is even more unpardonable in view of the fact that the geographical location

/84 cont./

384 the Uro are obliged to keep up with an increasing demand. They have veritable maritime shipyards on the steep bank of the Desaguadero, where constant activity reigns (Pl. IV, A /see p. 24/).

384 Each family owns a portion of the bank, whose limits are marked 423 by small walls. Within these enclosures they keep the totora from 424 which the balsas are made. This plant (Cyperaceae, of the genus Scirpus) (Scirpus totora, Kunth.) forms actual fields in the swamps which line the Titicaca. The Indians come to cut it as they need it. "Every family that owns a field near the shore considers itself the owner of a certain expanse of these totoras. It is the only family to exploit this area, and its rights are respected by the neighbors (1)."

[p. 3]

1. Parodi (Lorenzo R.). "Las balsas usadas por los aymaras en el lago Titicaca /The Balsas Used by the Aymaras on Lake Titicaca/." Physis. Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales. Vol. XI (Buenos Aires, 1932). pp. 161-169.

384 It is a picturesque spectacle to see the Indians who went in 424 search of totora return; the cut stalks have been tied together into huge bundles which are allowed to float like a train of wood often being secured to the rear of the balsa (Pl. III, A /see p. 23/).

The totora can be used only when it is dry. Hence, after having gathered it the Indians' first concern is to spread it out in their enclosures. They also make faggots out of it by standing the stalks upright to expose them to the wind and sun. It is only when it has lost all dampness that the totora can be used to construct balsas. Its thickness is thereby diminished, an immediate result prevented, and, above all, the possibility that the bundles which constitute the balsa might disintegrate because of a loss in volume is avoided.

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Aymaqui

a cataclysm which accompanied all of harmony with the conceptions of the Uru. This explains why they speak a different language than the other Indians. Tiahuanaco and its church existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky the church and Tiahuanaco endured." The vestiges of the old myth which Betanzos (1) has preserved for us are recognizable here.

1. Betanzos (Juan Diez de). "Historia de los Incas y Conquista del Peru /History of the Incas and the Conquest of Peru/." Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru. (Lima, 1924). Vol. 8. second series, pp. 82-83.

Tuto pa'a ch'atiya tempo tuto runakunaqa'ti
Former times former times people have remained

tiwanakuski ch'ullqiri "runaraju" kan chaynatapacha'ti
people of the others "runaraju" they died on have remained

mayni ti Tuto runaqa'ti.
they this language on have.

Digression. In digression and nature the Uru are as unlike as the Aymara. A stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold and slightly hostile reception. To this ill-will is added the unhealthy impurity shown by the Aymara and the Bolivians, besides the dignity and that brightness of spirit which makes the Indian highlander frankly sympathetic. I am not, however, unaware of the causes of the mental atrophy of the Bolivian Indian; the Uru have not escaped the humiliation and exploitation of their Spanish masters, nor that of their ever

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Carnegie
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111

The Uto-Aztecan (1) Indians of Carnegie

113 1. One will find in Cesare Nicolini (C... de) and Rivet (P.). "La langue uto de puinia / The Uto or Puinia Language." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. New Series. Vol. XVII. 1925. pp. 211-244; Vol. XVIII. 1926. pp. 111-199; Vol. XIX. 1927. pp. 97-114) the complete bibliography and excerpts from all the publications on the Uto-Aztecan which appeared up to 1927. I shall mention here only the articles published after that date in which some information on this curious tribe may be obtained. Beck (Fritz). "Die wenig bekannten Indianerstämme des nordwestlichen Nordmexiko. / A little-known Indian Tribe of the Northern Altiplano." (Zeitschr. für Ethn. Bd. 1929. pp. 12-13 und 54-lich. Text) (Karl). "An expedition to the central Andes 1924 to 1928." (Geographical Review published by the American Geographical Society of New York. April 1929. pp. 274-287). I have made known some of the results of my expedition in various popular articles a list of which follows: Nicolini (Alfredo). "Los Chiripas constituyen un pueblo de antiguo arte? Hacia el fin de los indígenas del Amazonas del altiplano / The Chiripa Caciques a

[illegible]-2 E-4 (1930-1951) 1935, [illegible] SF24 Uru SF24
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[illegible]

People of Ancient Ethnic Date in One of the Most Desolate Regions of the Altiplano/" (La Prensa, Oruro, March 13 and 14, 1935); Id.: "Un manojo perdido. La vida de los Chipayas en Carangas /A Lost World. The Life of the Chipayas of Carangas/" (Rel. Year., No. 3, Buenos Aires, 1935, pp. 98-131); Id.: "Un mundo extra américa pre-histórica en el altiplano Boliviano/ /A Center of Prehistoric America in the Bolivian Altiplano/ (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, August 8, 1931); Id.: "[illegible] Chipayaindianerna på Bolivias högslätt /From a Lost World. the Chipaya Indians on Bolivia's Altiplano/" (Göteborgs [illegible], Saturday, October 3, 1931, pp. 1and 7); Id.: "El Instituto de etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán /The Institute of Ethnology at the National University of Tucuman/" (La Nación, Buenos Aires, Saturday, July 8, 1933, p. 8); Id.: "Chipaya-indianerna. En fotoguide från en [illegible] kultur /The Chipaya Indians. A Remnant from a Past Andean Culture/" (Ymer, Stockholm, 1932, Vol. 2 and 3, pp. 233-272)

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The Tribe and Its Environment

[31] [101] Location of the Cipaya. The Cipaya Indians still make up today a small, semi-independent tribe situated in the southern part of Carangas Province in Oruro Department (Bolivia) (Map 1). The area of their territory is approximately 100 square kilometers (1).

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1. In order to determine the exact location of the Cipaya and to guide myself during my trips in Carangas Province, I used the following maps: Mapa topográfico de la Altiplanicie central de Bolivia, trabajado en los años 1867 para el proyecto de canalización y ferrocarril a la costa del Océano Pacífico /Topographic map of the central Altiplano of Bolivia, made in the years /sic/ 1867 for the project to build a canal and railroad to the coast of the Pacific Ocean/, by Hugo Reck; Part of the bolivian Table land from a Trigonometrical Survey executed for the National Government in 1892 by J.B. Minchin; Régions des hauts-plateaux de l'Amérique du Sud (Bolivie, Argentine, Chili, Pérou) parcourues par la mission française /Regions of the altiplano of South America (Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Peru) traversed by the French mission/ (G. de Créqui Montfort and E. Sénéchal de la Grange, 1903). Map drawn by

2:566trans--7 E-S (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Chipaya

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●113 V. Hoot, after the work of members of the mission, original unpublished sources, and the most recent documents, on a scale of 1/750,000; Mapa de la red de caminos del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Map of the network of roads in Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1924); Mapa telegráfico y de vialidad del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Telegraphic map and map of accessibility of Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1930).

133 361 The village of Chipaya properly so called is located about 20 kilometers north of the Coipasa salt marshes and about 20 kilometers from Cerro Camacho, the first spur of the Cordilleras to the west. To the east Chipaya is separated by more than 100 kilometers from the marshy banks of the Poopó. The village does not stand on the banks of the Barras River as Chipaya is shown on the map of the Crégui-Montfort Mission, the best that we have for the Bolivian Altiplano. The Lauca River, which flows to the west, is 10 to 12 kilometers away from it. Since all the maps that I have seen show the Barras River flowing between the Lauca and the village of Chipaya, I undertook several trips from different sides to verify this. Northeast of Chipaya, about seven kilometers away, I found the bed of a dried-up river, which perhaps corresponds to the course of the Barras River as it is drawn on some maps. This river must have taken another direction today, for having crossed it at the same time as the height of the village of Kala, a two-days' trip to the north, I was able to ascertain that it was possibly filled with water.

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/114 cont./

116 possibly filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map, undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and 19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Ucara, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Crégui Montfort Mission as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Chipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

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1. Bacarreza (Zenón). "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor..... comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor.... commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

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Chipaya

/115 cont./

and physical study of Carangas Province in Oruro Department/." Boletín de la Oficina Nacional de estadística, Nos. 61, 62, 63, 3rd trimester 1910. La Paz, 1910. pp. 477-480. Buck ("Ein wenig bekannter Indianerstamm des bolivianischen Hochlandes /A little-known Indian tribe of the Bolivian Altiplano/." p. 55) estimates the population of Chipaya at 800 individuals in 1929! This figure is, of course, the greatest fantasy.

government in 1910, estimates the population of Chipaya at 385 individuals in 77 families. Although the first of these two figures seems a little exaggerated to me, the second appears exact. It may even be considered official as it was drawn from the number of "comuneros," i.e. the heads of families paying an annual tribute of 3 bolivianos (the Chipaya told me 2.40 bolivianos). According to my own census there would be about 100 households in Chipaya. As I do not know the principle which guided the authorities in their division of fiscal charges, I cannot decide how exact either of these last two figures is. Uhle, who was the first writer to mention the existence of the Chipaya, estimated their

2. Uhle (Max). "Ueber seine Reisen in Bolivia /On His Trips in Bolivia/." Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XXI. 1894. pp. 328-332.

/328 cont./

addressed soely to her person. The homage rendered her is associated with the festivals celebrated in honor of demons, sacred stones (samiri), and San Jerónimo.

It is for the Pača-mama that candies are put in the hollow at the foot of the effigy of the demon "to sweeten her," and for her also plants thrust into a lump of tallow are buried and animals molded in tallow offered, no doubt, to the demons.

The mal'ku. The Aymara word mal'ku, which in Bertonio's dictionary (1) is translated "chief," "señor de Vassallos /lord of

1. Bertonio (F. Ludovico).
Vocabulario de la lengua aymará
/Vocabulary of The Aymara
Language/ (Reissued by F. Platzmann).
Second part. Leipzig, 1879. p. 220.

vassals/," has a more extended meaning today and expresses a notion of a religious order. In the Aymara texts which constitute the oral ritual of the Čipaya, the qualifier or title of mal'ku is bestowed upon the Earth-mother, the Lauca River, certain mountain peaks, and the church tower. This same word is joined to diverse proper names borne by some curious monuments that the Čipaya hold in great veneration. These are cones of earth from 1.20 to 1.70 meters high, nine of which stand around the village within a radius of five to 15 kilometers. They are constructed like the Čipaya houses of champas, i.e. clods cut out of the soil and placed in such a way as to form a compact mass which is covered with a whitish coating (Pl. XI, A /see p. 132/). All these monuments have a small cellar at their base carefully closed with a plug of earth; the Indians bury the offerings they make to the demon of the place there. On one of the cones a niche oriented toward the east replaced /329/ the cellar. These monuments are sometimes supported by an oval platform about one meter high. Beside the cone, which occupies the central part of the platform,

2:Métraux--41 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya
Modern Quechua SE24

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/332 cont./

the "mallkos or mummies of their pagan ancestors." Before repairing the irrigation canals "the people go to the communal house where the officials are in order to learn from their mouths the prognostications transmitted by the mallkos." "Near the lagoon of Pokle there is a large, rounded rock, which they call the Mallko of the potato. The officials and the old men dance around this rock, chanting in Keshwa /Quechua/." In the first examples the word mal'ku seems to be synonymous with malqui, bodies of ancestors. "After the stone Huacas," Arriaga (2) tells us, "their greatest object

2. Arriaga. Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru /Extirpation of the Idolatry of Peru/. p. 14.

of veneration and adoration are the malquis, which are called Munaos on the plain; these are the bones or the entire bodies of pagan ancestors, whom they call sons of Huacas; they keep them in the fields in secluded places and in the Machay, which are their ancient tombs; sometimes they adorn them with very precious tunics and with plumes of various colors or with cumbis." As at Huarochirí mallko is, it appears, the native name for mummies; it may be assumed that it is a dialectal form of the word malqui, which has the same meaning. As for the mallko rock, it is identical with the ancient konopa and comes close to our sacred cones and the samiri which we will discuss later. It is evident that in this case the word mallko corresponds fairly exactly with its Aymara and Čipaya homonym.

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Rigoberto Paredes' book (3) on religious survivals in Bolivia

3. Paredes (Rigoberto). Mitos, supersticiones y supervivencias populares de Bolivia /Bolivian Myths, Superstitions, and Popular Survivals/. La Paz, 1920, pp. 53-56.

/332 cont./

*1978 191 contains several allusions to mai'ku, which the author confused with the Wasa mai'ku which was under consideration above. "If the Indians slaughter a sheep, a llama, or an ox, they sprinkle the fronton, or the triangular extremity of the main wall of their house, in homage to the mai'ku, who, being assured that he has not been forgotten, favors this hearth in thanks for the offering." Here it is a question of the worship of the household mai'ku, which I have already mentioned. The same folklorist describes some ceremonies performed in honor of a mai'ku, i.e., a doll which the Indians attach to the end of a pole and to which they make blood sacrifices. "This effigy can sometimes be a decorated doll /333/ and at other times a carved stone, a plaster image, or a stick wrapped in colored rags."

*1978 194 In contrast to the word mai'ku itself, the idea which it expresses is familiar to all those who have been occupied with the ethnography of ancient Peru. I could give many examples to demonstrate that the Čipaya mai'ku are nothing other than huaca, whose nature, form, and number were so often mentioned by the old chroniclers. As their descriptions have been compiled by numerous modern authors dealing with Peruvian religion, I think it unnecessary to cite in my turn these well-known passages (1).

[113]

1. See among others Rjon y Caamaño (J). La religión del Imperio de los Incas /The Religion of the Inca Empire/. Vol. I. "Los fundamentos del culto. Huacas, conopas, apachitas, urcos, huancas, machais /The Foundations of the Cult. Huacas, Conopas, Apachitas, Urcos, Huancas, Machais/." Quito, 1949; Latcham (Ricardo E.). Las creencias religiosas de los antiquos Peruanos /The Religious Beliefs of the Ancient Peruvians/. Santiago, Chile, 1929, pp. 51-55.

2:Métraux--55 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga--
Chipaya

*796 /341 cont./ in Paredes 2) The pages which he quotes To
554 1. Mitos, supersticiones y supervivencias, etc., p. 176-186.

the alferez's to realize what the rank of alferez means to an Indian or Bolivian cholo. The pointless glory of bearing this title for one day generally brings the ruin of the hero of the festival with it.
*796 This expense is so crushing that in order to meet it the alferez are
554 often obliged to have recourse to their relatives or friends for help.
426 This consists of small gifts, and those who give them are called ayni. The debt which is contracted in these circumstances is, Paredes tells us (2), sacred, and one cannot fail to discharge it.

2. Ibid., p. 162.

*796 During the Chipaya festivals I have actually seen Indians who came
431 to offer the alferez either eggs, sheaves of straw, coca, or alcohol. These little gifts were most welcome and accepted with gratitude by the alferez, whose resources had been singularly strained by the
*796 world-wide crisis. Dr. Rivet (3) observed customs in Ecuador
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● [113]

3. Rivet (Paul), "Étude sur les Indiens de la région de Riobamba /Study on the Indians of the Riobamba Region/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Paris, New Series, Vol. I, No. 1, 1903, p. 76.

identical with those described here, the only difference being that in that land the alferez bears the name of prioste. "The Indians have a strong desire to give festivals which will eclipse all previous ones. This folly pushes some unfortunates to work a whole year, denying themselves stubbornly all but the strictly necessary, /342/ even on Sundays (strange contradiction). Then the festival arrives.

2:Mbraus--122 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF26 Uru SF26
Caranqui-
Ch. Jaya

/388 cont./

The fortune-teller is satisfied to chew the leaves[1] with which he has been provided for his trouble.

Magical treatment of illness.

The medical science of the Indians of the Andean altiplano is very extensive. To be convinced of this one need only go inspect the sector of any native market whatsoever occupied by the chiflas, or vendors of medicinal plants. The abundance of vegetable, animal, and mineral products, carefully sorted out in small bales, which they offer is extraordinary and deserves a long, methodical enumeration. If one considers that each of these substances, in addition to its special properties, also enters in the composition of anomalous and varied mixtures, one will have an idea of the number of medical recipes which the Indians of the altiplano have at their disposal. To tell the truth, many of the [113] treatments recommended by the yatiri are strictly magical in nature; a number of the medicaments which they prescribe, however, are recommendable for their real and effective qualities. The Institute of Ethnology at the University of Tucumán possesses a very complete collection of these products and it is hoped that a study of them will some day be carried out by a pharmacist who is also a botanist. There can be no doubt that such an investigation, already begun by Nordenskiöld (1), has more than one

[113]

1. Nordenskiöld (Erland). "Recettes magiques médicales du Pérou et de la Bolivie /Magical Medical Recipes of Peru and Bolivia/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Paris. New Series. Vol. IV. 1907. pp. 153-174.

surprise in store and /389/ will open new perspectives on the medical knowledge of the Indians of Bolivia.

[i.e., coca leaves--Analyst]

2/Mdrass--160 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Caranga:-
Cipaya

/136 cont./

the summit. This incline need only be accentuated to create the conical hut of the second type entirely made of clods.

The wall facings are plastered on the outside and inside with a thin layer of earth which conceals the irregularities of the surface.

The door. The opening (*ñan*) of the door (*t'aoke*) which is always framed with a white band is generally larger below than above and its angles are rounded. It does not open at ground level but on a threshold about 30 centimeters high. The door itself is situated inside the habitation. It is made of laths of Cereus joined by leather thongs and by crosspieces, and is articulated by means of two pivots, one of which, the upper one, is stuck into a piece of perforated wood (Fig. 1, C-D *here p. 142/*).

Figure 1 $\frac{3}{6}$ E to G gives an idea of the ingenious peg lock of the Cipaya and its functioning. It is carved of Cereus wood and is of a type identical with that of the Aymara, who copied it from the old rural Spanish locks (1).

1. On this subject see Cessac (A., 1911). "Études d'ethnographie sud-américaine /Studies of South American Ethnography/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. New Series. Vol. XI, 1914. pp. 121-133.

The roof. The straw dome (*p'ensa*) which covers the Cipaya hut of the first type is complicated and ingenious in construction and certainly represents the most delicate work which these natives undertake. When the walls of the hut are two meters above ground, two rows of clods larger than the others and with perpendicular joints are placed on top. The upper ones are provided with orifices intended to receive the ends of the arches which support the straw cupola. The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots

[See pp 142-143 -- ed/sf]

/158 cont./

252 reproduced here (Fig. 2, G /see p. 150/). These stoves are well
352 contained; they are always to the right of the entry against the wall.
252 They are provided with holes for the pots and with a compartment
352 where the stores of taquia, i.e., of dried excrement, are kept. As
372 this substance is the chief fuel on the altiplano and has been through-
237 out time, the use of these stoves, an equivalent of which exists in no other region of South America, is self-explanatory. This dried excrement burns with difficulty on an open fire, and like wood (sup) it is too rare to allow the least heat which emanates from it to
252 be lost. It is hence because of the material and from consideration:
352 of economy that the Indians of the altiplano arrived at the idea of
175 constructing these stoves, which are certainly very old since Cobo (1)

● [113]

1. Cobo (Bernabé), Historia del nuevo mundo /History of the New World/, for... of the Society of Jesus, published for the first time with notes and other illustrations by D. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. Seville, 1893. "In all the houses, however small they may be, there is its cook stove behind the door, which is made of a small clay stove no higher than a handbreadth, closed on all sides, with a small mouth through which they feed the fire, and in the upper part, two or three round holes, where they set the pots. With this they use very little fuel, because they never put in more than two small sticks by the ends, and as they are being burned they are fed in, so that there is more fuel used in one of our cook stoves than in 20 stoves of the Indians."

2:Métraux--151 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SI'24 Uru SI'24
Carangas - Chipaya Aymara SI'5

/164 cont./

1. Posnansky (Ing. Arthur), Los Chipayas de Carangas /The Čipaya of Carangas/, La Paz, Bolivia, 1918, p. 6; La lengua "Chipaya" (Carangas, Bolivia) /The "Čipaya" language (Carangas, Bolivia)/. La Paz, 1915, p. 2; "Nuevas investigaciones en Carangas (Bolivia) /New investigations in Carangas (Bolivia)/," Congrès international des Américanistes: Record of the XXI Session, Part II, held at Göteborg in 1924. Göteborg, 1925, p. 91.

the principal food of the Čipaya. In reality, during my entire stay I never saw a Čipaya catch one, and when I asked them to get a few specimens for me, they demanded an exorbitant price from me, claiming the difficulty of this hunt. Toxo are rare in the territory properly called Chipaya; they are found only at a certain distance from the grassy zone behind the dunes. It is there that the Aymara come /165/ to capture them. Their method, as far as I can understand it from the explanations which have been given to me, is the following: they try to dislodge the toxo from the underground corridors where it stays by opening them with a blow from a shovel; then when it comes out they pursue it and beat it to death. In the plains undermined by the toxo, one can see the earth completely worked over by the hunters.

The Čipaya easily get hold of vicuñas by setting their dogs, swift and bloodthirsty beasts, on them. They themselves succeed in knocking down these animals with bolas, or throwing stones. This same weapon permits them to bring down water birds.

The fish to be found in the small ponds of the Chipaya plain are too miniscule for the word fishing to be used in connection with them. It is more as a pastime than for food that the Čipaya amuse

[i.e., The TOXO -- Analyst]

2Méveaux--139 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 M126 Uni M126
Caraguay-
Cajatambo

291 /171 cont./

1. The specimen at the University of Tucumán is 1 meter long and 87 cm. wide.

(yahol'a) of pre-Columbian times still competes with the poncho. This fact thus comes to the support of Monnell's thesis (2), which

[113]

2. Monnell, Gösta. "Le vrai poncho, son origine post-colombienne /The True Poncho, Its Post-Columbian Origin/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Vol. XVII. 1925; Dress and Ornaments in Ancient Peru. Göteborg, 1929. pp. 237-244.

sees the poncho as a practically modern culture trait, at least for
[394] Peru. The Cipaya cloak is made of two strips of material sewn to-
291 gether and bound with piping. It is point for point the ancient
191 Aymara llacolla of which Cobo (3) has left us a description. In the

[113]

3. Cobo (Bernabé). Historia del nuevo mundo (Published for the first time with notes and commentaries by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada). Seville, 1893. Vol. IV, p. 160: "The cloak takes less work: they make it from two pieces, with a seam in the middle, two varas and a cuarta long, and a vara and three cuarta wide; it ends with four points or corners, like a woolen blanket /manta/ or coverlet, and because of

D.Mexico--169 E-5 (1930-1931) 1931, 1936 1926 Uru 1926
Chipaya

/178 cont./

1. Boman (Eric von), Archéologique researches on the Sources of Argentine and Bolivia in 1901-1907. Stockholm, 1906. Pl. III. Fig. 1.

Like the latter, it is a rather crude imitation of old Spanish models. In Chipaya it was always a man who used this loom, while those of the native type were strictly reserved for the women. The designs of the cloth produced on these treadle looms very much recall those of our mills: those with stripes, chevrons, and squares and of a dark color oscillating between grey, black, or brown. These materials are only used for cut garments, or European in origin, such as pants and jackets.

/179/ The textile art of the Čipaya is fairly poor, inferior even to that of the Uro of Ancoraqui. We have already seen that the ornamentation of the different pieces of their national costume is limited to white borders or stripes of two or three colors. Most of their coca bags are hardly more varied in their decoration with the exception of a few rather small ones in bright colors which are a faithful imitation of the coca sacks which are widespread among the Aymara. The few rare Čipaya fabrics which have designs are themselves also nothing but bad copies of current Aymara models. The lack of initiative and experience of the Čipaya women is so great in this respect that they will hardly weave pieces of material with such a decoration however uncomplicated unless the latter have been begun in a neighboring Aymara village. They continue them exactly as a little girl who has been made a part of the work. These lessons in weaving given to the Čipaya women by their neighbors of a different race is a peculiar example of the way in which cultural exchanges between tribes can come about. I must add that the fabrics, the weaving of which the Aymara entrust to the Čipaya women do not remain the property of the latter, who work on them only as laborers and badly paid ones at that.

Smithsonian--471 E-5 (1890-1891) 1891, 1908 SFSN Uns SFSN

Cayapa
Chipaya

(180 cards)

Musical Instruments

The musical instruments that I got among the Cipaya have been the subject of a detailed monograph by Mr. Izikowitz, assistant in the Museum of Göteborg and an outstanding specialist in that field. I am allowing myself to refer the reader to this work (1), as

1. Izikowitz (K. G.). "Les instruments de musique des Indiens Chipaya /The musical instruments of the Chipaya Indians/." Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán. Vol. II, entry 2a., 1938.

he will find only a brief summary of it here.

Membranophones. There is not one family in Chipaya which does not have at least one drum. This instrument, very common in the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, in Chipaya presents the peculiarity of having a square shape (Fig. 8, a [see p. 173]). It is made up of a wooden frame whose sides, made of small boards nailed together with pegs, are about 30 centimeters long and six to seven centimeters high. This skeleton is covered on its two faces with sheep or llama skin stretched by means of ligatures passed in a zigzag across the holes in the membrane. Along the latter there has been fastened a drum cord, or a string holding a splinter of wood which hits the membrane. They play the drum by holding its handle in the left hand and beating it with a single drumstick, the enlargement at the end of which is covered with rags.

I was able to acquire a round drum in Cipaya (Fig. 8, b). The mounting is formed by a piece of flexible wood bent into a ring, with the ends sewn together by means of leather thongs. This specimen measures 37 cm. in diameter and nine cm. in height.

E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uro SF24
Cayanga:-
Chipaya

/(83 cont./

In La Musique des Incas /The Music of the Incas/, [illegible] d'Harcourt repeoduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

While examining the contents of one of the huts that the Chipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 8, C /see p. 173/). The block inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to now are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkul'u, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pinkul'u, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The Chipaya pinkul'u are identical and without doubt come from some Bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The tola flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these prized instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-Chipaya dialect, tëks, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used for /186/ secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

While there are very few Chipaya who know how to play the panpipe, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The players accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may also play a little melody from time to time while seated.

Smithsonian--182 E-5 (1930-1931) 1931, 1932 SF26 Live 0F26

Cayapas-
Chachi

/189 cont./

after mass on Palm Sunday)."
It is not impossible that the
palm /palmier/ wood of the
Cupoja corresponds to these "palms"
of the Quichua. Cf. Ordóñez
(Dr. Pastor). "Las Varayocc."
Revista Universitaria. Cuzco,
eighth year, No. 29, September,
1919, p. 43.

guardians of the house are worshiped with libations and fumigations. They are also indispensable accessories for the magicians who always plant them before themselves when they are going to make a prayer or a sacrifice to the demons. One must also not forget among the objects used in worship the baked clay censers which are shaped like a footed cup, and the small cupules for libations.

Division of Labor

	Men	Women	
House-building	+	-	
Straw rope	-	-	
Spinning	+	+	
Weaving	-	-	
Weaving with treadle loom	+	-	
Cooking	-	+	
Live-stock care	+	-	(preferably the children)
Cheese	-	+	
Milking of the sheep	-	+	
Shearing of the sheep	+	-	
Rope-making	+	-	

/192 cont./

seems inexplicable that precisely the funerary towers would have survived, whereas the towers themselves have disappeared without leaving a trace. How could it happen that a people capable of building such remarkable and lasting buildings as the chullpas would not have left a single village behind? Chipaya gives us the key to the problem: the ancient Aymara huts were undoubtedly made of clods, a perishable substance which time has made disappear down to the last vestige. Although the Cipaya have occupied their present habitat since remote times, one cannot find any ancient ruin among them. It is enough that a hut be abandoned for there to be nothing left of it at the end of a few years.

One word more on the distribution of the round hut: this form was formerly much more widespread in the western part of South America than it is in our day. The Relaciones geográficas (1)

1. Azuay Province. Vol. I. p. 89; Huamanga Province (San Juan de la Frontera). Vol. I. p. 97; Repartimiento /fief/ of Atunsaya. Vol. I. p. 176; Collao. Vol. II. p. 82; Corregimiento /district/ of Otavalo (Equator). Vol. III. p. 116; District of Cuenca (Equator). Vol. III. pp. 164 and 176; Region of Quito. Vol. III. p. 94; Region of Chuquimayo. Vol. IV. p. 11; etc., etc.

makes allusions all the time to round houses in regions where they no longer exist.

/193/ The Quichua Indians of Cochabamba in the middle of the last century still had round huts made entirely of earth and stone with dome-shaped roofing. One of them has been reproduced and described by Herndon and Gibbon (1): "The ancient habitations

DAMérica--IHI E-5 (1870-1952) 1935, 1936 MFin Uru MFin
Cayapa-Cáspicara
Ayora, Luis

/the cont./

the part where the sun appears, without any tower having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and sins were long and square and the wood was brought from the Tingas." /Cited in Spanish./

On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Marcoll, Dress and ornament, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

The ayllus of the Cipaya explain the formation of the small social units also called ayllus, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayl'u, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Cipaya to fertilize their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

Near Icara, in the chullpares, I found bolas coiled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 157/).

[illegible]

[illegible]

Cayapa

[illegible]

Clothing. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian character of the shirt (ca) worn by the Cayapa.[1] This garment was to some extent the national costume of all the Andean Indians, and their neighbors in warmer regions adopted it under their influence. On the slopes of the Upper Amazon (Bracamoros) are, with the Cayapa, the last Indians who still wear this tunic, whose Spanish name (camiseta) constantly recurs in the answers of the first questions. Among the Ura the ca has been more and more supplanted by a simple jacket, and most of the men of this tribe do not have one any more or if they do, no longer think of wearing it. Within the confines of the Peruvian empire the camiseta is still in use among the Campa of Peru and, for a short time longer, among the Cinguano. The Museum of Ethnography of the Trocadéro in Paris has a splendid blue cotton tunic which comes from the latter tribe (1).

1. On the subject of the tunic, cf. Means, Peru and Ornaments, pp. 193-201; for the cape, ibid., pp. 260-262.

I have already had occasion to speak of the pre-Columbian origin of the cape and of its progressive disappearance provoked by the introduction of the poncho in the post-Columbian period. The wearing of the cape has been retained up to our day in certain remote regions of the Peruvian Sierra (2).

2. Alvarez (Angélica). "Anderocoschua." Revista Universitaria, Cuzco, 15th year, No. 47, 1925, p. 19. — Tabar Palacio (Luis). "El Ayllu de Oquenos (Paucartambo), Revista de la Universidad del Cuzco, Cuzco, 11th year, No. 38, 1922, p. 91.

Smithsonian—IBE E-6 (1000-931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas
Chipaya

[illegible] of the originate division of the hair on the skull (1)."

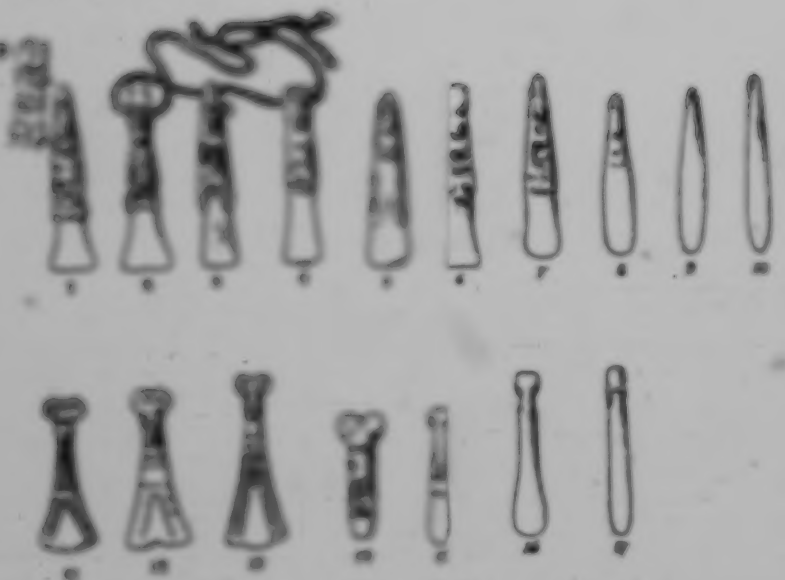

Fig. 16. – Evolution of the laurake from the original, entirely anthropomorphic prototype up to the modern, stylized forms. Each row represents a particular evolution. The laurake Nos. 8 to 14 and 15 to 17 are modern and come from Chipaya; the others were found in the excavations made in Tiahuanaco.

1. Alvarez (Angélica). "Arqueología." Revista Universitaria. Cuzco. 15th year. No. 47. 1925, p. 18.

Pendants identical to the Čipaya laurake have been found in great number on the shores of Lake Titicaca in the Tiahuanaco [i.e., a small pendant depicting a female personage --Ananos]

2:Méxaco--201 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Dre SF24
Caracas—
Chipaya

/200 cont./

it was indispensable to the Quechua women to hold back their flowing hair.

/201/ The spangling was a method of ornamentation which must formerly have been widely diffused on the altiplano, as the following passage from Cobo bears witness (1): "The cloth that they

1. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, p. 206.

embroidered with Chaquira was held to be the most precious of all. This Chaquira were very fine little beads of gold and silver, and it was a wondrous thing to see how it was made; for the whole piece was decorated with these little beads, without the thread showing, in the manner of a very close netting." /Cited in Spanish./ Archaeology amply confirms the assertion of the chronicler.

The distribution of the root brush has been made by Nordenskiöld (2).

2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), "Analyse ethno-géographique de la culture matérielle de deux tribus du Gran Chaco /Ethno-geographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Tribes of the Gran Chaco/," Études d'ethnographie comparée, I, Paris, 1929, pp. 144-146.

This is one of the numerous South American culture traits which have equivalents in the north of this continent. "I have," he said, "hairbrushes from the Mataco, the Choroti, the Ashluslay, and the Tapiete in my collection. These objects are also known among the Araukans /the Araucanians/, the Patagons /Patagonians/, the Peguenche /Pehuenche/, and the Yaghans /Yahgan/. Lehmann

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Caranga:-
Chipaya

/201 cont./

Nitsche gives a drawing of an object from an excavation in the Jujuy puna which probably represents a hairbrush. The hairbrushes of the Chorote, the Ashluslay, and the Matacо are made from the hair of animals. The Tapiete Indians use brushes made either of hair or of roots. They are also rather frequently made with branches or roots. It is interesting to ascertain that Uhle has found some of these hairbrushes in the excavations of very ancient tombs in Arica. He has also discovered some in the excavations, still older, of Pisagua, while in the more recent beds which he attributes to the Tiahuanaco period he has come across combs. The hairbrush is evidently one of the oldest signs of civilization in South America; it is presently more widespread in the southern part of this continent.

I shall complete Nordenskiöld's list by adding the Quichua and Aymara Indians of the altiplano who use both the brush and comb. There is not one stall in Peru or Bolivia where one cannot acquire both of these objects. The Quichua name for brush is saxrama.

The wig is a culture trait which, as archaeology reveals to us, has existed in Peru from remotest times. The Museum of Göteborg has several specimens which come from the Peruvian coast. This false hair is arranged in small plaits and hang from a /202/ string exactly as does the hair in the modern wigs of the Čipaya. Aside from Peru the wig has been discovered among the Jivaro, who perhaps borrowed it from the Andean civilizations, from that of Nazca in particular, with which they have so many features in common. In North America the wig is also no rare culture trait. The Handbook of American Indians assigns the following distribution to it: Crow, Assiniboin, Mandan, Mohave, Yuma, and Pueblo (1).

1. Izikowitz (K. G.), "Une coiffure d'apparat d'Ica /A Festive Headdress from Ica/," Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

/202 cont./

*171 412 Tools. I found near the Corque chullpas a stone hammer exactly like that which the Čipaya use to crush straw for making rope. The Uro of Ancoaqui use for the same purpose a stone hammer *171 114 412 which they fasten to a handle with raw leather. This instrument has a North American look, which struck Professor Nordenskiöld; he considered it a new culture trait which should be added to the list of those which were common to these two parts of the New World. In this respect I do not share my teacher's opinion: I consider the handle of the Uro hammers a recent innovation introduced under the influence of the European hammer. My opinion is based on a very interesting passage from Cobo (2), who relates that the Aymara

2. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. I, p. 251.

Indians employed by the Spanish in the quarries proved entirely incapable of using a hammer with a handle and preferred to return to the simple, round stones which they held in the palm of the hand. It is thus unlikely that the Uro, with a civilization so close to that of the Aymara, would have diverged on this point. In addition, if this culture trait had been really old, I would certainly have found one or two specimens among the Čipaya, who have remained much more primitive than their racial brothers, the Uro of the Desaguadero.

*171 415 [552] The ethnography of the Čipaya perhaps explains the original function of the "circular mortars," so many specimens of which have been found in the Peruvian Sierra (3). These are stone basins with

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3. On the distribution of these basins cf. Rivet (Paul) and Verneau (René), Ethnographie ancienne de l'Équateur /Ancient ethnography of the Equator/, Paris, 1912, p. 185, Pl. 9, Nos. 1, 2, 4, and Lehman (Walter)

/202 cont./

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and Doering (Heinrich),
Kunstgeschichte des alten Peru
/Art History of Old Peru/,
Berlin, 1924, Pls. 99-101.

[533] perpendicular rims, whose external circumference is often decorated with carving in relief. The shape and the stone in which they were often carved (serpentine) seems to exclude the possibility that they could have been used to grind any substance therein. In dimension and appearance they greatly recall the small vessels, also of stone, /203/ in which the Čipaya women husk quinua by treading on it. I am inclined to think that this was also the way in which these so-called circular mortars were also used.

*[171] 286 Weaving. The Čipaya method which consists of attaching the loom to the belt instead of fastening it to two stakes as is [533] customary elsewhere on the altiplano is also a survival of pre-Columbian times (1). On a lecythus of Trujillo, often reproduced,

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1. This custom is not, however, general. Ronald L. Olson, "Old Empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, p. 11, publishes the photograph of a woman of Marcamachay whose loom is fastened to the waist, and he informs us that the weavers of the equatorial altiplano still follow the same method.

where one sees some women in the act of weaving, one notices that they have their loom attached to the waist, passed around the body by means of a band covered with geometric designs (2). This

/203 cont./

*171 286 2. Montell, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 85, p. 185.

method of stretching the warp is certainly an old process antecedent to that which is used today in Peru and Bolivia. Was it general in the pre-Columbian period? This is what I am inclined to believe without daring to assert it. It is very possible that the idea of planting two stakes to receive the posterior part of the material might be an innovation introduced during the centuries which followed the Conquest.

[415] The coca bags which the Čipaya Indians carry during certain festivals are covered with long hairs slipped between the threads of the material. This technique recalls that of the velvet which was known in ancient Peru, where it appeared on caps or headbands coming from the Ica region. In Santiago, Chile I had the occasion to see several headdresses found in the Atacama zone, the material of which was halfway between plush and velvet.

*171 285 Baskery. I do not know any basket of ancient Peru which resembles those of the Čipaya, yet their coiling technique is not only typical for the whole Andean zone but is certainly very old there. This technique, with different modalities, is still observable in Aymara and Uro baskets and, curiously enough, has survived in Tucumán Province in Argentina.

*171 415 Mugs. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian origin of the mugs known under the name kxeru (3). The Indians

● [113] 3. On the pre-Columbian kxeru, cf. A. Posnansky, "Leyendas prehispánicas sobre dos 'kerus' /Pre-Spanish Inscriptions on Two 'kerus'/," Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 12, 1931, pp. 93-180, and

2:Métraux--206 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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[113]

Erland Nordenskiöld, "Origin of the Indian Civilizations in South America," Comparative Ethnographical Studies, 9, Göteborg, 1931.

of Cuzco Department /204/ still preserve several specimens which have been passed from father to son since the Inca period. Like the Čipaya the Quichua surround these pieces with superstitious respect and only use them to make libations of chicha on the occasion of some solemn festival. They believe that chicha drunk from one of these mugs has the virtue of making one drunk more quickly than that which is contained in another vessel (1).

[203]

1. Herrera, p. 1.

Conclusion

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The review we have just made of all the Čipaya culture traits leads us to the following conclusion: there is no object in the present-day industry of these Indians which could be considered as belonging to them alone or as representing a survival of their distant original culture. All their material goods are those which we know from the modern or ancient Aymara, or in a general way from the Indians of the Andean altiplano. In their way of life, that of sedentary shepherds, the Čipaya do not differ from the primitive populations of "las regiones frias /the cold regions/," whom the Spanish chroniclers sometimes distinguish from the "serranos /highlanders/." The interest in the Čipaya tribe does not lie then in the originality of their material culture but rather in the fact that their relative isolation has permitted them to keep many an object and many a technique which have disappeared elsewhere. They concern us insofar as they bear witness to rural Inca life, and not as representatives of an isolated ethnic group.

3:Vellard--27 D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/189 cont./

*539 184 experiences outside of their daily life -- a trip to Chile or life in the barracks.

*539 181 184 [177] [178] Nothing better underlines the different character of these two groups than these texts dictated by themselves. The Chipaya are herders, very much affected by the influence of their Aymara and Keŝwa neighbors, and even by the Creole culture. The Uru, fisher-gatherers, have kept almost up to their extinction, their way of life and relative isolation, which is reflected in their less altered language.

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3:Vellard--28 D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/189 cont./

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/190 cont./

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3:Vellard--50 D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/208 cont./

144 The Uru belong to the old American Lagoa Santa dolichocephalic base with an elevated skull. It is however more difficult to include them in one of Imbelloni's two groups, Láguido or Fuéguido, as /209/ this author has moreover emphasized. If on the one hand, as he indicates, "the Uru faithfully reproduce the Láguido race as far as the neural skull is concerned" because of their pronounced dolichocephaly, the height of the vault of the skull, and the brainpan formed like a roof with marked lophos /crest/, they approach the Fuéguido type, in contrast, through the height of the face, the height of the nose, leptorrhinism, and leptomarphic characteristics foreign to true Láguidos.

These mixed characteristics place the Uru between the true Melanesian Láguidos and the Australoid Fuéguidos.

To what extent could this be due to a possible crossbreeding of an originally Láguido type with elements of another origin, perhaps Fuéguido, as Imbelloni seems inclined to believe? Or is it, on the contrary, a question of a certain variability of the Melanesian-Láguido type?

These problems present themselves not only with regard to the Uru, but also for other dolichocephalic American peoples. They underline the significance of study of the last dolichocephalic groups of the continent before their complete extinction.

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3:Vellard--51 D.E-5 (1938-1946) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/209 cont./

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5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Chipaya

ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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Sfam T-½ (ca. 1954) 1955
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of information: "the Incas refused to teach them the sun-worship, being content to receive a tribute of fish and baskets", and elsewhere it is said that either from a hygienic standpoint, or to occupy their leisure moments, the Incas demanded yearly a reed filled with lice. Threehundred and fifty years later, the situation has remained unchanged. Their secret mythology, which Professor VELLARD has studied, is extremely nebulous and confused. The Uru consider themselves to be the first race of per-humans whose blood is not red. They had long legs, long heads and they never suffered from the cold or damp of the lake. There followed successive creations intermingled with cataclysms, far from the sun's rays, and a deluge; among all the peoples only the Uru, the Kaote-ake, the People of the Lake, survived, but subsequently other races appeared, the Woose-ake, who cultivated the earth and were their enemies, and who vanquished them.

The Uru appear from earliest times to have been an accursed race, an unfortunate people forever oppressed, taking refuge in a form of passive hostility. „They are brute beasts", remarks Father ACOSTA in

[13] [1]) See Review in the corresponding section of this issue.
[2]) See also: VELLARD, JEHAN: *Dieux et Parias des Andes, Les Ouros*. Paris, Editions Emile-Paul, 1954.

[p. 303-C]

8.Pam 7-8 (ca. 1934) 1.000
8734 Uru 8734

more reliable authorities have dated Tiahuanaco about the ninth century; thanks to the recent Cu investigations, we shall doubtless in the near future be able to obtain precise information on the subject. The site appears to date from two periods; the ponderous and primitive monoliths have little relation with the finely sculptured "Gate of the Sun".

It is conceivable that at the period of its construction Tiahuanaco was considerably nearer the lakeside than at the present day, but in many cases lakes have been known to shrink in a remarkably short space of time. The lake of Guascache in upper Argentina, now very small, was within living memory a large navigable extense of water. There is in the church of Tiahuanaco village an early colonial painting showing a boat skirting the edge of the lake beneath willow-trees, with a wooded background; at present there is not a tree in the landscape. It is possible that the climate of the region may have suffered certain modifications. "Practically nothing is known of the Aymara Empire, except that it extended over a considerable territory as far as Northern Argentina and down to Arica on the Peruvian coast. Certain place-names are of Aymara origin and their well-shaped, finely decorated vases are found in Ecuador and as far north as Central America. The conventional geometric style of decoration gives the impression of a people organized and disciplined, but the only important relic of the past is their language, very rich in technical terms, suitable for the expression of abstract ideas, clear and concise, a language which denotes a long evolution towards a high standard of civilization" [1]). When the Incas arrived with their Quechua followers from the region of Urubamba about the eleventh century, they conquered the country, but the Aymara population remained, retaining their language, their customs and their distinctive physique.

We stop for a moment at the village church which

[1]) Beuchat, Louis: *L'Empire Socialiste des Incas*. Paris, 1928.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 309-A]

[p. 309-B]

9 La Barre E-4.5 (1938) 1941
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In summer when the sun is shining, the temperature in this relatively dry region invariably falls quite low in the cold nights, necessitating a sleeping-bag and heavy blankets. Winters are bitterly cold: this period lasts from June to November, the "dry season." Morning mists are common, and electrical storms are frequent in summer, as is hail, but the winter snows are comparatively light.

Linguistic Identification. The Uru have been the source of a long and intricate scholarly debate, which is by no means adequately settled yet. In 1607 the missionary Geronimo de Ore published in Naples a famous, but rare book, his *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum*. This contains about thirty pages in the "Puquina" tongue, with translations into Aymará, Quechua, Spanish, and Latin. The only specimen of this language in modern works was the Paternoster from Ore printed by Hervas, until Brinton published extracts from Ore's Puquina rendering, and the numerals from one to ten. On the basis of the Paternoster alone, Hervas believed that the Puquinan was an entirely separate stock. Adelung-Vater, however, copying Hervas' quoted Paternoster, came to the opposite conclusion, inclining to believe that it was related to Aymará. This opinion was fully adopted by Sir Clements Markham, who declared Puquinan "a very rude dialect of the Lupaca" (a sub-tribe of the Aymára). He was followed in this by von Tschudi.[7]

These authorities, to be sure, had only the Hervas Paternoster from Ore's *Rituale*. It is evident that neither Hervas, Adelung-Vater, Markham, nor von Tschudi had ever seen Ore's original work, since all of them believed that the Lord's Prayer was the only "Puquina" extant in print—whereas thirty pages are to be found in the *Rituale* with translations. However, whether or not Puquina be finally equated with Uru, one thing seems certain: neither one is basically related to the Aymará stock, regardless of extensive borrowings from both Aymará and Quechua. Comparison of the Puquina numerals in Brinton indicate that they are quite independent of both Aymará and Quechua. Brinton himself, with complete appropriateness remarks:

> It remains puzzling to me why the Puquina, which seems to have been spoken only by a few wretched villagers about Lake Titicaca, should have been classed by writers in the sixteenth century as one of the *lenguas generales* of Peru. Not only does Ore refer to it by this term, but in one of the official *Relaciones Geograficas*

[7] Daniel G. Brinton, *Notices the Puquina Language of Peru* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 20, 1880) pp. 242-248. Adelung, Vater, et al., *Mithradates*, Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1806-17), pp. 2, 349-350. Clements R. Markham, *On the Geographical Position of the Tribes which Formed the Empire of the Yncas* (Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 41: 281-338, 1871), p. 305. J. J. von Tschudi, *Organismus der Ketschua Sprache* (Leipzig, 1884), s. 76.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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[*de Indias*, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1582, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the kingdom." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace.

Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Ore with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raoul de la Grasserie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquinas, known also by the name of Urus, Uros, Hunos and Ochomazos, etc." Ehrenreich also lists the "Uro or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Grasserie:

> In the midst of the Kolya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raoul de la Grasserie seems to belong to a different people.

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uros of Iruitu [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruitu ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uro of Raoul de la Grasserie is totally different from my Uro."[9]

More recently Métraux has done linguistic work with both the Chipaya of Lake Poopo (Carangas) and the Uru of Ancoaqui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chipaya, of the group he calls "Uro-Čipaya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Métraux with my own and Polo's make it clear that:

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chipaya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

[9] Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York 1891), pp. 223–224. Raoul de la Grasserie, *Langues Américaines: Langue Puquina, Textes Puquina Contenus dans le Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum de Geronimo de Ore* (publié à Naples en 1607 avec texte espagnol en regard, traduction analytique interlineaire, vocabulaire et essai de grammaire, Leipzig, 1894), p. 67. (De la Grasserie used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Brinton, according to Chamberlain, used a British Museum copy of Ore.) Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Ethnographie Südamerikas im Beginn des XX Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturvölker* (Archiv für Anthropologie N. F. 3: 39–75, 1905), p. 65. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896; cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uros: A New South American Linguistic Stock* (American Anthropologist 12: 417–424, 1910), p. 418, from which this résumé is taken. See also M. Uhle, *Reisen in Bolivia und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlung 23, 1896), pp. 357–360; *idem*, *Ueber die Sprache der Uros in Bolivia* (Globus 69, 1896), p. 19.

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2. The Uru-Chipayan stock is unrelated to either Quechua or Aymará, so far as is determinable from the heretofore solely lexical evidence; the phonemic systems of Aymará and Uru, for what this evidence is worth, seem quite wholly distinct.

3. There is as yet unexplained misunderstanding concerning Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquina-Uru." The basis for this last judgment is, in part, the numerical systems:[6]

English	*Quechua*	*Aymará*	*Puquina*	*Uru*
One	huc	maya	pesc	ñi
Two	iscay	paya	so	Bisk
Three	quimsa	kimsa	capa	šek
Four	tahua	pusi	sper	Ba'Bi'
Five	pichka	pesqa	tacpa	ta'muku
Six	socta	suxta	chichun	tazuku
Seven	canchis	paqalqo	stu	Doko
Eight	pusacc	kimsaqalqo	quina	onko
Nine	iscon	jatunka	checa	sna'Go
Ten	chunca	tunka	scata	kalo

Polo's numerals for the Uru, quoted in Chamberlain, even less resemble Ore's Puquina (thi; pinke; chep; pácpic, páctic; pacmucu; pacchui; tahoco; cohonco; sankau; kalo) than do my recordings, and neither Puquina nor Uru resembles Aymará or Quechua.

There remains, however, the vexing problem of the identity of the Uru and Puquina of Brinton, Ehrenreich, Uhle, Hervas, and Adelung-Vater. Métraux, following Rivet and De la Grasserie, has brought impressive evidence of their identity. He writes: "The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language *kubina*, *pubina* to distinguish it from Aymará. This fact had already been brought to my attention at La Paz; it was later confirmed for me by all my informants." Chamberlain, however, thoroughly convinced by Polo's vocabularies, argued the absolute distinctness of Puquina and Uru, and has followed Eric Boman in stating that they are separate stocks

[6] Quechua quoted unchanged from Brinton, *American Race*s, p. 221; Aymará from my own field notes, Puquina from Geronimo de Ore, *Rituale*, in Brinton *op. cit.*; and Uru from my own *hoaq'o-hoaq'o* notes. Since I am not wholly familiar with Uru, the rendering aims more for phonetic accuracy than phonemic economy. The vocabulary, moreover, embodies the considerable language difficulties of having passed from Uru through Aymará and Spanish (the two languages of my interpreter at Ancoaqui) to the present English. Other references in this paragraph are to Alfred Métraux, *Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya du Carangas*, (JSAP 27, 1935), pp. 111-120, 325-415; (JSAP 28, 1936), pp. 155-207, 337-396; idem, *Contribution à l'ethnographie et à la linguistique des Indiens Uro d'Ancoaqui* (Bolivia) (JSAP 29) pp. 75-110; idem, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67-102. Polo, *op. cit.* in Chamberlain (American Anthropologist 12: 417-24, 1910), pp. 412-413.

9:La Barre E-4.5 (1938) 1941
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[101] calling themselves "Bukina" or "Pukina," which agrees with the synonymy of Ehrenreich, Hervas, *et al.* The "Uropeillos" of the early chroniclers appears to have meant the Uru, but Chamberlain's "Urimayo" is the name of a moiety, not of the tribe, and is moreover an Aymará word.

Bertonio, a missionary of the late 16th century, gives the Aymará name, probably opprobrious, "*Kiuchucunti* Big-lipped [People], Nickname of the Puquinas." Chamberlain notes the Quechua name for the Uru as *Tarasare*, but Monti says their Quechua designation is *Uruculla*. Paredes [139] says the Aymára call the Uru "*Chuvumumukhuvi*" [etymologized by my interpreter as *lauka-mang'ori*, lit. "water-kaloko-eaters," i.e. eaters of the water-plants of the genera *Myriophyllum*, *Potamogeton*, *Cinnophora*, *Elodea*, [93] and *Chara*] or "Chanco." The tradition was that their ancestors were [116] brought from the Pacific coast by the great Colla or Aymára conqueror, Tacquilla, but the Aymára say that the "*wakachile*" or place-deity of the Uru is the swamp itself, much as Mt. Illimani is the place-deity of the Aymára in its region. Nevro-Lemaire[a] says that the Uru were the group from whom the Inca exacted the famous tribute of lice.

[101] Posnansky notes several place-names—Urubamba, Urupampa, Urmiri, [109] Urucollo, Uru-Uru (Oruro), and others—which he believes incorporate the name Uru, but these are etymologizable in Aymará, in which language "*Ñuru*" means "day," or according to some authorities "worm."[a] Polo suggests the implausible etymology from "*uri*" (Aymará "unconquered, brave"); but in the 17th century "*uro*" or "*uru*" seems to have been in current use in the sense of "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. A punning proverb, "De [157] indio Uro ningun hombre esta seguro" ("No man is safe from an Uru Indian"), appears to testify to the treachery of an incompletely subjected minority.

Temperament. The temperament of the Uru has been spoken of in no very flattering terms by all who have known them. Acosta said that they were so brutish as not even to have considered themselves human: "Son estos *Urus* tan brutales que ellos mismos no se tienen por hombres." Garcilaso de la Vega called them "rudos y torpes," rude and stupid. Even the

[163] [179]

[a] Nevro-Lemaire, *Los Lagos*, LII–LXI; this authority also says that the name of the Departamento of Oruro and its capital city in Bolivia comes from the reduplication "Uro-uro." Other authorities in this paragraph not heretofore listed: Arturo Posnansky, *Antropología y Sociología de las Razas Sudamericanas y de las Regiones Adyacentes* (La Paz, 1937), p. 98; Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara*, 3rd (Chucuito) [Peru] 2 vols. 1612 Facsimile edition, J. Platzmann, Leipzig 1879] vol. 2, p. 301; Ramiro Muñoz, *Diccionario Quechua* (Tacna, 1942); Rigoberto [illegible], *Mitos, Supersticiones y Supervivencias Populares de Bolivia*, 2nd ed. (La Paz, 1930), p. [illegible].

[a] In connection with the meaning "day" see the myth in Métraux [1942 2]: 366 ff.

9:La Barre E-6.3 (1936) 1941
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[illegible] sympathetic. Bertonio lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Yo nacion de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento." Pareden calls them "brutish . . . despicable, de poco entendimiento, ingenio y sabiduria." The Belgian traveller Wuthe says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression. It betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Posnansky writes:

El Uru no tiene placeres, desconoce ahora el juego. Lo vio jamás contar a los labios de su cara inexpresiva, sin la menor sonrisa, tornado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus niños son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes, acurrucados y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Uros es el de un pueblo quebrantado.

Mitrovic pedestaled their congeners, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

The Uru have a character and a genius so sombre as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this thrill is added the unhealthy capacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the altiplano Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field-work with the Aymara, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hate-filled group. In my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . neither more vivacious and handsome than the Aymara."[3]

History. Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymara. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states these on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in holes in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymara, Inca, and Spanish.

Language. I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The other independ-

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[3] J. de Acosta, *Historia de los Indios* (1590), p. 62. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 4. Bertonio, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 380. Paul Wuthe, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall). Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 99. Mitrovic (JSAP 27), p. 49; (28), p. 20.

9 La Barre E-6.5 [1938] 1961
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chus of this latter, however, is evident to anyone familiar with the Aymará. Inasmuch as the almost unique grammatical sketch of Uru has appeared in a somewhat obscure and inaccessible publication,* a summary of the language of this little-known group may be of value to scholars and linguists.

The sounds b, v, d, l, ll, rr and z do not seem to occur in the language of the Uros. The adjective always precedes the noun, and has no mark of gender. The infinitive of the verb has several different terminations, apparently according to the words from which, when secondary, it is derived. Three tenses, present, past, and future, are distinguished by prefixed or suffixed particles, but the material at hand is not sufficient to enable me to settle the whole matter of conjugation, etc. In compound nouns Polo says (p. 488), "the components are arranged in the order which their signification expresses, e.g. *chuhuru-hacha* (shoe), from *chuhuru* (what is covered), and *hacha*, (foot)." The number of Uros words, whose etymology is known to, however, too small to settle this point completely.

The numerical system of the Uros deserves a few words. There are separate words for 1, 2, 3, then 4, 5, 6, 10, respectively, *pia-pia*, *pallmaca*, *paichui*, [illegible] which a common first element *pas* appears; 7, 8, 9, *tahaca*, *cahuaca*, *tantaca* (also *tandaca*) seem to have a common terminal *-ca*; *hala*, 10, is unrelated to the other numerals; 11, 12, 13, etc., are *halaui*, *hala-pia-pia*, *hala-chup*, etc.; 100 is *hala-hala* (also *pas*); and 1000 could be expressed by *hala-pas*.

Among the principal suffixes in the Uros language are the following:

-ni, in names of male relatives, etc. (*papi*, father; *nahuni*, son; *chi-hualui*, brother, etc.)

-hi, in certain names of female relatives, etc. (*achi-chi*, grandmother; *mauchi*, daughter; *achahuyuchi*, girl).

-ni, in certain adjectives (*chuhuru*, green; *chuhuni*, old).

-ri, a frequent termination in nouns (*cauri*, spring; *mauhui*, cigar; *chauri*, cross; *lauri*, spoon; *tauri*, mattock; *putui*, ship; *chapuiri*, kettle; *chiri*, mouse; *mauri*, water; *pauri*, bridge).

Among the suffixes of the infinitive are: -ni, -nna, -nni, -qua, -chi, -i, -ini, -li, -ri, -qui, -ti, -u, -ui, etc. There is a negative or privative particle *ama-*, used as a prefix (e.g. *ama-chumi*, "ugly," i.e. "not beautiful.") This particle is also used some times with tenses (e.g. *ama-hun-hichi*, handless.) Incorporation (or at least collocation) of the pronoun in the verb occurs, as, e.g., *hala-wanhiqui*, "does thou desire to eat"? This word is derived from *hali*, "to eat", *can*, "thou", and *hiqui*, "to desire." The Uros language belongs to the class of American tongues which do not possess grammatical

* Polo, in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Lima*, 10, 1901, pp. 483-492, from which Chamberlain's, and the present sketch, have largely been taken. Mitrani' excellent work is predominantly on the Chipaya of Carangas, Raoul de la Grasserie's "Paquinas" is not unequivocally identifiable with Uru; and Alonso de Barcena's *Lexica et Preceptis in Quinque Indorum Linguis* (Lima ?1590), which is said to have contained a sketch of the language, is not known to exist in even a single copy.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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(Aymára rectangular houses are *ičú*-grass thatched, not matted in the Uru fashion). Possibly because of the scarcity of wood, "rafters" in the roof are made of thick bundles of reeds, the main supports laid east and west, with secondary supports arched north and south. Some of the round houses have a roof framework made of bent sticks laid at right angles and grass-rope lashed at their crossings. On this framework of wood or *totora*-bundles large mats, employing the full lengths of these giant reeds, are laid in two sections, so that there is a sort of pseudo-ridge to the roof, running from over the door to the west wall; this ridge is made by the meeting of the butts of the reeds. Grass ropes are laid over these mats to hold them down in the wind, and tied to wooden pegs in the mud walls of the house. There is no smoke-hole save the door, so the roof mats become speedily coated with soot and are quite waterproof. One must stoop in entering the door, but a man can stand upright in the center of the house. A mud "stove" is placed to the right (north) of the door, in which *t'ola* (a kind of grease-brush), *yareta* (woody, turf-like masses of a semi-subterranean shrub), or *takia* (llama-dung) are burned for fuel, owing to the absence of wood in the region. The cord used on the roof-mats to twine the ends of the single reed elements, is true two-element twisted rope, the torque of the twisted strands of wiry grass holding the whole together. The rope used in binding *balsas*, on the other hand, is of tightly plaited grass, possibly because the more laboriously made plaited grass rope has greater strength and durability than the twisted kind.

Anciently, according to the 18th century writer Alcedo, the Uru lived in caves and holes in the ground, but they share the round type of house with their congeners the Chipaya. The same round house type is seen elsewhere scatteredly in the *altiplano*. Forbes noted "beehive" houses in out-of-the-way places, and in the 16th and 17th century descriptions such as that of Cobo are indications that the round hut was the original Aymára style. Métraux noted round mud houses with corbelled domes like those of the Chipaya, at Kxulliri, near Toledo; and villages of round houses may be seen the west of the railroad halfway between La Paz and Oruro.[15]

[15] David Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (Journal Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 2: 193–305, 1870), p. 255. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 69, also says the Uru formerly lived in caves or holes dug in the ground, and roofed with mats. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1895), Vol. 4: pp. 166–667. Métraux (JSAP 28: 190–194) says that the rectangular huts of the Aymára are built after Spanish patterns, and that only the chiefs at Chipaya used them, others building the older round type of house. The round style is useless, however, for tracing the provenience of the Uru: Braun noted Quechua storehouses of this kind in southwestern Bolivia, Nordenskiöld the same form among Aymára at Tunari, near Cochabamba (Otto Braun [Letter to Nordenskiöld in 1931]; Erland Nordenskiöld, *The*

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Another house type, beyond the rectangular-thatched and round-matted forms, is that to be found in several examples on the plain just to the north of Ancoaqui. These have a rectangular ground-plan, and instead of being thatched with grass or *totora*-mats, have a pyramidal "dome" corbelled of the same turfs that the walls are made. One of these photographed was on a slight artificial elevation, and had a shallow "moat" around it, possibly to provide dryness and drainage during the long rainy season. Another has two doors, both east and south, suggesting that shepherds might watch their llamas from these tiny huts, which are too small for family habitation; one of them has a chimney-hole in the roof.

Posnansky[19] says the Uru of Sojopaca built temporary shelters, apparently of mud, "like beavers," and figures a carefully domed *puluku* on the islet of Simillaque, as well as a round, stone-roofed house on the Isle of Panza. Uru round houses at Ancoaqui have vertical walls, but some of those of the Chipaya (Posnansky, Figs. 39 and 56) are battened inward, like truncated domes. On islands in the Desaguadero swamps I noticed temporary shelters of *totora* shaped like an old-fashioned straw beehive with a point, erected to shelter the *balsa*-builders.

Food. The Uru have repeatedly been referred to as being chiefly fishermen, but fish are by no means exclusively their diet. Their linguistic congeners to the south, the Chipaya, are chiefly pastoral, and the Uru likewise have pigs, donkeys, some few chickens, sheep, and cows, but no llamas or alpacas. Of the cows Métraux writes:

> those on the border of the Desaguadero [have] become amphibian. They pass the whole day in the water browsing on aquatic plants. From a distance one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan marsh.

These half-wild creatures are so "pastured" because of the acute lack of land among the Uru, whose agriculture,[20] for the same reason, is thus greatly circumscribed. The Uru have dogs, which they call *paku*. Like the Aymára, and most *altiplano* Indians, the Uru keep domesticated guinea-pigs in their houses. Pigs wander about the village also, but are sometimes placed in

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Ethnography of South America seen from the Mojos of Bolivia (Comparative Ethnographic Studies 3, Göteberg, 1924), p. 19; see also Bernabé Cobo, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 2: p. 62; Huaman Poma de Ayala, in Montell, *Dress and Ornaments*, p. 188, Fig. 86 (in Métraux *loc. cit.*).

[19] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 108 and Figures 104, 111.

[20] George McCutchen McBride, *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia* (American Geographic Society, Research Series 5, New York, 1921), p. 18, says the Uru "form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them."

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396 knives on the ends of poles, then stacked in shocks like corn, after they have been dried spread out in the sun. Nearly all able-bodied Uru males have quantities of these materials in various stages toward the manufacture of the complete boats. In their houses, even, in spare moments, men are continually braiding *ičʉ*-grass into tough ropes to bind the boats together.

Though shaped like a boat, the *balsa* is of course actually a raft. A handful of reeds is bound together and repeatedly thickened with more reeds as the middle of the cigar-shaped element is reached, then tapered off again into a point. The only tool used in the manufacture of this is a wooden hook [413] (*kaχlu*) with a handle at an acute angle to it, used to tighten the lashing of grass rope. A more tubular and thinner sheaf of reeds forms the keel of the *balsa*, and two of the fat cigar-shaped bundles are separately lashed to it, forming a sort of sea-sled type of hull, which cannot be overturned in a storm; the thinner ends of these cigar-shaped bundles are slightly raised fore and aft of the boat. To form gunwales, a still thinner and tubular sheaf of reeds is lashed (during its own round-and-round binding with braided grass rope) through the original lashing of the hull-elements. One of these gunwales (*pinča*) is placed on each side of the top of the hull-elements to prevent splashing of water onto the occupants of the boat as it is poled along. The Uru *balsa* thus differs from the Aymára[24] type in that its two large basic elements are lashed to a central "keel" and not to each other (though the bulwark lacings are similarly looped through the lacings of the two hull-elements); it has therefore five instead of four elements. The Uru also rig their *totora*-mat sails with a slight difference from the Aymára. Sails, however, can only be used on the Lake and on the open river "before the wind" since the boat has no center-board and cannot tack. In the narrow swampways a punt pole or gaff (*teksi*) with a stubby trident at its end is used to push the boat along. The wood for these comes from the *yungas* of the Cordillera Real's eastern, tropical slopes. (See Posnansky, Fig. 83.) A complete *balsa* cost in 1937 from ten to sixteen *bolivianos*, then worth about 5¢.

Of Uru textiles we have already noted twined single-element *totora balsa*-sails, twined many-element mattress-mats of reed, fish- and bird-nets (which they themselves make of cord obtained in Guaqui from La Paz), and single-element twined roof mats of *totora*. Métraux has an excellent description (page 86) of the preparation by soaking, pounding, and rolling of the wiry grasses of the region (*Stipa ichu*, *Festucha orthophylla*, and *F. dis-*

[24] Lorenzo R. Parodi, *Las balsas usadas por los Aymaras en el lago Titicaca* (Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. 11, Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 145–149. Métraux' description (JSAP 27: 84) is of the Aymára type.

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siflora) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *balsas*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *čawara*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*qawaṇs*) llama-wool (*qauñi*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*wač'[i]*) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the heald-rod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymára. The women's wide girdles or *časi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gorros* of the Aymára type (Uru *škara*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.[25] The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymára at Guaqui, Tiahuanacu and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "sogas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Uru *bolas* (Aymará *liwi*, Uru *k'oñi*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

[25] Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the *altiplano* whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lucurmata on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *asiro* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.

1:Métraux--1 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uru SF24
Ancoaqui

/75/

Introduction

/121/ [114] [101] [36] [16] It was solely with the intention of obtaining some elements of comparison for my Čipaya dictionary that I, in the company of Professor A. Posnansky, made a one week visit to the Uro of the Desaguadero in June, 1931. These Indians live in the village of Ancoaqui, on the right bank of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from the Bolivian port of Cuaqui. There are only a handful of them, 40 at the very most. Even taking into account those who were absent and the small agglomerations spread throughout the region, I seriously doubt whether the remaining Uro number a hundred. It was, therefore, imperative to record their language. The case of the Uro is typical of the rudimentary and anarchic state of South American ethnography. For a long time these Indians have been considered one of the most interesting ethnic elements of the Andean region. Nevertheless, no one has thought of living among them and devoting a serious and methodical study to them. The excellent monograph of Dr. Rivet (1) and Mr. de Créqui

/114/

[Text continues on p. 3]

/113/ 1. Créqui Montfort (G. de) and Rivet (P.), "La langue uru ou pukina /The Uru or Pukina Language/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, new series, Vol. XVII (1925), pp. 211-244; Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 111-199; Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 57-116. To the texts assembled in this article the following must be added: McCutchen McBride (G.), "The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia," American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 5, New York, 1921, p. 17. "There are the Uros that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains

/113/ /105/

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Lake Titicaca. Subsisting chiefly by hunting and fishing, they ply their reed boats (balsas) among the wide-extended swamps that here border the river. Their houses are of rude construction, being built of mud and thatched with straw or totora, the bulrush from which their boats are made. They appear to be among the oldest occupants of the plateau.... They enter any discussion of land tenure only in a negative sense, as they are almost entirely landless. They practice little if any agriculture, though some of them now own small herds of cattle and llamas. They form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them." /Cited in English./

Ogilvie (Alan G.), Geography of the Central Andes. A Handbook to accompany the La Paz Sheet of the Map of Hispanic America on the Million Scale. (Published by the American Geographical Society of New York, 1922). Beneath a photograph presenting an Uro woman crushing some quinua (Fig. 30), these lines appear: "Uru Indian woman grinding quinoa in a sheepskin. The house is of mud with a thatch of reeds secured by grass ropes to pegs in the walls. The sack contains llama dung for fuel. The water jar is made of clay dug from a bank near by." /Cited in English./

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After these lines had been written, Mr. A. Posnansky published a study on the

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Uro entitled: "Los Urus o Uchumi /The Uru or Uchumi/." Actas y trabajos cientificos del XXV° Congreso internacional de Americanistas (La Plata, 1932), Vol. I, Buenos Aires, 1934, pp. 234-300. This work, very extensive, contains only a small amount of really scientific information on the Uro. It is more an attempt to bring some ethnographic theories into harmony with somewhat romantic archaeological reconstructions. One of the most serious dangers of this article is that it contains some precise details—notably on fishing among the Uro—which are mixed with interpretations and speculations which the author presents as facts noted in the field. Everything in this article concerning the present religion of the Uro is in the realm of fantasy.

In 1933 my friend Mr. E. Palavecino, of the Museum of Natural History in Buenos Aires, made a visit to the Uro on my advice. Some of his observations have been published in the Sunday, December 3, 1933 number of La Prensa under the following title: "Los Indios Urus de Iruito / The Uru Indians of Iruito/."

114 Montfort itself, in which all the importance /76/ of the Uro problem is underlined, was not a sufficient factor to stimulate the scholars who during recent years have traversed Bolivia to give the Uro the attention they deserve. Such negligence is even more unpardonable in view of the fact that the geographical location

/76 cont./
114 of the natives cannot be an excuse. There are few in America more easily accessible; the Uro are actually only a few hours by car from La Paz, the capital of Bolivia.

Material Culture

The brevity of my stay among the Uro and the small amount of leisure which I had outside of my linguistic investigations prevented me from making any important ethnographic observations on them. I also doubt that deeper inquiries would have been able to lead me to the discovery of sensational, or even /77/ new,
177 facts. The Uro have been "Aymarized" to a much higher degree than the Čipaya, and to this Aymara influence, doubtless a thousand years old, must be added that of the Spanish and of the Bolivian half-breeds. The village of Ancoaqui resembles, down to the last details, all the villages of the altiplano, and the Uro are not distinguishable, either in physical appearance or in
114 dress, from the Aymara, their neighbors. If I consider the few notes I took as worth publishing, it is because of the small amount of information that we possess on these Indians. I shall repeat again, perhaps in vain, the wish that a serious and well-trained ethnographer will want to devote several months of his /Fig. 21 appears here/ life to the study of the natives of the high plateau. If this is not done soon, our only remaining opportunity to know the great South American civilizations better will have disappeared.

342 [361] Dwellings. The village of Ancoaqui is made up of small square huts of "adobe," grouped around a quadrangular courtyard. I remember two houses with rounded corners, although this circumstance was not sufficiently accentuated to permit classifying them as huts of a round design (Pl. II, A /see p. 22/). The roofs of these habitations have only one real style: they are made of matting attached to stays which are also of totora, i.e., matting rolled up and solidly sewn together, replacing beams, which are rare and costly

323 /78 cont./
000 potter's mark on the bottom (1). The mortars, or more exactly

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114 1. My observations in this respect contradict those of one of the authors cited in

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Fig. 22

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[126] note 1, p. 3. As I was trying to make as complete a collection as possible at Ancoaqui, I gave special attention to all the objects which met my eyes, and the pottery did not seem to me to be of local fabrication. I also did not see any women working at making it, nor did I notice any of the signs which indicate the existence of a ceramic industry in the entire Indian village.

4/2 The mortars, or more exactly
the grindstones, are made of a flat or slightly concave stone, against which another, oval in form and polished by use, is rubbed. These mullers are sometimes semicircular; the pressure which the

189 cont.

155 crueler successors, the enfranchised half-breeds of Bolivia. One
648 simple example can illustrate better than any humanitarian tirade the treatment to which, even up to our day, these Indians are submited: the two Bolivian soldiers who accompanied me and who had interrupted their hunt for Indians who had revolted, threatened my poor informants with public whipping and burning of their huts for the smallest trifle. Those are the most current, and the gentlest, measures employed by Bolivian officers with regard to the natives.

197 Linguistics. The Uro hardly speak their ancient language
177 any more, and even among themselves Aymara is readily used. However, the Uro dialect of Ancoaqui seems to have been less contaminated by Spanish and Aymara than that of the Uro of Chipaya. At any rate, at Ancoaqui I had the good fortune to find several Uro roots which have already disappeared at Chipaya. This fact might appear peculiar when one reflects that the Uro of Ancoaqui have always had much closer contact with the Aymara and with the Spanish than their brothers at Carangas. Their material culture has been more deeply modified than that of the Čipaya, whose physiognomy is clearly archaic. How then can one explain why their language should have remained purer than the dialect of the Čipaya? I am inclined to believe that this anomaly is due to the fact that the Uro of Ancoaqui have been located closer to the great Uro centers of Lake Titicaca, and that since they were formerly more numerous than the Čipaya, they have succeeded better in preserving their own language. A linguistic detail which happens to confirm the
197 thesis supported by Dr. Rivet on the identity of the Pukina and
114 of the Uro remains to be mentioned. The lexicographic concordances pointed out by Dr. Rivet made this assimilation almost certain. The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language bukina, pukina in order to distinguish it from Aymara. The fact had already been indicated to me at La Paz; it has since then been confirmed by all my informants.

Carangas—
Chipaya

/111 cont./

Forward

121 In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations
[101] that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion,
[119] and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among
whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the
Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had
123 singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the
very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and
luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya,
convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my
distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/
124 to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an
Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and
who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a
member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/
as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting in-
quiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me.
Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover
the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered.
191 Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very
little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most
gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have
had pitiful informants in them.

121 A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly,
I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they
had celebrated before me practically the entire cycle of their
main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would
[183] have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case
very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, un-
fold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual
198 religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these
Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not
forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[Text continues on P. 5]

/114 cont./

113 V. Huot, after the work of members of the mission, original unpublished sources, and the most recent documents, on a scale of 1/750,000; Mapa de la red de caminos del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Map of the network of roads in Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1924); Mapa telegráfico y de vialidad del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Telegraphic map and map of accessibility of Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1930).

133 361 The village of Chipaya properly so called is located about 30 kilometers north of the Coipasa salt marshes and about 20 kilometers from Cerro Camacha, the first spur of the Cordillera to the west. To the east Chipaya is separated by more than 100 kilometers from the marshy banks of the Poopó. The village does not 114 361 133 stand on the banks of the Barras River or the Chipaya as shown on the map of the Créqui-Montfort Mission, the best that we have for the Bolivian Altiplano. The Lauca River, which flows to the west, is 10 to 12 kilometers away from it. Since all the maps that I have seen show the Barras River flowing between the Lauca and the village of Chipaya, I undertook several trips from different sides to verify this. Northeast of Chipaya, about seven kilometers away, I found the bed of a dried-up river, which perhaps corresponds to the course of the Barras River as it is drawn on some maps. This river must have taken another direction today, for having crossed it at the same time at the height of the village of Kala, a two-days' trip to the north, I was able to ascertain that it was passably filled with water.

/114 cont./

passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map, undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and 19° latitude south.

It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Iscara, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Cipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

1. Bacarreza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor..., comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor..., commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

/115 cont./

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and physical study of Carangas Province in Oruro Department/." Boletín de la Oficina Nacional de estadística, Nos. 61, 62, 63, 3rd trimester 1910, La Paz, 1910, pp. 477-480. Buck ("Ein wenig bekannter Indianerstamm des bolivianischen Hochlandes /A little-known Indian tribe of the Bolivian Altiplano/," p. 55) estimates the population of Chipaya at 800 individuals in 1929! This figure is, of course, the greatest fantasy.

[14]

161 government in 1910, estimates the population of Chipaya at 385
[114] individuals in 77 families. Although the first of these two figures
[651] seems a little exaggerated to me, the second appears exact. It may even be considered official as it was drawn from the number of "comuneros," i.e. the heads of families paying an annual tribute of 3 bolivianos (the Čipaya told me 2.40 bolivianos). According to my own census there would be about 100 households in Chipaya. As I do not know the principle which guided the authorities in their division of fiscal charges, I cannot decide how exact either of these last two figures is. Uhle,[2] who was the first scholar to mention the existence of the Čipaya, estimated their

[113]

2. Uhle (Max), "Ueber seine Reisen in Bolivia /On His Trips in Bolivia/," Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XXI, 1894, pp. 328-332.

Carangas—
Chipaya

/115 cont./

number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion: Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants (58 at Warta ayl'u and 111 at Tuana properly so called), and Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ay'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproporion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who gave me the list of people in this "noiety" did so reluctantly and very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population. The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

2:Métraux--171 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

/180 cont./

Musical Instruments

[534] [14] The musical instruments that I got among the Čipaya have been the subject of a detailed monograph by Mr. Izikowitz, assistant at the Museum of Göteborg and an outstanding specialist in that field. I am allowing myself to refer the reader to this work (1), as

[113]

1. Izikowitz (K.G.). "Les instruments de musique des Indiens Chipaya /The musical instruments of the Čipaya Indians/." Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

he will find only a brief summary of it here.

Membranophones. There is not one family in Chipaya which [117] does not have at least one drum. This instrument, very common on the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, in Chipaya presents the peculiarity of having a square shape (Fig. 8, A /see p. 173/). It is made up of a wooden frame whose sides, made of small boards brought together with tenons, are about 20 centimeters long and six [239] to seven centimeters high. This skeleton is covered on its two faces with sheep or llama skin stretched by means of ligatures passed in a zigzag across the holes in the membrane. Along the latter there has been fastened a drum cord, or a string holding a splinter of wood which hits the membrane. They play the drum by holding its handle in the left hand and beating it with a single drumstick, the enlargement at the end of which is covered with rags.

[126] I was able to acquire a round drum in Čipaya (Fig. 8, E). The mounting is formed by a piece of flexible wood bent into a ring, with the ends sewn together by means of leather thongs. This specimen measures 37 cm. in diameter and nine cm. in height.

/186 cont./

534 Panpipes. The Čipaya Indians have two types of Panpipes. The first (maiso) is extremely simple. It is composed of two tubes of unequal length, closed at one end and tied together with a wool cord (Fig. 8, D /see p. 173/). One of the tubes is 10 cm. long and the other 12.1 cm. This instrument was a particularly difficult acquisition for me. There was only one specimen in the whole village, [194] and it was moreover the property of the mayordomo, the official entrusted with maintaining places and objects of worship. He only resigned himself to giving it to me after much hesitation. Even before I had acquired this object it had been mentioned to me as a venerable piece. I had only one occasion to see it in use: this was at the Carnival, a particularly solemn and clearly pagan festival.

[126] One Čipaya had the happy idea of selling me a whole series of syrinxes which present several very interesting peculiarities. They are composed of a single row of bamboo tubes (five or seven) closed by a natural node and held inserted between two sticks themselves joined by a crossed string. Each of these pipes is provided on one side with a splinter of bamboo cut obliquely on its lower part (Fig. 8, B).

What is the purpose of this arrangement, which has not been found on any other Panpipes in the Old or New World? Mr. Izikowitz conjectures that it is a question of accessories of no practical value which have been substituted for a second series of tubes. This [114] hypothesis appears very far-fetched to me, and I ask myself if it is not a matter here of the fantasy of a flute-maker who thought of reinforcing the ligature by this means. The latter, in contrast, merits [191] our attention: it is actually a type which has only been found at Arica in the Andean region, but which still has a wide distribution in the west of the Amazon basin. Let us add that this ligature is always used for flutes with a single series of tubes.

The syrinxes which I have just described are apparently very old specimens. I have seen newer ones among the Čipaya of the [191] type common among the Aymara and among all the Indians of the altiplano in general.

2:Métraux--189 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-Chipaya Manasa SD10 Peruvian Indians SE3 Modern Quechua SE2

/123 cont./

way as to form a wall 1.40 to 1.80 meters high, circular in form, confining a space with a three to six meter diameter inside. On this wall 60 to 80 cm. thick a thatched roof rests, shaped into a more or less pointed cone. A small door 60 cm. wide and 80 cm. to 1.20 meters high allows one, stooping, to enter the hut."

The round hut seems formerly to have alternated with that of a quadrangular pattern in northern Peru. I am reproducing a passage from Olson's article (3), which lets us understand that the method

3. Olson (Ronald L.), "Old empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, pp. 10-11.

of constructing these habitations was not very different from that which I described for Chipaya: "Certain villages are composed entirely of circular stone structures some ten to thirty feet in diameter with stone roofs of a corbelled dome type. Other villages show both round and square houses with similarly domed roofs. Since a domed stone roof is more in keeping with a circular than a square house, we may assume the former to be the earlier type." /Cited in English./

Mr. Otto Braun in a letter to Baron E. Nordenskiöld (3-VII-/194/ 1931) remarks that "although the huts of the Quichua of south-eastern Bolivia have a square design, their barns or their granaries are always round in form."

For distribution of the round hut in South America I refer the reader to Nordenskiöld's map (1), while making the observation that

1. The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia, Chapter 1.

it is incomplete.

2:Midwest--192 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Urb SF24
Carangas-Chipaya Aymara SES

/194 cont./

the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and inni were long and square and the wood was brought from the Yungas." /Cited in Spanish./

On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

The estancias of the Čipaya explain the formation of the small social units also called estancias, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayl'u, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Čipaya to fertilize their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

Near Iscara, in the chullpares, I found bolas rolled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 157/).

25Mexnax--203 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/202 cont./

Tools. I found near the Corque chullpas a stone hammer exactly like that which the Čipaya use to crush straw for making rope. The Uro of Ancoaqui use for the same purpose a stone hammer which they fasten to a handle with raw leather. This instrument has a North American look, which struck Professor Nordenskiöld; he considered it a new culture trait which should be added to the list of those which were common to these two parts of the New World. In this respect I do not share my teacher's opinion: I consider the handle of the Uro hammers a recent innovation introduced under the influence of the European hammer. My opinion is based on a very interesting passage from Cobo (2), who relates that the Aymara

2. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. I, p. 251.

Indians employed by the Spanish in the quarries proved entirely incapable of using a hammer with a handle and preferred to return to the simple, round stones which they held in the palm of the hand. It is thus unlikely that the Uro, with a civilization so close to that of the Aymara, would have diverged on this point. In addition, if this culture trait had been really old, I would certainly have found one or two specimens among the Čipaya, who have remained much more primitive than their racial brothers, the Uro of the Desaguadero.

The ethnography of the Čipaya perhaps explains the original function of the "circular mortars," so many specimens of which have been found in the Peruvian Sierra (3). These are stone basins with

3. On the distribution of these basins cf. Rivet (Paul) and Verneau (René), Ethnographie ancienne de l'Équateur /Ancient ethnography of the Equator/, Paris, 1912, p. 185, Pl. 9, Nos. 1, 2, 4, and Lehman (Walter)

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Chipaya

/340 cont./

Phonetics

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It is my duty to acknowledge at the head of this dictionary that for lack of a musical ear, I am not always sure of the accuracy of my phonetic transcriptions. I have done my best and I am convinced that on the whole my notations are correct. I fear, however, that I have created some confusion in the quality of the vowels, and it is probable that certain fine points or shadings of pronunciation have escaped me. The difficulties I experienced in gathering and reproducing Čipaya and Uro sounds made me neglect the question of accent. I insist on pointing out this serious gap myself in my linguistic documentation.

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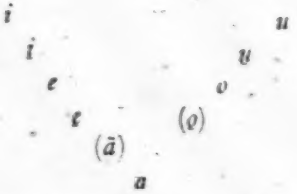
The vowels which I believe to have recognized in Čipaya can be classified in the following manner:



a, e, i, o, u are "grosso modo" identical to the corresponding sounds in Spanish

i is a phoneme whose quality is midway between a very open i and a closed e

ɛ is a more open e than the French è in "père" It is almost a very closed front a

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194 I think that I have ascertained in some cases the existence of
[128] an o (o) whose articulation would be close to a gutteral (back) a.
[114] Not being sure of this sound, and having ascertained it only in a few very rare cases, I have not indicated it in my transcriptions.

u is a phoneme midway between an open u and a closed o.

The dipthongs are the following: au, eu, ua, (wa), ue (we).

The sign ˇ put under the first or second vowel indicates that the latter is asyllabic and is only a semivowel. When the second part of the diphtong precedes another vowel, it is replaced by the corresponding fricative.

Table of Consonants

	Occlusives		Affricates		Constringents		Liquids		
Aspirated	h								
Guttural (medio gut.)	k	g	k		x				
Palatal			č	ǰ	š	ž		l'	ñ
Dental	t (tʰ)		ts		s	(z)	r	l	n
Labial	p (pʰ)					w			

The sound transcribed by h is strongly aspirated; it tends toward x.

g, k, l, m, n, ñ, l, p, r, s, t are identical with the corresponding sounds in Spanish or French.

č = "ch" in Spanish.

š = "ch" in French.

ž = French "j" in "jeter."

/146 cont./

161 According to the latest news the group of Iru-Itu seems to
162 be reduced to some 12 people, although since 1946 the level
133 of the lake has risen considerably; in February 1947 it had already risen 90 centimeters. This rising movement is continuing, and the totora beds are slowly beginning to reform.

731 The old Uru remembered having seen in their youth, around 1870, an even worse drought than that of these last years. But at that time they were more numerous and the group was able to subsist. Now it is too diminished to reconstitute itself and its disappearance seems definite.

101 I visited the Uru of Iru-Itu for the first time in 1938. Dur-
121 ing my stay in Bolivia from 1940 to 1944 I was in constant contact with them. Their misery and their decline did not allow me to glean important observations on their material culture, already studied by the numerous ethnographers who have stayed among the Uru of the Desaguadero. Their imminent disappearance made it necessary, however, to bring together everything which might still exist among them: anthropological observations, traditions, and linguistic records, in order to compare them with the other populations of the region and especially with the different groups of fishers on Lake Titicaca.

These are the results of this study, the publication of which we are beginning.

/147/

Note I

Accounts and Conversations

114 The linguistic records at our disposal on the Uru are reduced to some quick observations and more or less expanded vocabularies gathered by travelers in the course of brief stays in the region of Iru-Itu. Métraux is the only one to have published texts in the Chipaya dialect. No text exists in the Iru-Itu dialect, and the best sources of linguistic information on

/147 cont./

114 this group are the handsome monograph of Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, Métraux's vocabulary, and, at a less important level, the various publications of Posnansky containing numerous words more or less well noted down and translated.

The conditions under which most of the documents on the Iru-Itu group were obtained largely explain the imprecision of the meaning of numerous words and the often very different notation on which Créqui-Montfort and Rivet rightly insist.

195 There is no doubt, however, that many of the words have a very broad meaning and that their pronunciation varies within rather large limits, especially with informants belonging to different generations, or influenced to varying extents by Aymara. One even notes considerable variations in the course of a conversation with one person.

126 During my long contact with the Uru, I collected an important vocabulary of more than 1,000 words, as well as numerous phrases making it possible to analyze the structure of the language.

128 The extent of this vocabulary and of the collection of phrases makes it impossible to publish them now. I have therefore been forced to make a selection of accounts and conver-

121 sations obtained from my informants. These texts /148/ relate to the daily life of the Uru. Beyond their interest in this respect, they illustrate most of the ordinary grammatical forms. Study of them also permits a comparison with the only known Pukina text, that of Oré, which is much more extended than it had been possible to do with the documents at our disposal up to now. This comparison, which gives evidence of very close grammatical and lexicographic affinities, will be the subject of a special note in the second number of this journal.

115 Two informants were utilized in the course of our long

[195] linguistic investigation. They belonged to two different generations and displayed considerable variations, not only in

[197] phonetics but also in vocabulary and syntax. Both spoke Aymara, the younger one fluently, and the older rather badly;

/148 cont./

115 the former had had much more frequent contacts with the
191 neighboring populations.

114 Here I should note that Métraux's assertion in his 1937
191 work on the almost general usage of Aymara by the Uru of Iru-Itu, who "practically do not speak their old language any more," was clearly exaggerated. In 1938, alongside individuals who spoke Aymara fluently, numerous men knew only a few words
[191] of it, and most of the women did not know it at all. The only ordinary language in the village was Uru, but it is natural that in the course of a short stay with Aymara informants, a traveler would mainly have had contacts with natives who knew this language, which gives a false impression of the group as a whole.

114 Moreover, it is inexact to state that the Uru call their
191 language Bukina or Pukina. This information was also given to me in 1938, during my first trip, by a Uru who spoke Aymara and even a few words of Spanish, and I published it in a small work on the Uru ("Les Indiens Uru du Desaguadero /The Uru Indians of the Desaguadero/," Boletim do Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1939, XIV-XVII, 303-319). During my second stay I had an explanation /149/ of this declaration made by several Uru. All asserted to me that they did not know who the Pukina were and did not know of any people with this name, but a "mister" had said to them that this was the name of their language. It is not difficult to recognize in this connection Posnansky's intervention, of which it would be easy to cite other examples of the same kind.

115 My informants were the following:

Manuel Inta, apparently a pure-blooded Uru, a great-grandfather, who was almost 90 years old at the time of our investigation judging from the events at which he had been
[149] present in his youth. A robust man, he was still capable of making the trip on foot from La Paz to Tiahuanaco, 90 kilometers, in two days in order to save the price of his passage by train or bus, which had nevertheless been paid for him in

/173 cont./

*539 [396] 14. We are going to place a rim of totoras. 15. He attaches the rim of the balsa. 16. He tightens the rim of the balsa. 17. We are going to finish. 18. (The totora) is still a bit loose; we are going to tighten it a bit more. 19. All is finished. 20. Now the balsa is ready. 21. Let us go fishing [501] with the new balsa. 22. We are not going to hoist a sail? 23. We are not accustomed to use a sail; there is too little water. 24. We always use a boat hook manipulated by hand. [226] 25. Here is the stone which is attached to the large net so that the fish can enter. 26. The fish is going to enter (the net); now we are going to lift (the net) up and put it in the balsa.

Remarks

This text is divided into two parts. The first, 1 to 20, describes the making of balsas from totoras. The second is a succinct description of fishing with a net in the swamps of the Desaguadero.

*539 396 [824] To build their balsas the Uru use the Scirpus totora, which used to grow in abundance in the swamps of the Desaguadero and at numerous points on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Two Indians work at the same time on the con- [114] struction of a balsa. First they lay out the bunches of totoras on the ground, from which they make three spindles the length of the balsa, two large side ones and a middle one which is shorter and thinner; this middle cylinder, the "heart of the balsa," used to stabilize the craft, has passed unnoticed by practically all the authors who have concerned themselves [171] with the Uru. Only the fishers on the lagoon of Arapa, to the north of Lake Titicaca, who speak Keŝwa, build balsas, small and rather narrow, formed with two cylinders.

[284] The totora of three cylinders is held in place with the aid of thin straw plaits (2-4), which hold the cylinders evenly between them. These straw ropes are tightened in a progressive and methodical fashion by two /174/ men, working alternately

/185/

*539 101 114 Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the *539 192 name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant [195] also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which [193] is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkíčay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ču followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

*539 124

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: [276] The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give [273] thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking). [126] 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

3:Vellard--30 D, E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/191/

Note II

Anthropology

114
141 When we examined the anthropological bibliography at our disposal, we found only a very small number of works on the Uru and the closely related Chipaya: publications by Imbelloni and Posnansky and a note by Wright on dental anomalies. No important work should have escaped our notice.

Imbelloni made a very complete study of two skulls from the island of Panza (Poopo Lake, 300 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, fed by the Desaguadero), classifying them in the Laguido-Melanesien group.

Posnansky has made a very summary study (only a few cephalic measurements) of six men of Iru-Itu. He completed this series by examining nine Chipayas, men, only seven of whom would be pure-blooded; the other two, brachycephalic and mesaticephalic, are considered "Kollas," i.e., half-breeds of Andean elements. On the island of Panza, Posnansky studied two skulls and measured the cephalic index of six living people, four men and two women, only one of whom is called "pure Uru." These results are compared with those furnished by a small series of Chango skulls coming from the Arica excavations. It is necessary, of course, to make reservations about Posnansky's very personal nomenclature and the very special meaning which he gives to Arawak and Kolla terms.

It was not possible for us to consult Wright's work, which seems to deal with a very different aspect from that which interests us.

Imbelloni and Posnansky agree on the very marked dolichocephalism of the Uru and their relatives, the Chipaya. The conclusions which issue from a comparative study /192/ of their works are much less clear in connection with the vertical index of the skull and the height of the face.

/192 cont./

114 141 Outside of Posnansky's small Chipaya group, no information exists on height or body measurements in these groups to our knowledge.

126 We ourselves prepared only a very short series: six men and three women, all adults. The fact that we are dealing with the last Uru must not be forgotten. Outside these nine [162] subjects, there were no other Uru adults at Iru-Itu other than a young Uru woman about 30 years old and two very old women whom it was impossible to measure and who allowed themselves to be photographed only with difficulty. The children were [144] largely Uru-Aymara half-breeds. The consanguinity of most of our subjects is another inconvenience of this small series.

121 In spite of these defects it seemed necessary to us to publish our results, which allow useful comparisons with the works of Posnansky and Imbelloni and will without doubt be the last [167] observations on this group. Some other Uru are scattered in the region and already incorporated into the Aymara populations; their affiliation will be difficult to establish.

114 126 It is regrettable that the ethnographers who visited the region when the Uru were still numerous did not seek to obtain a few essential anthropometric measurements. However, it must be recognized that working conditions were not very favorable; the Uru proved to be opposed to any examination of this type, and the cold climate as well as their heavy, woolen garments were also obstacles difficult to overcome. Patient negotiations were necessary, for example, in order to get some of them to allow themselves to be photographed without their woolen caps, and most refused.

162 /193/ In 1942 the population of Iru-Itu was as follows:

--- 6 men, whose ages varied between 40 and 95 years.

--- 6 women between 30 and 90 years old.

--- 9 children, 5 boys and 4 girls, between 4 and 15 years old.

/204 cont./

141 Stature and limbs:

The small series studied appears very heterogeneous in stature. The men range from small to large in stature, with a predominance of small and medium; two women are medium and one above medium.

Men. — Short: x to 159.9: 3 men.
Below medium height: 160 to 163.9: —
/205/ Medium height: 164 to 166.9: 2 men.
Above medium height: 167 to 169.9: —
Tall: 170 to 179.9: 1 man.
Women. — Medium height: 153 to 155.9: 2 women.
Above medium height: 156 to 158.9: 1 woman.

[114] These figures compare with the small series of four Uru measured by Posnansky, which is the sole information, to our knowledge, published up to now on this group; this series notes 1 short, 1 medium, 1 above medium, and 1 tall man.

Among the Chipaya, related to the Uru, Posnansky's figures for a series of nine men note six short, two below medium, and one above medium.

These three series: our six Uru men and three Uru women; Posnansky's four Uru men and nine Chipaya men are distributed in the following fashion:

Short: 10 men.
Below medium height: 2 men.
Medium height: 3 men, 2 women.
Above medium height: 2 men, 1 woman.
Tall: 2 men.

Of these 22 individuals, 45.45% are short; 31.72% are below medium and medium; 13.63% are above medium; only 9.0% are tall.

The three series agree with each other, which emphasizes the frequency of short and medium heights among the Uru and their relatives the Chipaya.

The cormic index furnishes more homogeneous results. Of the first five men, three are macroskelic and two meroskelic.

/207 cont./

143 Kline: ++

[164] We shall only conclude from this isolated observation /208/ the existence of possible heredosyphilis or of a very attenuated syphilis in one of the most conservative members of the group, who always severely condemned sexual relations with other natives as being against the traditions.

128 These few isolated examinations have no great significance; they do emphasize however the interest which a numerous series of hematological and serological investigations among the isolated native groups of the Cordillera or the South American forests would have.

Conclusion

[141] [128] In spite of the small number of subjects examined (9), owing to the rapid decline of the group and its approaching extinction, this study of the last Uru of Iru-Itu permits us to make a few interesting conclusions.

[171] Height varies little from that of the neighboring Andean populations, and small and medium stature predominate. The population is as a whole macroskelic.

The cephalic index among the men who can be considered as not crossbred with the neighboring populations is lower than 75.0% (average: 73.51). Three women are moderately brachycephalic; we must note that they are closely related.

Dolichocephaly, a tendency to leptocephalia and to leptoprosopy, the bigoniac diameter almost equal to the minimum frontal diameter, leptorrhinism, a high and narrow ear succeed in characterizing this group.

114 141 144 As a whole these results agree with the few previous observations on the Uru and the Chipaya (Imbelloni's two Uru skulls; a few measurements by Posnansky), emphasizing the morphological unity of these two groups.

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them:
648 The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-
728 settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the
599 inhabitants, unable to bear with it, asked Casiracapa to rid them of those people, because they robbed them, ate their livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the Captain advised the Inca of this and he was ordered to return them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it;
[101] these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where
[131] they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small
[262] villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable: they are infidels in addition, Your Excellency would perform a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so
[356] that they and their descendants might become Christians, and giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings defy description. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

175 Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima, 1568/.

[14] This document from the General Archives of the Indies in Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed by Marie Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-150, 1951.

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleevless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characterstic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally

Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on P. 219]

of this gallant village which should be preserved because of its anthropological value and, above all, for its human value:

1.—Return of the extensions of pasture land of which the villagers were deprived by the neighboring Aymara communities.

2.—Periodic visits of medical and sanitary personnel in order to care for the minimal necessities of vaccination, care of the sick and preventative services.

3.—Teaching material to aid in operation of the school.

4.—Agricultural tools and basic training in improved practices of agriculture and animal husbandry.

5.—Realization of a scientific study comparable to that done by Métraux thirty years ago, to be extended to the neighboring Aymara communities in order to determine the degree of influence which one town has had upon the other. Likewise, a detailed study of the remaining branches of ethnography and folklore of the Chipayas.

6.—A plan of archeological excavations on the site called Los Chapel five kilometers to the north-west of the town of Santa Ana de Chipaya, which appears to be the ancient residence of the Chipaya people, according to their own account, during the period in which they were still *chullpas*.

7.—The establishment of contact, for study purposes, with the Morato Indian group, apparently a sub-group of the Chipaya tribe, which at the present time, in reduced numbers, carries on a nomadic life in the territory to the south-west of the Chipaya and whose members speak a distinct !anguage".

(From *Educación Boliviana*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 31-33).

[p. 219]

7:Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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Cover

Valdivia, Chile, street after the earthquake (see page 3)

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MEMO FROM THE EDITORS

● While the tragic story of the earthquake and tidal wave damage in Chile moved the world to offer immediate relief, the country began to plan a long-range program of reconstruction and rehabilitation. A comprehensive report on what's happening on this score is presented in "To Rebuild Chile," by AMÉRICA's editor George C. Compton, on page 3.

● "Land for the Farmer" (page 9), by João Gonçalves de Souza, Director of the OAS Program of Technical Cooperation, points up the conditions in Latin America that make agrarian reform urgent, and gives an up-to-date summary of what has been done in this regard. Dr. Gonçalves de Souza, who is also Director of the Pan American Union Department of Technical Cooperation, is an expert in problems of land tenure and has written several studies on the subject, dealing especially with his native Brazil.

● In "Latin America's 'Rising Expectations'" (page 26), we print excerpts from a speech by OAS Secretary General Dr. José A. Mora. His remarks about economic development needs are especially timely as the date for the Bogotá meeting of the Committee of Twenty-one on economic cooperation draws near.

● The very old and very new appear side-by-side in this issue. "Here the Past Lives On," (page 19) by Rubén Ruiz Camacho, describes the life and customs of the Bolivian Chipaya Indians, who are living much as their ancestors did 450 years ago. The author, a Colombian journalist, has written many articles for Colombian and Bolivian papers and magazines. He is presently working as an audio-visual specialist in the Colombian Ministry of Agriculture.

By contrast, this article is preceded by a brief commentary on the progress of "Fabulous São Paulo," written by AMÉRICAS associate editor George Meek.

● Manuel Cirerol Sansores, an archaeologist who is a native of Yucatán, México, offers his original version of the celebrated Maya legend of "The Dwarf King of Uxmal," on page 23. The author has written several books and articles on Maya themes.

● Matilde de Ortega, noted Ecuadorian writer and critic who is now with the Editorial Division of the Pan American Union, interviewed Brazilian artist Marcelo Grassmann, one of whose works is shown on the page opposite.

● Free-lance writer Reese Wolfe was born and raised in San Francisco and lived for two years in Costa Rica. During a recent four-months' trip through South America he met the postman-scientist who is described in "The Postman Who Caught Butterflies" on page 30.

● "Plowshares, Not Swords," (page 34), the story of a vocational school in an unusual setting in Costa Rica, was written by Carmen M. Montes. A Puerto Rican journalist, she is now working for the U. S. International Cooperation Administration in Nicaragua.

[Title Page]

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[p. 303-A]

The People of the Lake

BY CYNTHIA FAIN

The Author of this article has just published at Arthaud's in Paris a book with some thirty illustrations, entitled Bolivie [1]). *Her husband was recently French Ambassador in La Paz for two and a half years, and she was thus enabled to acquire a thorough knowledge of the country. She is a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and a member of the Société Française des Explorateurs and of the Comité du Film Ethnographique du Musée de l'Homme. This article was written following an expedition directed by professor* Jehan Vellard *to film an Uru village near Lake Titicaca* [2]).

[Footnotes appear on P 303-C - Analyst]

101 Professor VELLARD from the University of San
114 Marco, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake
12| Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were
174 the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with
197 certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.

174 Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they ex-
[36] tended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro, which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru',
[197] meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the
175 Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers,
[36] DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds
[48] them in low esteem, remarking that they have no
[51] talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

[p. 303-B]

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his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and ill-treated, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.

Professor Vellard had arranged with KENNETH WASSON, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, JORGE ROJAS and AUGUSTO ROCA, and a young professor, RICHARD ARBELOT was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14.000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one sunny winter morning.

Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brazil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

[p. 304-A]

Tra Ttu

A 346 We stop for a moment at the village[1] church which
[378] is protected, like our temples in the Far East, by a guardian god in the form of one of the monoliths
A 346 taken from Tiahuanacu. The early paintings in their
353 charming frames are in bad condition and some
358 much-needed repairs were proceeding on the roof; there is an embossed silver altar as we find them even in small villages in the highlands of Bolivia,
A and a rather decayed but well-proportioned gilded
782 baroque pulpit. As we were about to leave, an Indian
788 woman entered. She held in one hand her bowler hat and in the other a bottle of alcohol. Having made a deep genuflection she presented the bottle to a statue of the Virgin, crossed herself, kissed her thumb,
U and was gone.
● 114 We followed the road towards the lake till we came
489 to a cart-track which seemed to run parallel with the Desaguadero river as it flows out of the lake. After a short distance the track ended. The professor said: "We just go straight ahead keeping the river in sight". The ground was strewn with boulders and clumps of spiky grass, the two cars heaved and rolled; finally we disembarked the photographic material and followed on foot, the professor like the Pied Piper leading the procession. The cinema material represented a considerable weight which at that height seemed twice as heavy. For two hours we gasped and stumbled along; finally nearing the river we heard a dog barking and saw a small adobe
U house inhabited by a raucous bad-tempered woman
[361] of uncertain age who sent us to the devil. We panted up a little hill, and on the other side there appeared
U a number of small adobe houses. The professor was
114 still in full cry, striding ahead heedless of the panting group to the rear. But finally realizing that there
U is a limit to human endurance, he gave way grace-
123 fully, and we had lunch. The meal being dispatched,
622 we approached the village, where Vellard called on the mayor, and, accompanied by a number of the
U inhabitants, joined us. He explained that we must
124 go to the house of the local centenarian, where we should film her, her daughter Jesusa and her son-in-law of some eighty-odd years.

[1 [i.e., the village of Tiahuanacu --Analyst]

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Iru Itu

rily to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Roca, not having sleepingbags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies. Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *puna*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or great-coats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* [4]). This latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to retire to our respective quarters.

[4]) Yarema, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 310-A]

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Iru Itu

retire to our respective quarters. Before leaving, I arranged the remaining provisions, carefully propping up a thermos containing our precious hot coffee for the morning. I have but few manias, the principal one being to brush my teeth. I therefore hunted for a bottle of water and found it empty. My hygienic preocupations vastly amused my companions, and someone offered me a bottle of lager. Not wishing to lose face I accepted, declaring that there was no better mouthwash, but feeling secretly rather sick at the idea of a combination of colgate and beer. But on carrying out the experiment, I found out that there *is* no better mouthwash in existence. By now the moon was high and full, and so strong was the light that finding it impossible to sleep I switched on the engine for heat, as in spite of my vicuña-lined sleepingbag, the cold was intense. I read for an hour or so, which gave me such a headache, that I had to take aspirin with the remaining beer. The next morning Abelot and I wound our way down to the river, which was frozen at the edge. We broke the ice, drew some water and washed, much to the surprise of the villagers. Again I brushed my teeth with the last drops of beer before the astonished gaze of the people who had never seen such a strange exhibition.

Arriving at the mayor's, we found the rest of the company singularly unglamorous and, o tragedy, someone had kicked over the thermos of coffee. We ate some apples and biscuits, but our depression melted away in the brilliant sun. The sky was blue as it is only to be seen on the Roof of the World. While the professor went off to take some sound-recordings, we explored the village. There was practically no sign of animal life or cultivation. This was normal, as the Aymara peasants refuse to allow the Uru, whom they consider as pariahs, to cultivate the ground. They have a narrow strip of shore on which to build their *balsas*.

We returned by the little church. Very occasionally a priest comes over from Guaqui on the lake. There

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 313-A]

[p. 310-B]

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angle. The professor was taking chest- and head-measurements and making notes. We lunched, giving the remains to the children, who looked somewhat suspiciously at cold ham, tomatoes and cake, and hid it away in their skirts. As we reached the car, we saw a thin column of smoke, and, sure enough, the village cooking fire was alight. Owing to the poverty of the village, they have only enough fuel to light about one fire every day or every two days. Two girls in scarlet skirts, little cotton jackets which had once been pink, and dusty battered bowler hats, crouching on all fours, played the part of bellows. The youngest, remarkably pretty and remarkably dirty, ran into the house and emerged dragging a large iron pot. My thirst for ethnology was satiated and I felt sure that Vellard had already gone into the question of Uru cooking, and that further

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temptation should not be placed in his way. I drove hurriedly down to the mayor's house and told the others that I personally felt that another twenty-four hours of hunger and thirst, while the professor studied Uru cooking, was an unattractive prospect. One of the boys wanted to go to Guaqui, so we took him as guide. He directed us along quite a respectable track, which we had missed by a few hundred yards. As we passed the raucous lady's abode she hailed us with a volley of oaths. She had kept a stone in readiness, which, her anger impeding her accuracy, fell wide by a long distance. We finally joined the main highway to La Paz and almost immediately went down with a flat tire. Carlos opened the trunk and as he lifted the jack, out toppled the little Primus-stove. We looked at each other, and swiftly and silently, we pushed it back into oblivion.

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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO

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IN THE giant reed, or *totora* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—*viz.*, scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.[1]

Location. According to Polo, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Ahualla maya*, some 20 km. from Ancoaqui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoaqui*, on the left[2] bank of the Desaguadero, 23 km. from Lake Titicaca *Iruitu*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31′40″);

[1] The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uru-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South America ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

[2] Métraux, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 26, p. 75) is in minor error in locating this *communidad* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

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Nazacara, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Ahuallamaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiñaque*, an islet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sojapata*, 5 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Urus"; it is an *estancia* where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro *haciendas* of *Chearaque*, *Taguau*, *Tacacatani*, *Chicani-uma*, *Machacamarca*, *Urcuni-uma*, *Huallaqueri*, *Calayampani*, and *Tocavi* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taguau* (W.LaB.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero numbered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.[3]

In March 1938[4] the population of Ancoaqui (*hanq'o-haq'e*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *communidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *ilacate* (head of the *communidad*,? from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancoaqui and the entire region as well in 1931.[5]

This Aymára *communidad* of Ancoaqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancoaqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

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[3] José Toribio Polo, *Indios Uros del Peru y Bolivia* (Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima, 1901, 10: 445–482), p. 446. D. M. Jimenez de la Espada (in Neveu-Lemaire, *Los lagos de los Altiplanos de la América del Sud, La Paz*, 1909, p. lviii) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of *Chuchito*." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; *Chucuito*, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[4] As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Amyára ethnography.

[5] Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The legal term "communidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organization of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the *altiplano*). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Communidad"—as opposed to the term "finca" (= "estancia," "hacienda") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so-named.

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Environment. The Rio Desaguadero, as its name implies, is the outlet of Lake Titicaca and flows roughly south to Lake Poopo.[6] Near the lake, where uptilted strata testify to a major geological upheaval at some time in the past, the river flows relatively swiftly through the rocky gate, but on reaching a broad valley between the range of foothills west of the Tiahuanacu plain and a corresponding range in Peru, it slows down considerably. The Desaguadero endlessly bifurcates as the river reaches the Uru swamps. The giant *totora*-reeds stretch higher than a man's head, and clumps of these are alive with numerous and almost tame waterfowl of many varieties, which apparently have never been hunted other than with *bolas*. In the clear, cold water of the river, dozens of varieties of water plants can be seen waving in the current, and in and out of these can be seen darting abundant fish—although these last belong to only about four or five varieties. Near the village half-wild cattle can be heard and occasionally seen plunging through the swampy shallows to eat the succulent white roots of the *totora* (the Uru have scant mainland pasturage for cattle or llamas). In the mountains back of their lands are pumas and vicuñas, but nearby there are only *viscachas* (a bushy-tailed, rabbit-eared rodent of the chinchilla family), the *altiplano* fox (Aymará *q'amaq'e*), and the domesticated guinea-pig.

The stony, dry soil at this altitude, when uncultivated, bears only *t'ola*, a kind of greasebrush used as a fuel, as is also *yareta*, a low, gray-green, semisubterranean mass suggesting a large, woody, resinous cauliflower; and a few small-flowered herbs. The altitude of the Uru country is about 12,000 feet, hence, though it is not far south of the Equator, the air is cold and rare. The rainy season, from late November to early March, comprises the summer. Although the middle of the day can be more than uncomfortably warm

[6] The best way to reach the Uru is to proceed northwest from Guaqui, on Lake Titicaca, by land over a small range of mountains or by water on the Lake, to the little village of Desaguadero, which straddles the river of that name at its head, being thus in both Peruvian and Bolivian territory. *Balsas* are the only means of transportation on the river, and it is imperative to secure experienced rivermen as guides through the elaborate waterways of the swamps in the middle Desaguadero. Storms on the river and the temporary loss of a baggage-*balsa* in the swamp made it for me, my one half-breed and two native companions, a two-day trip, though it should normally be made in one long day's travel. Instead of boating laboriously upstream on the return trip to the Lake, one may go by land cross-country north of Jesus de Machaca. The cold, dry winds from the mountains in this region speedily entail the minor inconvenience of chapped and bleeding lips, and in certain seasons it is a nuisance to find in travelling that rivers on which one had been depending for drinking water have dried up. Weapons, with which I stupidly neglected to provide myself, are probably more nearly necessary in this region than elsewhere in the *altiplano*. Bandelier noted cannibalism near Sajama in 1898, and according to Bolivian authorities, the flesh of murdered whites was so employed during native uprisings as late as 1923 in this Jesus de Machaca region.

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in summer when the sun is shining, the temperature in this relatively dry region invariably falls quite low in the cold nights, necessitating a sleeping-bag and heavy blankets. Winters are bitterly cold: this period lasts from June to November, the "dry season." Morning mists are common, and electrical storms are frequent in summer, as is hail, but the winter snows are comparatively light.

Lingusitic Identification. The Uru have been the source of a long and intricate scholarly debate, which is by no means adequately settled yet. In 1607 the missionary Geronimo de Ore published in Naples a famous, but rare book, his *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum.* This contains about thirty pages in the "Puquina" tongue, with translations into Aymará, Quechua, Spanish, and Latin. The only specimen of this language in modern works was the Paternoster from Ore printed by Hervas, until Brinton published extracts from Ore's Puquina rendering, and the numerals from one to ten. On the basis of the Paternoster alone, Hervas believed that the Puquinan was an entirely separate stock. Adelung-Vater, however, copying Hervas' quoted Paternoster, came to the opposite conclusion, inclining to believe that it was related to Aymará. This opinion was fully adopted by Sir Clements Markham, who declared Puquinan "a very rude dialect of the Lupaca" (a sub-tribe of the Aymára). He was followed in this by von Tschudi.[7]

These authorities, to be sure, had only the Hervas Paternoster from Ore's *Rituale.* It is evident that neither Hervas, Adelung-Vater, Markham, nor von Tschudi had ever seen Ore's original work, since all of them believed that the Lord's Prayer was the only "Puquina" extant in print—whereas thirty pages are to be found in the *Rituale* with translations. However, whether or not Puquina be finally equated with Uru, one thing seems certain: neither one is basically related to the Aymará stock, regardless of extensive borrowings from both Aymará and Quechua. Comparison of the Puquina numerals in Brinton indicate that they are quite independent of both Aymará and Quechua. Brinton himself, with complete appropriateness remarks:

> It remains puzzling to me why the Puquina, which seems to have been spoken only by a few wretched villagers about Lake Titicaca, should have been classed by writers in the sixteenth century as one of the *lenguas generales* of Peru. Not only does Ore refer to it by this term, but in one of the official *Relaciones Geograficas*

[7] Daniel G. Brinton, *Note on the Puquina Language of Peru* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 28, 1890) pp. 242–248; Adelung, Vater, et al., *Mithradates,* Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1806–17), pp. 2, 548–550; Clements R. Markham, *On the Geographical Position of the Tribes which Formed the Empire of the Yncas* (Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 41: 281–338, 1871), p. 305; J. J. von Tschudi, *Organismus der Ketschua Sprache* (Leipzig, 1884), s. 76.

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[*de Indias*, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1582, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the kingdom." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace.

Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Ore with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raoul de la Grasserie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquinas, known also by the name of Urus, Uros, Hunos and Ochomazos, etc." Ehrenreich also lists the "Uro or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Grasserie:

> In the midst of the Kolya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raoul de la Grasserie seems to belong to a different people.

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uros of Iruitu [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruitu ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uro of Raoul de la Grasserie is totally different from my Uro."[8]

More recently Métraux has done linguistic work with both the Chipaya of Lake Poopo (Carangas) and the Uru of Ancoaqui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chipaya, of the group he calls "Uro-Čipaya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Métraux with my own and Polo's make it clear that:

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chipaya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

[8] Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York 1891), pp. 223–224. Raoul de la Grasserie. *Langues Américaines: Langue Puquina, Textes Puquina Contenus dans le Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum de Geronimo de Ore* (publié à Naples en 1607 avec texte espagnol en regard, traduction analytique interlineaire, vocabulaire et essai de grammaire, Leipzig, 1894), p. 67. (De la Grasserie used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Brinton, according to Chamberlain, used a British Museum copy of Ore.) Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Ethnographie Südamerikas im Beginn des XX Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturvölker* (Archiv für Anthropologie N. F. 3: 39–75, 1905), p. 65. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896; cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uran: A New South American Linguistic Stock* (American Anthropologist 12: 417–424, 1910), p. 418, from which this résumé is taken. See also M. Uhle, *Reisen in Bolivia und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlung 23, 1896), pp. 357–360; *idem*, *Ueber die Sprache der Uros in Bolivia* (Globus 69, 1896), p. 19.

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2. The Uru-Chipayan stock is unrelated to either Quechua or Aymará, so far as is determinable from the heretofore solely lexical evidence; the phonemic systems of Aymará and Uru, for what this evidence is worth, seem quite wholly distinct.

3. There is an as yet unexplained misunderstanding concerning Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquina-Uro." The basis for this last judgment is, in part, the numerical systems:[9]

English	*Quechua*	*Aymará*	*Puquina*	*Uru*
One	huc	maya	pesc	či
Two	iscay	paya	so	Bisk
Three	quimsa	kimsa	capa	ček
Four	tahua	pusi	sper	Ba'Bi'
Five	pichka	pesqa	tacpa	ta'snuku
Six	soccta	soχta	chichun	taχčuku
Seven	canchis	paqalqo	stu	Doko
Eight	pusacc	kimsaqalqo	quina	onko
Nine	iscon	ǰatunka	checa	san'Gu
Ten	chunca	tunka	scata	kalo

Polo's numerals for the Uru, quoted in Chamberlain, even less resemble Ore's Puquina (shi; piske; chep; pácpic, páctic; pacnucu; pacchui; tohoco; cohonco; sankau; kalo) than do my recordings, and neither Puquina nor Uru resembles Aymará or Quechua.

There remains, however, the vexing problem of the identity of the Uru and Puquina of Brinton, Ehrenreich, Uhle, Hervas, and Adelung-Vater. Métraux, following Rivet and De la Grasserie, has brought impressive evidence of their identity. He writes: "The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language *bukina*, *pukina* to distinguish it from Aymará. This fact had already been brought to my attention at La Paz; it was later confirmed for me by all my informants." Chamberlain, however, thoroughly convinced by Polo's vocabularies, argued the absolute distinctness of Puquina and Uru, and has followed Eric Boman in stating that they are separate stocks

[9] Quechua quoted unchanged from Brinton, *American Races*, p. 223; Aymará from my own field notes; Puquina from Geronimo de Ore, *Rituale*, in Brinton *op. cit.*; and Uru from my own *hanq'o-haq'e* notes. Since I am not wholly familiar with Uru, the rendering aims more for phonetic accuracy than phonemic economy. The vocabulary, moreover, embodies the considerable language difficulties of having passed from Uru through Aymara and Spanish (the two languages of my interpreter at Ancoaqui) to the present English. Other references in this paragraph are to Alfred Métraux, *Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya de Carangas*, (JSAP 27, 1935), pp. 111–128, 325–415; (JSAP 28, 1936), pp. 155–207, 337–394; *idem*, *Contribution à l'ethnographie et à la linguistique des Indiens Uro d'Ancoaqui* (Bolivia) (JSAP 28) pp. 75–110; *idem*, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67–102. Polo, *op. cit.* in Chamberlain (American Anthropoligist 12: 417–24, 1910), pp. 412–413.

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(but further complicating the matter by bringing in the dispute about the possible relationship of Atacameñan and Uran, which relationship he finally denies).[10] The problem, of course, awaits the attention of the linguistic specialist who shall have complete access to all the documents in the case. Garcilaso de la Vega, it is true, in his *Historia General de las Indias* listed "the Puquinas, Collas, Urus, Yuncas, and other Indian nations." But the Colla and Yunca were subdivisions of the Aymará-speaking stock, which weakens Chamberlain's citation of this as proof of the distinctness of the Uru and the Puquina. *Prima facie* evidence suggests that they are the same; meanwhile, where are we to find any considerable group in the Lake Titicaca region to have spoken the non-Aymará, non-Quechua "lengua general" of "Puquina" *except* the linguistically moribund and heavily Aymarized Uru-Chipaya?[11]

Name. The present-day Uru of the Rio Desaguadero have been given various names by chroniclers and ethnologists. De la Grasserie gives the synonymy *Urus*, *Uros*, *Hunos*, and *Ochomazos*, as well as the controversial "Puquinas"; Calancha, however, gives the name as *Ochozumas*, and Brinton *Ochozomas*. Posnansky says the name of the Uru for themselves is *Uchumi*, and their language *Uchumitaku;* they also call themselves *Kjotsuni*, but never "Urus" or "Puquinas." Métraux, however, found the Ancoaqui Uru

[10] Métraux (JSAP 27, 1934), p. 89. Eric Boman, *Les Antiquités de la Région Andine de la République Argentine* (Paris 1907–1908), pp. 67–73. Boman (p. 72) identifies the Desaguadero Uru with the Changos, also called "Uros," of the Pacific coast farther south, making them the pre-Quechua, pre-Aymará, pre-Yuncan aborigines of the Peru-Bolivia region. Chamberlain thinks they must have been Inca "colonists; so too Brinton (*American Races*, 221) who notes that Oliva (quoted in A. Bastian, *Culturländer des Alten Americas* (1878 Berlin, vol. 2), p. 93) averred some of them were found on the coast near Lambayeque. Since "Chancu" was one of the Aymará nicknames for the Desaguadero Uru, this coastal group of "Changos" may indeed be Uru. Wissler, *The American Indian*, 2nd ed. pp. 312–313, lists and maps a northern "Puquinan" stock and a southern "Uran" stock; but on the linguistic map of South America (Fig. 82) he places "Puquinan" north of Lake Titicaca, and "Uros" in northern Chile, apparently following Boman on this point.

[11] The possible Arawakan affiliation of the Uru-Chipaya is another matter. Rivet and Crequi-Montfort have discussed this problem at length. Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 402–403, suggests connections of the Chipaya with the Chané and the Arawakanized Chiriguano, on the basis of zoomorphic characters in myths; but he further suggests the possiblity that both the Chané and the Chiriguano got their mythical figures from the Aymará-Quechua general Andean folklore, as well as from the Uru-Chipaya. This second direction of diffusion appears to me more plausible: the myths Métraux (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67–102, collected from the Uru-Chipaya are nearly all tales identical with those of the neighboring Aymára. It is my opinion, however, that neither Nordenskiöld's nor Métraux' myth material is sufficiently specific in reference to bear any such burden of proof; some of them show Asiatic, Siamese, Shuswap, and Nootka parallels, *i.e.*, the data are pan-Amerind, indeed, proto- and pre-Amerind.

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sympathetic Bertonio lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Vn nacion de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento," Paredes calls them "brotado . . . despreciables, de poco entendimiento, ásperos y zahereños." The Belgian traveller Walle says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression; it betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Posnansky writes:

> El Uru no tiene placeres, desconoce ahora el juego. La riza jamás asoma a los labios de su cara inmóvil, sin la menor mímica, tostado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus niños son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes; acurracados y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Urus es el de un pueblo amordazado.

Métraux preferred their congeners, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

> The Uru have a character and a genius as sombre as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this illwill is added the unhealthy rapacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the *altiplano* Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field-work with the Aymára, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hate-filled group; in my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . rather more vivacious and handsome than the Aymára"![14]

History. Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymára. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states that those on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in holes in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymára, Inca, and Spanish.

Language. I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The utter independ-

[14] J. de Acosta, *Historia de las Indias* (1591), p. 62. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 4. Bertonio, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 380. Paul Walle, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall). Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Métraux (JSAP 27), p. 89; (28), p. 207.

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ence of this latter, however, is evident to anyone familiar with the Aymará. Inasmuch as the almost unique grammatical sketch of Uru has appeared in a somewhat obscure and inaccessible publication,[15] a summary of the language of this little-known group may be of value to scholars and linguists.

The sounds b, v, d, f, ll, rr and z do not seem to occur in the language of the Uros. The adjective always precedes the noun, and has no mark of gender. The infinitive of the verb has several different terminations, apparently according to the words from which, when secondary, it is derived. Three tenses, present, past, and future, are distinguished by prefixed or suffixed particles, but the material at hand is not sufficient to enable one to settle the whole matter of conjugation, etc. In compound nouns Polo says (p. 480), "the components are arranged in the order which their signification expresses, *e.g. chekere-koche* (shoe), from *chekere* (what is covered), and *koch.* (foot)." The number of Uran words, whose etymology is known is, however, too small to settle this point completely.

The nymerical system of the Uros deserves a few words. There are separate words for 1, 2, 3; then 4, 5, 6, are, respectively, *pácpic, paknucu, pacchui,* in which a common first element *pac* appears; 7, 8, 9, *tohoco, cohonco, samaco* (also *sankau*) seem to have a common terminal *-co; kalo,* 10, is unrelated to the other numerals; 11, 12, 13, etc., are *kalosi, kalo-piske; kalo-chep,* etc.; 100 is *kalo-kalo* (also *pac*); and 1000 could be expressed by *kalo-pac.*

Among the principal suffixes in the Uran language are the following:

-*ai;* in names of male relatives, etc. (*apai,* fathers; *suhuai,* son; *chichulai,* brother, etc.)

-*chi;* in certain names of female relatives, etc. (*achichi,* grandmother; *machi,* daughter; *ushakpischi,* girl).

-*ni;* in certain adjectives (*chakni,* green; *chikni,* old).

-*si;* a frequent termination in nouns (*coasi,* water; *muksi,* cigar; *chacsi,* coca; *lucsi,* spoon; *tucsi,* stomach; *potsi,* axe; *chequisi,* lasso; *chici,* moon; *masi,* stone; *pacsi,* bridge.

Among the suffixes of the infinitives are: -*ai,* -*ana,* -*ani,* -*ara,* -*chi,* -*i,* -*ini,* -*k,* -*n,* -*qui,* -*si,* -*u,* -*ui,* etc. There is a negative or privative particle *ana-,* used as a prefix (*e.g. ana- chuni,* "ugly," *i.e.* "not beautiful.") This particle is also used some times with nouns (*e.g. ana-karchichi,* handless.) Incorporation (or at least collocation) of the pronoun in the verb occurs, as, *e.g. lulicunkipec,* "dost thou desire to eat"? This word is derived from *luli,* "to eat"; *cun,* "thou"; and *kipec,* "to desire." The Uran language belongs to the class of American tongues which do not possess grammatical

[15] Polo, in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima,* 10, 1901, pp. 445–482, from which Chamberlain's, and the present sketch, have largely been taken. Métraux' excellent work is predominantly on the Chipaya of Carangas; Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquinan" is not undisputedly identifiable with Uru; and Alonzo de Barcena's *Lexica et Precepta in Quinque Indorum Linguis* (Lima ?1590), which is said to have contained a sketch of the language, is not known to exist in even a single copy.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*piri*) and *bolas* (*ǯkuni*), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peks* (Aymará *pusiṗia*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *ṗ'oa*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusiṗia* or *peks* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *ǩesana*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *čuñu*, *coca*, net-thread, *kañawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*ǩesana* and *čawara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: They are, Tiṭicana, Konko, Kama, Kuipa.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.[29] The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Ťuintatilo* (= Aymara *Ťunupa?*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotsamptñi* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Tukun-wawa-samptñi* (the goddess of the Lake), *Pačani-samptñi-maļku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *maļku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kalwari-čiči* (god of potatoes), *Kjoni-samptñi* (god of the earth) and *Samptñi-maļku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uro est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,[30] however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

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[29] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprizingly, believe in the superstition of "three-on-a match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper reserves and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps; for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

[30] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya: "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanacu fell down."

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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We the Kjotsuñi [*q'otšoñi*, from Aymará *q'ota*, "lake", and Uru *šoñi*, "men people"][n] are the oldest on this earth. A long time we were here, before when the sun was hidden.

Here where you see the suñi, in the time of our *Achichis* [ancestors], everywhere there was water with many fish; many rivers rose and flowed. Then our nation was large and happy.

Before the Sun hid himself for a long time we were in this place. Then the Kollas [Aymára] came, despoiling us of our lands; they used our bodies for *Kjuchos* [*kučo*, human sacrifice] when they laid the foundations of their temples.

When the Lake dried up we came out in search of food and thus encountered the Aymára.

Before *Čamak-paču* [Aymará, "time or epoch of darkness"] Tiahuanacu was built.

We have built our houses where our ancestors lived. The broken pots of many colors, and *topos* [copper pins] you find when plowing the ground, belong to them.

Métraux recorded in Quechua at Oruro a myth which tells of the tricking of the armadillo by the fox, who misled him concerning a fiesta; hence (say the Uru) the mantle of the armadillo is uneven on his neck and shoulders. Most of the Uru-Chipaya tales were learned from the Aymára.

Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes. Small children own property which cannot be sold without their consent; when a little girl refused to sell me a small cloth, in spite of my offering what must have appeared a fabulous sum, that was the end of it.

In greeting a white man on the road, the Uru, like the Aymára address him as *Wiracocha*, "sir," or *karai* "mister."

The Pleiades are called *kerkeru*, Venus *čauk-kola* ("big-?"), the Milky Way *čatu-likščai* (from *liks* "road"?) and another constellation *tsoxotsoxa;* a comet is called *meĸala* (from the Aymará).

[n] Not, as Posnansky supposes, from the Aymará *suñi*, "puna." The meaning "men" is again obvious from the reference in the second paragraph. Further, the phoneme *š* is lacking in Aymará.

Carangas –
Chipaya

/394 cont./

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The few tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

Carangas-
Čipaya

Plate III

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A. Little boy 13 or 14 years old, an excellent informant.

B. Young Čipaya woman.

C-D. Čipaya women.

/338 cont./

197 borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by
192 the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One /339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speaking Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

124 The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete
191 disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which
197 float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version. This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my
[128] speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten his expressions.

126 The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with a few phrases which effectively summarized their monotonous
● 115 activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering, obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

/339 cont./

115 with particular intensity during my last expedition when I was dealing with the Chaco tribes. There the stories and narratives spurt out. and the poor ethnographer is generally forced to stop the enthusiasm
124 of his interpreter in order not to be flooded. In Chipaya the obstacles that were set before me by the strangely narrow mentality of the Indians were augmented by the necessity in which I found myself of almost always having to use an Aymara interpreter. There is no
[191] Čipaya who speaks enough Spanish to act as drogman. I was almost always obliged to state my questions in Spanish and to have them translated into Aymara. As one can imagine, this system compli-
115 cated my task and increased the chances of error. However, I was well pleased with my Aymara interpreter. a young, very intelligent Indian who very quickly understood the nature of my work and was
126 an /340/ excellent assistant. I tried to avoid wrong constructions by
128 proceeding with constant rechecks. Practically all the words in this dictionary were noted down four or five times by me and obtained from different individuals after more or less long intervals. I had all the lists of words dictated by a native verified by submitting them to others, and almost always I had the Čipaya words that I had just transcribed retranslated into Aymara. Moreover, I always tried to make sure of the exact meaning of a word by having my informant use it in a phrase. The exactitude of my dictionary will be confirmed by a simple comparison with the Uro vocabulary collected in Ancoaqui six months later, when I did not have any of my notes taken in Chipaya before my eyes.

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this group are the handsome monograph of Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, Métraux's vocabulary, and, at a less important level, the various publications of Posnansky containing numerous words more or less well noted down and translated.

The conditions under which most of the documents on the Iru-Itu group were obtained largely explain the imprecision of the meaning of numerous words and the often very different notation on which Créqui-Montfort and Rivet rightly insist. There is no doubt, however, that many of the words have a very broad meaning and that their pronunciation varies within rather large limits, especially with informants belonging to different generations, or influenced to varying extents by Aymara. One even notes considerable variations in the course of a conversation with one person.

During my long contact with the Uru, I collected an important vocabulary of more than 1,000 words, as well as numerous phrases making it possible to analyze the structure of the language.

The extent of this vocabulary and of the collection of phrases makes it impossible to publish them now. I have therefore been forced to make a selection of accounts and conversations obtained from my informants. These texts /148/ relate to the daily life of the Uru. Beyond their interest in this respect, they illustrate most of the ordinary grammatical forms. Study of them also permits a comparison with the only known Pukina text, that of Oré, which is much more extended than it had been possible to do with the documents at our disposal up to now. This comparison, which gives evidence of very close grammatical and lexicographic affinities, will be the subject of a special note in the second number of this journal.

Two informants were utilized in the course of our long linguistic investigation. They belonged to two different generations and displayed considerable variations, not only in phonetics but also in vocabulary and syntax. Both spoke Aymara, the younger one fluently, and the older rather badly;

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115 the former had had much more frequent contacts with the
191 neighboring populations.

114 Here I should note that Métraux's assertion in his 1937
191 work on the almost general usage of Aymara by the Uru of Iru-Itu, who "practically do not speak their old language any more," was clearly exaggerated. In 1938, alongside individuals who spoke Aymara fluently, numerous men knew only a few words
[199] of it, and most of the women did not know it at all. The only ordinary language in the village was Uru, but it is natural that in the course of a short stay with Aymara informants, a traveler would mainly have had contacts with natives who knew this language, which gives a false impression of the group as a whole.

114 Moreover, it is inexact to state that the Uru call their
199 language Bukina or Pukina. This information was also given to me in 1938, during my first trip, by a Uru who spoke Aymara and even a few words of Spanish, and I published it in a small work on the Uru ("Les Indiens Uru du Desaguadero /The Uru Indians of the Desaguadero/," Boletim do Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1939, XIV-XVII, 303-319). During my second stay I had an explanation /149/ of this declaration made by several Uru. All asserted to me that they did not know who the Pukina were and did not know of any people with this name, but a "mister" had said to them that this was the name of their language. It is not difficult to recognize in this connection Posnansky's intervention, of which it would be easy to cite other examples of the same kind.

115 My informants were the following:

Manuel Inta, apparently a pure-blooded Uru, a great-
[149] grandfather, who was almost 90 years old at the time of our investigation judging from the events at which he had been present in his youth. A robust man, he was still capable of making the trip on foot from La Paz to Tiahuanaco, 90 kilometers, in two days in order to save the price of his passage by train or bus, which had nevertheless been paid for him in

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115 [147] large part, and this to the great dismay of the respectable guardian of the ruins of Tiahuanaco who had accompanied him to La Paz and whose watchfulness he tricked in order to enter [91] his village alone. A very limited knowledge of Aymara, none of Spanish or Keŝwa /Quechua/. An excellent informant.

Carlos Kispe, from 40 to 50 years old, one of the youngest men in the group. He displayed characteristics in his physical [144] appearance which led one to suspect a certain degree of Aymara crossbreeding (see the 2nd note, on Physical Anthropology [848] /p. 30/). Besides he was an illegitimate son, born of an un- [91] known father. Much more enterprising than Manuel Inta, he spoke Aymara fluently, but neither Spanish nor Keŝwa. He had frequent contacts with the neighboring Aymara populations and, faced with the persistant drought, was thinking of leaving [91] Iru-Itu to go live as a fisher at Guaki. He also proved to be an excellent informant, but his syntax was less pure and less varied than that of Manuel Inta and his vocabulary poorer and more mixed with Aymara; he did not use, or even did not know, a certain number of words used by his companion.

195 It is interesting to underline these differences in /150/
184 language between individuals of the same village, belonging to two different generations. They allow us to follow the rapid evolution of languages entrusted to oral tradition alone without any monument to establish them.

115 Outside these two principal informants, we utilized other inhabitants of the village, either for the general investigation or for word comparisons.

128 For each text we shall indicate the informant who pro-
191 vided it. These texts were gone over several times with the informant in order to obtain as exact a transcription as possible. Their translation was always checked in Aymara. Even so, in the course of the same text, considerable variations in pronunciation will be observed, which do not appear to follow any definite rule. They indicate a certain phonetic instability, more marked, of course, between different observers.

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*539 The whole of this text, the phonetics as well as the
●115 vocabulary and syntax, is less correct than the accounts of old
191 Manuel Inta, who belongs to the generation prior (he is nearly 90 years old) to that of the new narrator (Carlos Kispe), who is about 50 years old.

*539 1. puKáta is an Aymara word, a language which the in-
191 formant knows rather well; húxk'-čáč' for huxk'-ačáčay,
192 "we can depart." The narrator sometimes says čurk, and sometimes čòrk or čark, literally, "large," "strong"; this form indicates the superlative here. 3. The Uru have no special word for the mast; they simply call it "the wood" of the sail. 8. The correct form would be čaxka-čúčay. 9. The narrator moreover has a tendency to transform the final -čay into -ča (6) or to elide it into ač' (1); he always omits it with substantives and adjectives. 12. The informant says Kās-si instead of the correct form k^{w}á-si, "water." He often confuses ę and i, sometimes saying čúke and sometimes čúki.

VI. The Fishing Enclosure
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 163 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 1. This is a fishing enclosure. 2. This enclosure is made
200 to catch fish. 3. We are accustomed to closing the entrance (of the enclosure) with a net. 4. We lift the net quickly with this stick. 5. On this river there is another net. 6. There are enclosures for each of us, very far away from each other. 7. Thus each of us can fish.

3:Vellard--22a D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

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Plate VI

1. Andrés Vila and Luis Vila.

2. Old Uru woman about 90 years old.

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3. Old Uru woman.

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4. Manuel Inta. 80 to 90 years old.

5. Carlos Kispe, Uru-Aymara. 40 to 50 years old.

/186/

Remarks

*539 124 This little, very lifelike scene shows the usual difficulties in any ethnological investigation; the informants tire quickly, and the investigator is harassed by requests. Our two informants however were excellent.

*539 192 193 1. The suffix náka indicates the plural; takú means "word," "speech," "language." 2. s- kŏ- čay is used for kŏ- čay, the s is euphonic; compare s- mír- háčay in 9. 4. A typical example of an adjective assuming a verbal form: wáka means "all"; by adding kíčay, the past suffix, the word "all she has been," is formed. 5. awáritiš is the Spanish word, aguardiente, eau-de-vie /brandy/. 7. líka-čay, "I shall drink," formula of politeness before drinking. 8. húwa means "quick," "lively," "agile," and in a figurative sense, "intelligent," "quick-witted"; here it is a wish used as a formula of thanking; háp'- pay, "father," a frequently used honorific used for "monsieur." 9. kę- skéču; the repetition of the first syllable of the word has the value of a superlative: "very, very close"; litrát is the Spanish word retrato, portrait.

[115] 11. The informant, about 60 years old, hopes very much to die after his wife, who is, however, less than 40 years old. I am not absolutely sure of the transcription of tíkš' na- tačíkni; it is a future form of dead, literally, "who is stretched out."

[191] In this whole dialogue one will notice the rather different phonetics of the two informants. Thus čis- čay, "to talk," sometimes becomes či- čay; Carlos Kispe often leaves off endings in čay- ; he even often leaves off final syllables or letters.

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XI. Farewells
(Dialogue dictated by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 169 /in the foreign text/)

Translation

1. Dost thou not find it difficult to go away? 2. With much reluctance I shall go to my house. 3. Dost thou want to stay or dost thou want to leave? 4. I wish to go away. 5. Stay longer; it is better to stay now. 6. While thou travelest toward thy house, thou mightst meet a storm. 7. Eat thy meal; afterward thou shalt leave. Thy wife will be able to see thee from afar.

Remarks

We heard this short dialogue at Tihuanaco between our two informants, Carlos Kispe, who was staying with us, and old Manuel Inta, in a hurry to return home. Carlos Kispe repeated [191] it to us. The usual mistakes of this informant are to be again found here: the use of wáli, an Aymara word meaning "much"; transformation of the ending čay into ča; frequent elisions.

*539
193 1. kún, an interrogative particle which is placed before the verb; compare kúmi- pèk' (5). Note the future forms -kičay, used in this whole dialogue, and tú lún táni, literally, "to take trouble." 2. kinák', a particle which is placed after the object, indicating direction with motion. 3. The Uru have no conditional or dubitative form; they present the two proposals without any conjunction. 4. káli, "from here"; a particle which is placed after the verb, indicating departure from the place where one is. 6. káma, a particle placed after the verb; it is common to Keŝwa and to Aymara, meaning "whilst." 7. -stáni, a particle placed after the verb, meaning "after." /188/ 8. t' kúwa, a contraction; the correct form

Iru Itu
8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

Fig. 1: The Uru lady who by unanimous consent had taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate.

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S:Film T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SFPA Urn SF24
Urn 1-24

Fig. 2: The village church.

Fig. 3: Our leading lady and her mother, who was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen.

[P 306-A]

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Introduction

/121/ [114] [101] [361] [161] It was solely with the intention of obtaining some elements of comparison for my Cipaya dictionary that I, in the company of Professor A. Posnansky, made a one week visit to the Uro of the Desaguadero in June, 1931. These Indians live in the village of Ancoaqui, on the right bank of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from the Bolivian port of Cuaqui. There are only a handful of them, 40 at the very most. Even taking into account those who were absent and the small agglomerations spread throughout the region, I seriously doubt whether the remaining Uro number a hundred. It was, therefore, imperative to record their language. The case of the Uro is typical of the rudimentary and anarchic state of South American ethnography. For a long time these Indians have been considered one of the most interesting ethnic elements of the Andean region. Nevertheless, no one has thought of living among them and devoting a serious and methodical study to them. The excellent monograph of Dr. Rivet (1) and Mr. de Créqui

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[Text continues on p. 3]

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1. Créqui Montfort (G. de) and Rivet (P.), "La langue uru ou pukina /The Uru or Pukina Language/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, new series, Vol. XVII (1925), pp. 211-244; Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 111-199; Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 57-116. To the texts assembled in this article the following must be added: McCutchen McBride (G.), "The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia," American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 5, New York, 1921, p. 17. "There are the Uros that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains

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105

Lake Titicaca. Subsisting chiefly by hunting and fishing, they ply their reed boats (balsas) among the wide-extended swamps that here border the river. Their houses are of rude construction, being built of mud and thatched with straw or totora, the bulrush from which their boats are made. They appear to be among the oldest occupants of the plateau.... They enter any discussion of land tenure only in a negative sense, as they are almost entirely landless. They practice little if any agriculture, though some of them now own small herds of cattle and llamas. They form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them." /Cited in English./

Ogilvie (Alan G.), Geography of the Central Andes. A Handbook to accompany the La Paz Sheet of the Map of Hispanic America on the Million Scale. (Published by the American Geographical Society of New York, 1922). Beneath a photograph presenting an Uro woman crushing some quinua (Fig. 30), these lines appear: "Uru Indian woman grinding quinoa in a sheepskin. The house is of mud with a thatch of reeds secured by grass ropes to pegs in the walls. The sack contains llama dung for fuel. The water jar is made of clay dug from a bank near by." /Cited in English./

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After these lines had been written, Mr. A. Posnansky published a study on the

/75 cont./

113
114 Uro entitled: "Los Urus o Uchumi /The Uru or Uchumi/." Actas y trabajos cientificos del XXV° Congreso internacional de Americanistas (La Plata, 1932), Vol. I, Buenos Aires, 1934, pp. 234-300. This work, very extensive, contains only a small amount of really scientific information on the Uro. It is more an attempt to bring some ethnographic theories into harmony with somewhat romantic archaeological reconstructions. One of the most serious dangers of this article is that it contains some precise details—notably on fishing among the Uro—which are mixed with interpretations and speculations which the author presents as facts noted in the field. Everything in this article concerning the present religion of the Uro is in the realm of fantasy.

In 1933 my friend Mr. E. Palavecino, of the Museum of Natural History in Buenos Aires, made a visit to the Uro on my advice. Some of his observations have been published in the Sunday, December 3, 1933 number of La Prensa under the following title: "Los Indios Urus de Iruito / The Uru Indians of Iruito/."

114 Montfort itself, in which all the importance /76/ of the Uro problem is underlined, was not a sufficient factor to stimulate the scholars who during recent years have traversed Bolivia to give the Uro the attention they deserve. Such negligence is even more unpardonable in view of the fact that the geographical location

/76 cont./
of the natives cannot be an excuse. There are few in America more easily accessible; the Uro are actually only a few hours by car from La Paz, the capital of Bolivia.

Material Culture

The brevity of my stay among the Uro and the small amount of leisure which I had outside of my linguistic investigations prevented me from making any important ethnographic observations on them. I also doubt that deeper inquiries would have been able to lead me to the discovery of sensational, or even /77/ new, facts. The Uro have been "Aymarized" to a much higher degree than the Čipaya, and to this Aymara influence, doubtless a thousand years old, must be added that of the Spanish and of the Bolivian half-breed. The village of Ancoaqui resembles, down to the last details, all the villages of the altiplano, and the Uro are not distinguishable, either in physical appearance or in dress, from the Aymara, their neighbors. If I consider the few notes I took as worth publishing, it is because of the small amount of information that we possess on these Indians. I shall repeat again, perhaps in vain, the wish that a serious and well-trained ethnographer will want to devote several months of his /Fig. 21 appears here/ life to the study of the natives of the high plateau. If this is not done soon, our only remaining opportunity to know the great South American civilizations better will have disappeared.

Dwellings. The village of Ancoaqui is made up of small square huts of "adobe," grouped around a quadrangular courtyard. I remember two houses with rounded corners, although this circumstance was not sufficiently accentuated to permit classifying them as huts of a round design (Pl. II, A /see p. 22/). The roofs of these habitations have only one real style: they are made of matting attached to stays which are also of totora, i.e., matting rolled up and solidly sewn together, replacing beams, which are rare and costly

/78/
3½ in these desert regions. Matting hung before the entrance takes the place of a door.

[62] Figs. 21 and 22. – Huts temporarily occupied by Aymara herdsmen in the region of the Desaguadero (left bank). The roof is cupola shaped. These dwellings are made of clods of earth (drawn from a photograph).

35 An inventory of the furnishings and objects found in these huts
41 can be quickly made. I took one; there were mats for sleeping, a clay cook stove, a sort of small enclosure containing burnable material, pottery of different shapes and sizes, a mortar, some spindles, balls of wool, textile fabric which was generally coarsely woven, sometimes some fishing equipment, and finally a broom. Passing into the courtyard one generally notices string, weirs, swords, a loom, and farming implements of European origin.

323 The vessels are not locally produced. They are imported
[439] and /Fig. 22 appears here/ come from some indigenous industry of the altiplano. The pots were shaped on a wheel and bear a

323 /78 cont./
000 potter's mark on the bottom (1). The mortars, or more exactly

323 1. My observations in this respect contra-
114 dict those of one of the authors cited in

342

Fig. 22

323 note 1, p. 3. As I was trying to make
114 as complete a collection as possible at
[126] Ancoaqui, I gave special attention to all
the objects which met my eyes, and the
pottery did not seem to me to be of
local fabrication. I also did not see any
women working at making it, nor did I
notice any of the signs which indicate
the existence of a ceramic industry in
the entire Indian village.

4/2 The mortars or more exactly
the grindstones, are made of a flat or slightly concave stone, against which another, oval in form and polished by use, is rubbed. These mullers are sometimes semicircular; the pressure which the

/78 cont./

412 kneeling woman exerts on them is accompanied by gentle rocking, which facilitates the grinding.

372 /79/ The Uro have no combustible material other than dried
[332] animal excrement and tola branches, which they go far to seek.
[124] These things are precious, and the Uro, like the Chipaya and the Aymara, are sparing in their use.

231 Near the huts a type of earth niche is sometimes erected which is rather similar to the huts around the village of Chipaya; these are pigstys.

226 Fishing. The Uro, in our age as in pre-Colombian times,
[212] draw their main subsistence from the lake. They are excellent
[439] fishers. The fish they catch is partly consumed by themselves and partly sold to the Aymara and to the half-breeds of the capital. I did not have the opportunity to be present on a real fishing expedition, only at several demonstrations made at my request. They first taught me the way in which they use the landing net shown in Fig. 23, 1 /see p. 9/. The wooden frame which holds the stretched-out net is fastened to the end of a pole. The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or seated on his balsa until he sees an interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net delicately, then pulls it out of the water with a sudden motion.

227 There is another type of landing net which is much larger. It is composed of a circle from which wooden sticks joined at one end go out. This skeleton, conical in form, is covered with a net. Another net, as large as a hand, is stretched across the opening to make the escape of the fish even more difficult. This apparatus is often of considerable dimensions; some are more than three meters in diameter. They are always equipped with a handle by which they are held in the water and lifted up as soon as the fish have ventured in (Pl. III, 8 /see p. 23/).

The Uro Indians also possess bottom nets, which I regret not having seen employed. I have, however, acquired a perforated stone (Fig. 24, 2 /see p. 10/) which corresponds to our weights or ballast.

/79 cont./

226 ballast. According to the information I have gathered, these nets are used for fishing in deep water. They are dragged simultaneously by several balsas or used as dams. Many people are necessary to handle them.

"As the nets accumulate algae and aquatic refuse of all kinds, the Uro carry little brooms with them, with which they clean the meshes once the net is out of the water." To disturb the water and chase the fish toward the nets or weirs, the Uro have sticks with balls of totora attached to their ends. /They move them in a vertical direction.

To bring the fish into their nets the Uro, like many /80/ /Fig. 23 appears here/ /81/ /Fig. 24 appears here/ /82/ Indian tribes of America, construct barriers which they call henis. These dikes are formed of bundles of totora. Each is composed of five or six rushes laid out in the same direction and attached by the thinnest upper part. They transport these bundles on their balsas to the spot which seems to them the most propitious for fishing, and there they erect their barrier. To sink the bundles of totora in the mud, they use the boat hook (l'oleena) with which they propel their small boats. A bundle is placed against the boat hook, the point of the latter resting on the ligature of the bundle. The whole thing is thrust into the earth vertically. The end of the bundle protrudes several centimeters above the surface of the water. They repeat the operation until they have raised a dike which is sufficiently compact to retain the fish. The barrier has the shape of an angle which is open in the direction of the current. The two sides are straight or curve slightly inward. They end in an opening about one meter wide, whose edges, more resistant than the rest of the barrier, are composed of two bunches 20 centimeters in diameter. In contrast to the other bundles, the latter have a transverse ligature a few centimeters from the surface.

[501]

Facing this opening there is generally an islet of totora which protects the barrier against the wind and to which the fisherman can attach his balsa. There he stations himself with his net.

[text continues on p.11]

/80/
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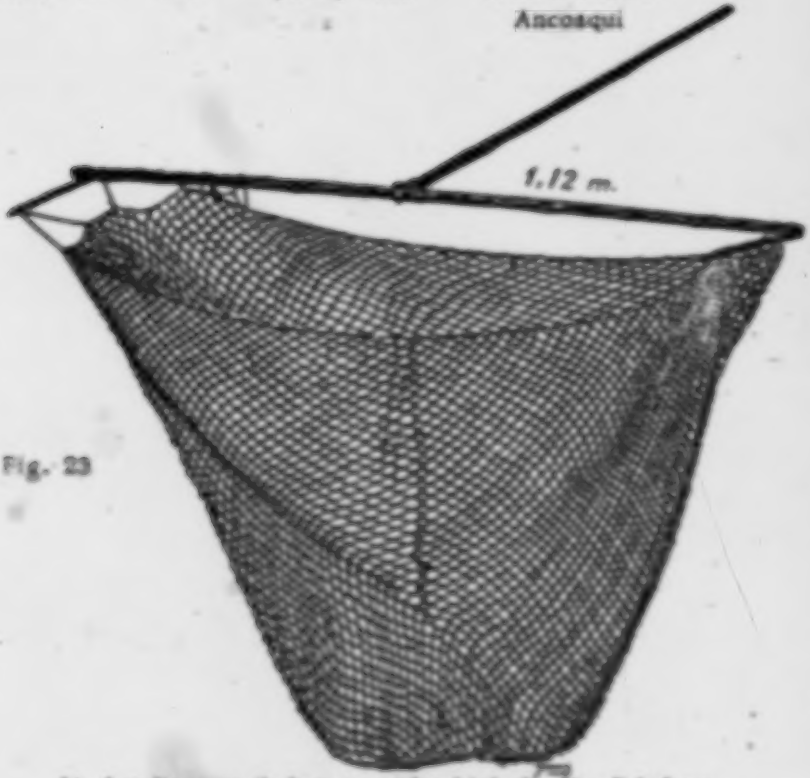

Fig. 23

1: Landing net (*huhuma*), with which the Uro fish from above their boats

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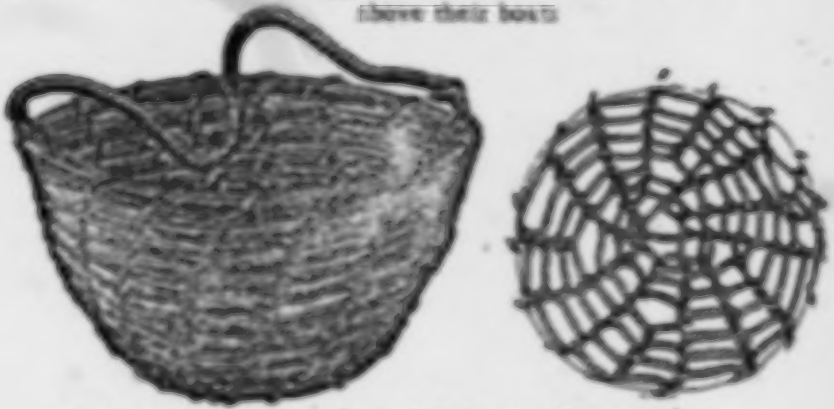


2. It a wicker basket of spiral design (width: 18 cm.; height: 14 cm.).

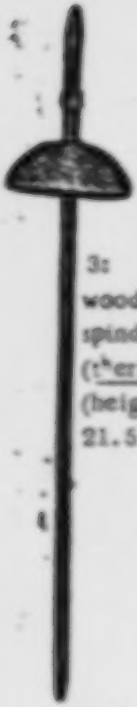
/81/

281

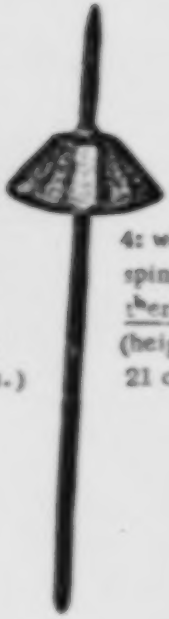
227

1: Stone polisher to soften leather (height: 7.5 cm. width: 7.2 cm; thickness: 3.5 cm.)

2: perforated stone used as ballast to sink bottom nets (diameter: 9.9 cm.) (GM. 31.44.44)



3: wooden spindle (t'eri) (height: 21.5 cm.)



4: wooden spindle t'eri (height: 21 cm.)

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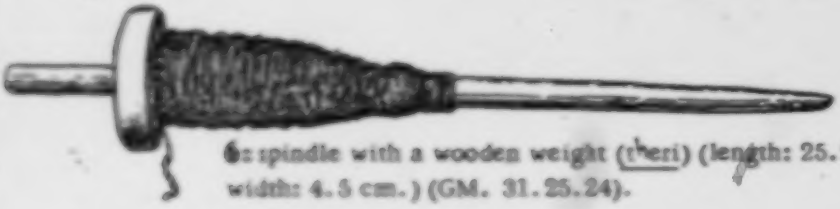
396

5: wooden hook which the Uro use for making their balsas (kaxlu, 'kaxi)



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6: spindle with a wooden weight (t'eri) (length: 25.2 cm. width: 4.5 cm.) (GM. 31.25.24).

Fig. 24

/82 cont./

226 He lies in wait for the fish which are caught between the two dikes and are thus led toward the net which closes the barrier" (Palavecino).

The Uro like to fish at night: "It is a curious spectacle to see them on moonlit nights embark on their balsas in the direction of their barriers. At their destination they form a sort of conical tent with the totora sails, which shelters them from the wind, and they give themselves over to fishing" (Palavecino).

[411] When the Uro navigate on the Desaguadero, they always carry along with them a spear (p^{h}iri), whose point bristles with iron spikes. With this weapon they harpoon the suche (Tricomicterus), a fish to which they are very partial, in the mud where the water is not very deep.

223 Hunting. Hunting plays only a very secondary role in the Uro economy. In all, for game they have nothing beside the water birds which abound in the marshes of the Desaguadero. They strike them with bolas, of which two weights are cylinders of wood; the third is an oval stone, which they hold in the hand while they whirl this weapon over the head (Fig. 25, 3 /see p. 15/).

They also have recourse to extremely long nets in capturing these birds whose flight skims the water. These are stretched in a semicircle /83/ in the middle of the fields of totora and attached to faggots of rushes and to stakes. A part of the net is submerged to prevent the diving birds from passing beneath the surface of the water. The hunters on their balsas make noise to chase the birds toward the obstacle where the latter find themselves caught. Those which succeed in escaping are killed with bolas.

The cold of the Titicaca is such that in the mornings the birds are torpid. The Indians, hidden behind bundles of totora, draw near without being seen; they catch them by their claws and finish them off with their teeth or by twisting their necks.

241 Agriculture. The Uro today practice agriculture, just as the inhabitants on the shores of the Titicaca do. I do not know to what extent the produce of their fields contributes toward guaranteeing their existence. They cultivate, of course, potatoes and quinua.

/83 cont./

231 Animal raising. They raise guinea pigs in their huts, which renders habitation there even more disagreeable. They have several flocks of sheep, pigs, and cows; those of the latter along the shores of the Desaguadero have become amphibious. They spend the entire day in the water and graze on water plants. From afar one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan swamp.

262 252 Cooking. The diet of the Uro is that of all the Indians of the altiplano: : potatoes cooked in water, chuño (potato fecula), boiled or roasted meat, maize, broad beans, quinua, cañave, etc. The Uro add to this a dish of their own creation: the juicy pith of the totora. The edible part of this plant is the base of the stalk. It does not need to be prepared in any way.

252 [174] The Uro have preserved a method of cooking which is very old and whose distribution in South America, completely unusual, corresponds perhaps to a very archaic cradle of civilization: this is the subterranean oven, or Polynesian oven. "These ovens, which the Uro call vaxaña, consist of a hole dug in the earth whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 centimeters. The rounded edge juts out at the level of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uro light a fire inside and put in stones which are more or less flat. When the rocks are incandescent they are withdrawn, with the exception of those at the bottom. On top of them is laid a bed of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a second bed of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is then closed with rocks which are covered with rushes. The fish thus cooks by stewing" (Palavecino).

251 They preserve fish by drying it on mats after having /84/ salted it. They do the same with the birds, whose flesh is cut up and exposed to the rays of the sun.

273 *They make a beer called* xawinskania *from* cañave *seeds* (Palavecino).

398 [439] Manufacture of balsas. The most important industrial activity of the Uro is the manufacture of rafts of totora, or balsas, to be provided with which partically all the shore-dwellers on the Titicaca come to them. As these small craft deteriorate rapidly,

/84 cont./

396 the Uro are obliged to keep up with an incessant demand. They have veritable maritime shipyards on the steep bank of the Desaguadero, where constant activity reigns (Pl. IV, A /see p. 24/).

391 423 424 Each family owns a portion of the bank, whose limits are marked by small walls. Within these enclosures they heap the totora from which the balsas are made. This plant (Cyperaceae, of the genus Scirpus) (Scirpus totora, Kunth.) forms actual fields in the swamps which line the Titicaca. The Indians come to cut it as they need it. "Every family that owns a field near the shore considers itself the owner of a certain expanse of these totorales. It is the only family to exploit this area, and its rights are respected by the neighbors (1)."

[113]

1. Parodi (Lorenzo R.). "Las balsas usadas por los aymaras en el lago Titicaca /The Balsas Used by the Aymaras on Lake Titicaca/." Physis. Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales. Vol. XI (Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 145-149.

391 424 It is a picturesque spectacle to see the Indians who went in search of totora return; the cut stalks have been tied together into huge bundles which are allowed to float like a train of wood after being secured to the rear of the balsa (Pl. III, A /see p. 23/).

The totora can be used only when it is dry. Hence, after having gathered it the Indians' first concern is to spread it out in their enclosures. They also make faggots out of it by standing the stalks upright to expose them to the wind and sun. It is only when it has lost all dampness that the totora can be used to construct balsas. Its thickness is thereby diminished, its immediate rotting prevented, and, above all, the possibility that the bundles which constitute the balsa might disintegrate because of a loss in volume is avoided.

/84 cont./

396 The construction of these rafts is rather simple, although
[147] it demands great manual skill and considerable expenditure of strength. The keel is composed of two enormous spindle-shaped sheafs of totora tied together. The natives obtain them by heaping up and intertwining stalks of totora of unequal length (Pl. IV, B /see p. 24/); they take care that the shortest remain inside and they cover these with progressively longer stalks until the total forms a compact mass. The rope which maintains each of these rolls /85/ /Fig. 25 appears here/ /86/ is crossed at each turn with that of the other sheaf. Two padded rims are then fastened to the edge, where they serve as a railing and add to the stability of the craft. The only instrument to which the Indians have recourse in making these rafts is a wooden hook (Fig. 24, 5 /see p. 10/), which they use to lift the straw rope, either to tighten it or to pass the rope which joins one sheaf to the other under it. This alternating play of the ropes obliges the balsa constructors to work always two by
501 two (Pl. IV, C /see p. 24/). For navigating, the Uro have long boathooks, i'oksna, the wood for which comes from the eastern slopes of the Andes. The extremity of these poles ends in a sort of trident which prevents them from sinking too deeply in the mud of the lake (Fig. 25, 2 /see p. 15/).

285 Mats. The Uro Indians have several uses for the rush (totora) mats. They make the framework and roofs of their huts from it, their beds, the door of their house, and the sails of their balsas. Making them is not complicated. The totora stalks are spread out on five or six parallel ropes, stretched between stakes, and attached to them in little piles.

~303 Rope-making. The Uro are obliged to constantly make rope, the indispensable accessory for the two industries which have just been mentioned. Different types of gramineous plants,
[304] among them the Stipa ichu Kunth, Festucha orthophylla Pilger, and F. dissiflora Griseb (1), furnish them with raw material of

1. Parodi, p. 4.

[text continues on p. 16]

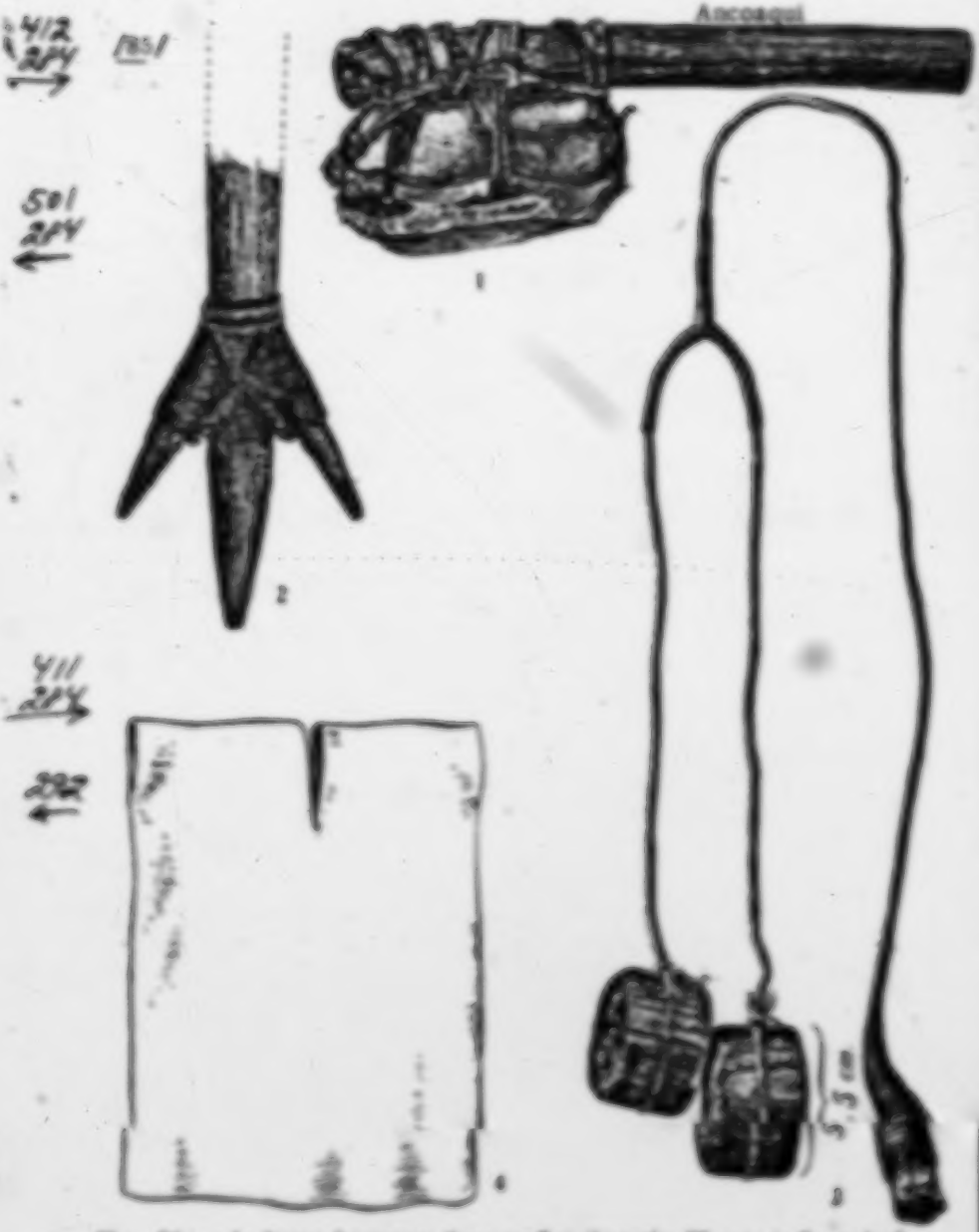

Fig. 25. — 1: Stone hammer (*kwamaña*) (length: 27 cm.); 2: end of the boathook which the Uru use to propel their cane rafts (*t'akana*); 3: bolas (*kunti*); 4: tunic of white wool which the Uro wear over their modern clothes for ceremonious occasions (*iru*) (length: 1.65 m. width: 0.62 m

/86 cont./

000 1. Parodi, p. 4.

283 excellent quality. They pull them up with their roots, then put them in a pile, cutting off the two ends, and let them soak in
283 water. Then they crush them on a slab with hammer blows.
412 The latter is made of a stone put in a leather sheath to which a wooden handle is attached (Fig. 25, 1 /see p. 15/). There is no doubt that this handle is a recent innovation, and that the primitive hammers of the Uro, like all those of the Aymara of the conquest and of the modern Cipaya, were nothing more than a simple pebble with, at the most, somewhat of a depression to facilitate grasping it. Once the straw is flexible through the washing and hammering, it is rolled on the leg with the flat of the hand, following a process common to America as a whole.

291 Dress. The dress of the Uro is identical with that of the
171 Aymara, i.e., with very few exceptions, to that of the poor classes in practically all of Latin America: trousers, a shirt,
292 a felt hat, and a poncho. Almost all the Uro, however, still
[174] keep the "camiseta," the long woolen shirt which was once the /87/ national costume of the Indians who belonged to the Andean civilizations or who were subject to their influence (Fig. 25, 4 /see p. 15/). They rarely put it on nowadays, and only on my express request did those whom I photographed consent to slip this tunic over their ordinary clothes (Pl. V, A /see p. 25/).
291 They cover their heads with a wool helmet, whose pre-Colombian
294 origin is doubtful. The Uro formerly knitted them with thread made from the down of water birds. The Berlin Museum has a sample of these caps, the technique of which Dr. Th. Krickeberg was kind enough to study on my behalf. This examination led
[293] him to the conclusion that although the idea of spinning bird
[172] down is ancient, the knitting stitches are clearly European in origin.

291 The women are dressed like the Indian women of La Paz: several colored skirts put on one over the other, a dirty blouse barely hidden by a mantle closed over the chest, a felt hat, and

/87 cont./
291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[174] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B /see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
279/ tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).

286 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is, unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans,
[614] a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, Konko,
[616] Kama, and Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities: anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai and xanača. These may be translated by their Aymara equivalent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
622 Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoraturčirčki:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čauk čapsti) who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

188 cont. They are as good and as bad
771 Catholics as the Aymara, and the little church constructed in the
171 center of the village is the type which is prevalent on the high plateau. The pagan practices to which they are given seem to be the same as those of the Aymara.

776 The Pačamama, or "Earth-mother," is their principal
[171] divinity, as everywhere else on the high plateau. They also spoke to me about mal'ku and samiri although I was not able to obtain anything specific or any details about the cult rendered them. I noticed on the wall near the entry of all the huts a spot
[342] of blood, a reminder of the sacrifice which had been made to the local spirit at the moment when the house was covered with its roof. A pile of potatoes which had just been grubbed up was
[342] surmounted with a straw cross, a bottle of alcohol, and some coca leaves; these were, no doubt, offerings made to the Pačamama.

782 An old Indian man dictated to me several of the prayers
539 addressed to this divinity on different occasions. She is spoken of as mal'ku, i.e., "chief," as in Chipaya. Here are the prayers:

Samtña Mal'kwa	pičnača	Čal'tama.
Holy Divinity	come	let us offer up libation.

Tiča	ti koka	samtña	tača.
Here is	this coca	Holy One	I will give.

K"iñkina	koka	taki.
Potato	coca	I give.

Xuaia (ρ)	tača	Samtña	Mal'ku.
Llama	I will give	Holy	Divinity.

773 Mythology. I was able to gather fragments of an old
[171] myth at Ancoaqui, of which I possess a more complete version which was narrated by the Čipaya. "In former times there was

/88 cont./
723 a cataclysm which annihilated all of humanity with the exception of the Uro. This explains why they speak a different language than the other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its church existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky the church and Tiahuanacu melted." The vestiges of the old myth which 223 539 Betanzos (1) has preserved for us are recognizable here.

[113]

1. Betanzos (Juan Diez de). "Historia de los Incas y Conquista del Peru /History of the Incas and the Conquest of Peru/." Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru. (Lima, 1924). Vol. 8, second series, pp. 82-83.

Tuki	paĉa	(ĉamak tiempo)	ĵoñi	ekanĵtinnakĉai
Former times	former times	people	have remained	
tokŝanakaki	estansias	tiksi	ekanastkalaĉai	
people of the others	"estancias"	they died	we have remained	
nekstai	ti	ĉiaki	sisasuĉai.	
then	this	language	we know.	

157 [609] /89/ Disposition. In disposition and nature the Uro are as sombre as the Aymara. A stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold and slightly hostile reception. To this ill-will is added the unhealthy rapacity shown by the Aymara and the Bolivians, besides the apathy and that heaviness of spirit which makes the Indian highlander frankly so odious. I am not, however, unaware of the causes of the mental atrophy of the 155 648 Bolivian Indian; the Uro have not escaped the brutalities and exploitation of their Spanish masters, nor that of their even

/89 cont./

155 648 crueler successors, the enfranchised half-breeds of Bolivia. One simple example can illustrate better than any humanitarian tirade the treatment to which, even up to our day, these Indians are submitted: the two Bolivian soldiers who accompanied me and who had interrupted their hunt for Indians who had revolted, threatened my poor informants with public whipping and burning of their huts for the smallest trifle. Those are the most current, and the gentlest, measures employed by Bolivian officers with regard to the natives.

197 177 Linguistics. The Uro hardly speak their ancient language any more, and even among themselves Aymara is readily used. However, the Uro dialect of Ancoaqui seems to have been less contaminated by Spanish and Aymara than that of the Uro of Chipaya. At any rate, at Ancoaqui I had the good fortune to find several Uro roots which have already disappeared at Chipaya. This fact might appear peculiar when one reflects that the Uro of Ancoaqui have always had much closer contact with the Aymara and with the Spanish than their brothers at Carangas. Their material culture has been more deeply modified than that of the Chipaya, whose physiognomy is clearly archaic. How then can one explain why their language should have remained purer than the dialect of the Chipaya? I am inclined to believe that this anomaly is due to the fact that the Uro of Ancoaqui have been located closer to the great Uro centers of Lake Titicaca, and that since they were formerly more numerous than the Chipaya, they have succeeded better in preserving their own language. A linguistic detail which happens to confirm the thesis supported by Dr. Rivet on the identity of the Pukina and

197 114 of the Uro remains to be mentioned. The lexicographic concordances pointed out by Dr. Rivet made this assimilation almost certain. The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language bukina, pukina in order to distinguish it from Aymara. The fact had already been indicated to me at La Paz; it has since then been confirmed by all my informants.

/89 cont./

French-Uro Vocabulary

/104 The phonetic system used in this article is the same as the one that /90/ Dr. Paul Rivet uses in his article on the Uro language (): x corresponds to the Spanish "ch"; ǰ to the French

1. See note 1, p. 1.

"ch"; ǰ is an affricate which would be transcribed as "dj" in French; y is the Spanish "j," and l' the "ll" or liquid l of the same language. The combined sign kˣ is a half-occlusive, the cutting-off of which produces a sound close to the Spanish "j." A mark under the vowels indicates that they are very open. ŭ is a semi vowel which is close to w.

/93 /97 The grammar of the Uro of Ancoaqui does not seem to differ from that of the dialect of the Čipaya. One finds the same verbal endings, the same suffixes, etc.

/102 The words preceded by one asterisk are those which are derived from Aymara, those marked with two asterisks derive from Spanish, and with three, from Kičua /Quechua/. /The word list, pp. 90-110, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

~~Plate II~~ 1

342

A. Round house.

B. Women sewing.

291
302
286

[End Plate I]

1 [Plate I accompanied a different article not dealing with the Uru--Abalrit]

1:Méteux--23 F-c (1931) 1935 SF24 Uru SF24
ANCOSQUI

Plate II

226
501
291

[illegible] with [illegible]

C. Women weaving.

226
502

[End Plate 2]

1886 34 T-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 SF24

396
[30]

[29]

396
291

InMétrum--25 E-a (1931) 193a SF24 Uru SF24
Ancoaqui

A. Male Uru Indian dressed in [illegible] costume.

B. Uru woman.

C. Uru girl.

D. Uru daughter.

/A French-Uru vocabulary list may be found in the foreign text of this source, category 116, pp. 90-110./

Métraux E-5 (1931) 1935 SP24 Uro-SP24
Ancoaqui

Contribution to the Ethnography and Linguistics of the Uru Indians of Ancoaqui (Bolivia) /Contribution à l'Ethnographie et à la Linguistique des Indians Uro d'Ancoaqui (Bolivie)/

A. Métraux

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L. Métraux 8°24 Ura

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PARIS, 1er

1935

CONTRIBUTION À L'ETHNOGRAPHIE ET À LA LINGUISTIQUE DES INDIENS URO D'ANCOAQUI (BOLIVIE).

Par A. MÉTRAUX,
Directeur de l'Institut d'ethnologie de l'Université de Tucumán (Argentine).

(*Planches II-V*).

INTRODUCTION.

C'est uniquement avec l'intention d'obtenir des éléments de comparaison pour mon dictionnaire čipaya que je fis en juin 1931, en compagnie du Professeur A. Posnansky, un séjour d'une semaine chez les Uro du Desaguadero. Ces Indiens vivent dans le village d'Ancoaqui, sur la rive droite du Desaguadero, à 25 km. environ du port bolivien de Huaqui. Ils ne sont plus qu'une poignée, quarante tout au plus. Même en tenant compte des absents et des petites agglomérations dispersées dans la région, je doute fort que les derniers Uro atteignent aujourd'hui la centaine. Il y avait donc urgence à recueillir leur langue. Le cas des Uro est typique de l'état rudimentaire et anarchique de l'ethnographie sud-américaine. Depuis longtemps, ces Indiens sont considérés comme un des éléments ethniques les plus intéressants de la région andine. Nonobstant, personne n'a songé à s'installer chez eux et à leur consacrer une étude sérieuse et méthodique. La belle monographie du Dr. Rivet[1] et de M. de Créqui Montfort elle-même, où toute l'impor-

1. Créqui Montfort (G. de) et Rivet (P.). *La langue uru ou pukina.* (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, nouvelle série*, t. XVII, 1925, pp. 211-244; t. XVIII, 1926, pp. 111-139; t. XIX, 1927, pp. 57-116). Aux textes réunis dans cet article il faut ajouter les suivants : Mc Cutchen Mc Bride (G.). *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia.* (American Geographical Society Research Series n. 5, New York, 1921, p. 17). « There are the Urus that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains Lake Titicaca. Subsisting chiefly by hunting and fishing, they ply their reed boats (balsas) among the wide-extended swamps that here border

tance du problème uro est soulignée, n'a pas été un facteur suffisant pour inciter les savants qui, ces dernières années, ont parcouru la Bolivie, à accorder aux Uro l'attention qu'ils méritent. Une telle négligence est d'autant plus impardonnable qu'elle n'a même pas l'excuse de la situation géographique de ces indigènes. Il en est peu en Amérique qui soient plus facilement accessibles : les Uro ne se trouvent en effet qu'à quelques heures d'auto de La Paz, la capitale de la Bolivie.

Civilisation matérielle.

La brièveté de mon séjour chez les Uro et le peu de loisirs dont je disposais en dehors de mes enquêtes linguistiques m'ont empêché de faire à leur sujet des observations ethnographiques de quelque importance. Je doute fort d'ailleurs que des recherches plus approfondies eussent pu me conduire à la découverte de faits sensationnels, ou sim-

the river. Their houses are of rude construction, being built of mud and thatched with straw or totora, the bulrush from which their boats are made. They appear to be among the oldest occupants of the plateau.... They enter any discussion of land tenure only in a negative sense, as they are almost entirely landless. They practice little if any agriculture, though some of them now own small herds of cattle and llamas. They form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them ».

Dauvic (Alan G.I. *Geography of the Central Andes. A Handbook to accompany the La Paz Sheet of the Map of Hispanic America on the Million Scale.* (Published by the American Geographical Society of New York, 1922). Sous une photographie représentant une femme uro, écrasant de la *quinoa* (fig. 30), on trouve les lignes que voici : « Uru Indian woman grinding *quinoa* in a sheepskin. The house is of mud with a thatch of reeds secured by grass ropes to pegs in the walls. The sack contains llama dung for fuel. The water jar is made of clay dug from a bank near by ».

Après que ces lignes aient été écrites, Mr. A. Posnansky a fait paraître une étude sur les Uro intitulée : *Los Uruu Uchumi*. (Actas y trabajos cientificos del XXV° Congreso internacional de Americanistas (La Plata, 1932), t. I. Buenos Aires, 1934, pp. 285-300). Ce travail, très étendu, ne contient que peu de renseignements véritablement scientifiques sur les Uro. C'est plutôt une tentative d'harmoniser quelques théories ethnographiques avec des reconstructions archéologiques quelque peu romancées. L'un des plus graves dangers de cet article est de contenir quelques détails exacts — notamment sur la pêche chez les Uro — qui se mêlent à des interprétations et des spéculations que l'auteur présente comme des faits observés sur le terrain. Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire, concerne la religion actuelle des Uro est du domaine de la fantaisie.

En 1933, mon ami Mr. E. Palavecino, du Musée d'histoire naturelle de Buenos Aires fit, sur mon conseil, une visite aux Uro. Quelques-unes de ses observations ont été publiées dans le numéro de « La Prensa » du dimanche 3 décembre 1933, sous le titre suivant : « *Los Indios Uros de Bolivia* ».

plement nouveaux. Les Uro ont été « aymarisés » à un bien plus haut degré que les Cipaya, et à cette influence aymara, sans doute millénaire, est venue s'ajouter celle des Espagnols et des métis boliviens. Le village d'Ancoaqui est semblable, à quelques détails près, à tous les villages du haut-plateau, et les Uro ne se distinguent, ni par l'aspect physique, ni par le vêtement, des Aymara leurs voisins. Si je considère les quelques notes que j'ai prises comme dignes d'être publiées, c'est en raison même du peu de renseignements que nous possédons sur ces Indiens. Je formule encore une fois le vœu, peut-être vain, qu'un ethnographe sérieux et bien entraîné veuille consacrer quelques mois de sa

Fig. 21 et 22. — Huttes occupées temporairement par les pâtres aymara dans la région du Desaguadero (rive gauche). Le toit est en coupole. Ces habitations sont faites de mottes de terre (d'après une photographie).

vie à l'étude des indigènes du haut-plateau. Si l'on ne se hâte, les seules chances qui nous restent de mieux connaître les grandes civilisations sud-américaines auront disparu.

L'habitation. — Le village d'Ancoaqui se compose de cases carrées, en « adobes », groupées autour d'une cour quadrangulaire. Je me souviens de deux maisons aux angles arrondis, sans cependant que cette particularité fût suffisamment accentuée pour permettre de les qualifier de huttes à plan circulaire (*Pl. II, A*). La toiture de ces habitations a seule un cachet propre : elle est constituée par une natte fixée à une armature également en *totora*, c'est-à-dire à des nattes roulées sur elles-mêmes et solidement ficelées, qui remplacent les poutres rares et coû-

tenues dans ces régions désertiques. Une natte suspendue devant l'entrée tient lieu de porte.

L'inventaire du mobilier et des objets que l'on trouve dans ces huttes est vite fait. Je l'ai noté : ce sont des nattes sur lesquelles on dort, un fourneau en terre, une sorte de petit autel contenant du combustible, des poteries de forme et de taille diverses, un mortier, quelques fuseaux, des pelotes de laine, des tissus généralement grossiers, parfois quelques outils de pêche, et enfin un balai. Si l'on passe dans la cour, on remarque généralement des filets, des nasses, des épieux, un métier à tisser et des instruments aratoires d'origine européenne.

Les vases ne sont pas de fabrication locale. Ils sont importés et

Fig. 22.

proviennent de quelque manufacture indigène du haut-plateau. Ces poteries ont été modelées au tour et portent sur le fond une marque de fabrique [1]. Les mortiers, ou plus exactement les auges, sont faits d'une pierre plate ou légèrement concave, sur laquelle on en frotte une autre, de forme ovale, polie par l'usage. Ces meules sont parfois semi-circulaires ; la pression que la femme agenouillée leur imprime s'accompagne d'un léger balancement qui facilite la mouture.

1. Mes observations à cet égard contredisent celles d'un des auteurs cités à la note 1, p. 76. Comme je tenais à faire à Amsterdam une collection aussi complète que possible, j'ai prêté une attention particulière à tous les objets qui semblaient nous être prêts, car les poteries ne m'ont pas paru être de fabrication locale. Je n'ai pas vu non plus de femmes travailler à leur confection, ni remarqué aucun de ces indices qui décèlent l'existence d'une industrie de la céramique dans tout village indien.

Les Uru n'ont d'autre combustible que les excréments séchés des animaux, et les branches de *maïs* qu'ils vont chercher en loin. Ces matières sont précieuses, et les Uru, tout comme les Cipaya et les Aymara, s'en montrent économes.

Près des huttes s'élèvent parfois des sortes de niches en terre, assez semblables aux huttes des environs du village de Chipaya : ce sont des porcheries.

La pêche. — Les Uru, à notre époque comme aux temps préhistoriques, tirent leur principale subsistance du lac. Ils sont pêcheurs par excellence. Le poisson qu'ils prennent est en partie consommé par eux et en partie vendu aux Aymara et aux métis de la capitale. Je n'ai pas eu l'occasion d'assister à une vraie partie de pêche, mais seulement à quelques démonstrations faites sur ma demande. Ils m'apprirent d'abord la façon dont on se sert de l'épuisette représentée sur la fig. 23,1. Le cadre en bois qui maintient le filet tendu est fixé à l'extrémité d'une perche. L'Indien plonge cette perche rectangulaire dans l'eau et reste debout ou assis sur sa balsa jusqu'au moment où il aperçoit une proie intéressante. Il commence par relever délicatement son filet, puis le sort de l'eau d'un mouvement rapide.

Il est un autre type d'épuisettes, beaucoup plus grandes. Celles-ci se composent d'un cercle d'où partent des tiges de bois, réunies à leur extrémité. Cette carcasse, de forme conique, est recouverte d'un filet. Un autre filet, large comme une main, est tendu tout le long de l'ouverture pour rendre l'évasion des poissons plus difficile encore. Ces appareils sont souvent de dimensions considérables ; certains dépassent 3 m. de diamètre. Ils sont toujours pourvus d'une poignée grâce à laquelle on les maintient dans l'eau, et on les retire dès que les poissons s'y sont aventurés (*Pl. III, B*).

Les Indiens Uru possèdent aussi des filets de fond que je regrette de ne pas avoir vu employer. J'ai pu néanmoins acquérir une pierre perforée (*fig. 24, 2*) qui correspond à ces pesons ou lests. Selon les informations que j'ai recueillies, ces filets servent à la pêche en eau profonde. Ils sont traînés simultanément par plusieurs balsas ou utilisés comme barrages. Il faut, pour les manier, de nombreuses personnes.

« Comme les filets se chargent d'algues et de détritus aquatiques de toutes sortes, les Uru emportent avec eux de petits balais avec lesquels ils nettoyent les mailles, une fois le filet hors de l'eau. Pour agiter l'eau et chasser les poissons vers les filets ou les canots, les Uru ont des bâtons avec des boules en cuir attachées à leur extrémité. Ils les remuent dans le sens vertical.

Pour rabattre le poisson sur leurs filets, les Uru, comme beaucoup de

[p 84]

Fig. 45. — 1. Épuisette (balance avec manche) (les pointillés du bord de sacs représentent...)
2-3. Paniers en roseaux à ignames (longueur : 50 cm. ; hauteur : 35 cm.).

[98]

Fig. 24. — 1 : Polissoir en pierre pour assouplir le cuir (hauteur : 7 cm. 5 ; largeur : 7 cm. 5 ; épaisseur : 2 cm. 5) ; 2 : Pierre perforée servant de test pour immerger les fonds de bol (diamètre : 9 cm. 6) (GM. 31. 44. 64) ; 3 : Fuseau en bois (Puri) (hauteur : 31 cm. 5.) ; 4 : Fuseau en bois Puri (hauteur : 31 cm.) ; 5 : Crochet en bois que les Uru emploient pour la fabrication de leurs balsas (Aarda, Yaai) ; 6 : Fuseau avec peson en bois (Puri) (longueur 33 cm. 5 ; largeur : 4 cm. 5) (GM. 31. 35. 24).

tribus indiennes de l'Amérique, construisent des barrages qu'ils appellent *kwia*. Ces digues sont formées de gerbes de *totora*. Chacune d'elle se compose de 5 ou 6 joncs, disposés dans le même sens et attachés par la partie supérieure plus mince. Ils transportent ces gerbes sur leurs *balsa* jusqu'à l'endroit qui leur paraît le plus propice à la pêche et là ils élèvent leur barrage. Pour enfoncer les gerbes de *totora* dans la vase, ils utilisent la gaffe (*t'okma*) avec laquelle ils font avancer leurs embarcations. La gerbe est appliquée contre la gaffe, la pointe de celle-ci reposant sur la ligature de la gerbe. Le tout est fiché en terre verticalement. L'extrémité de la gerbe émerge de quelques centimètres au-dessus de la surface de l'eau. Ils répètent l'opération jusqu'au moment où ils ont élevé une digue suffisamment compacte pour retenir les poissons. Le barrage a la forme d'un angle qui s'ouvrirait dans le sens du courant. Les deux côtés sont droits ou légèrement incurvés. Ils aboutissent à une ouverture large d'un mètre environ dont les bords, plus résistants que le reste de la barrière, sont constitués par deux gerbes de 20 cm. de diamètre. A la différence des autres gerbes, celles-ci présentent des ligatures transversales à quelques centimètres de la surface.

Face à ce passage, il y a généralement un îlot de *totora* qui protège le barrage contre le vent et auquel le pêcheur peut attacher sa *balsa*. C'est là qu'il se place avec son filet. Il guette les poissons qui se sont engagés entre les deux digues et qui sont ainsi conduits vers le filet qui ferme le barrage » (Palavecino).

Les Uru aiment à pêcher de nuit : « C'est un curieux spectacle que de les voir les nuits de lune s'embarquer sur leurs *balsa* et se diriger vers leurs barrages. Arrivés à destination, ils forment avec les voiles en *totora* des sortes de tentes coniques qui les abritent du vent et ils s'adonnent à la pêche » (Palavecino).

Les Uru, lorsqu'ils naviguent sur le Desaguadero, emportent toujours avec eux un long épieu (*p'ari*) à la pointe bifurquée de tiges de fer, toutes divergentes. Avec cette arme, ils harponnent dans la vase, là où l'eau est peu profonde, le *suche* (*Trichomycterus*), poisson dont ils sont fort friands.

Chasse. — La chasse ne joue qu'un rôle très secondaire dans l'économie des Uru. Pour tout gibier, ils n'ont d'ailleurs que les oiseaux aquatiques qui pullulent dans les marécages du Desaguadero. Ils les abattent avec des *bolas* dont deux pièces sont des cylindres de bois ; le troisième est une pierre ovoïde qu'ils tiennent dans la main lorsqu'ils font tournoyer cette arme au-dessus de leur tête (fig. 25, 2).

Ils ont recours également, pour capturer ces oiseaux dont la vue est restée à des filets extrêmement longs. Ceux-ci sont tendus en demi-cercle

1: Métraux SF24 Uru

au milieu des champs de *totora* et attachés à des fagots de joncs et à des piquets. Une partie du filet est immergée pour empêcher les oiseaux plongeurs de passer sous la surface de l'eau. Les chasseurs sur leurs *balsas* font du bruit pour rabattre les oiseaux vers l'obstacle où ceux-ci viendront se faire prendre. Ceux qui réussissent à s'échapper sont tués avec les *bolas*.

Les Indiens du Titicaca sont tels que le matin les oiseaux sont engourdis. Les Indiens, dissimulés derrière des gerbes de *totora* s'en approchent sans être vus, ils les attrapent par les pattes et les achèvent avec les dents ou en leur tordant le cou.

Agriculture. — Les Uru s'adonnaient aujourd'hui à l'agriculture, tout comme les riverains du Titicaca. J'ignore dans quelle mesure les produits de leurs champs contribuent à assurer leur existence. Ils cultivent naturellement les pommes de terre et la quinoa.

Élevage. — Dans leurs huttes ils élèvent des cochons d'Inde qui en rendent le séjour des plus désagréables. Ils ont quelques troupeaux de moutons, des porcs et des vaches, celles-ci sur les bords du Desaguadero sont devenues semi-sylvestres. Elles passent toute la journée dans l'eau à brouter les plantes aquatiques. De loin on les prendrait pour des buffles dans quelque marais ballonique.

La cuisine. — Le menu des Uru est celui de tous les Indiens du haut-plateau : des pommes de terre cuites à l'eau, du *chuño* (fécule de pomme de terre), de la viande bouillie ou rôtie, du maïs, des fèves, de la quinoa, de la *cañaua*, etc. Les Uru y ajoutent un plat de leur cru : la moelle jaunâtre de la *totora*. La partie comestible de cette plante est la base de la tige. Elle n'a besoin d'aucune préparation.

Les Uru ont conservé un mode de cuisson extrêmement ancien et dont la répartition en Amérique du Sud, tout à fait particulière, correspond peut-être à une couche de civilisation très archaïque : c'est celle du four souterrain ou four polynésien. « Ces fours, que les Uru appellent *wacoka*, consistent en un trou creusé dans le sol, dont la profondeur, égale au diamètre est de 60 cm. environ. Le bord creusé fait saillie à la surface du sol et tout l'intérieur est crépi d'argile. Les Uru y allument du feu et y introduisent des pierres plus ou moins plates. Lorsque les pierres sont incandescentes, on les retire, à l'exception de celles du fond. On étend dessus une couche de pommes, sur laquelle on place un second lit de pierres, puis une seconde couche de pommes, et ainsi de suite jusqu'à ce que le four soit plein. On le bouche alors avec des pierres que l'on recouvre de joncs. Les pommes cuit ainsi à l'étouffée » (Paloverique).

Ils conservent la pomme ou le séchant sur des cailloux après l'avoir

salé. Ils font de même avec les oiseaux dont la chair découpée est exposée aux rayons du soleil.

Avec les graines de *calsac*, ils élaborent une bière appelée *cauxiberia* (Palavecino).

Fabrication des balsas. — L'activité industrielle la plus importante des Uro est la fabrication des *radeaux en totora* ou balsas dont vraisemblablement se pourvoit chez eux presque tout les riverains du Titicaca. Comme ces embarcations se détériorent rapidement, les Uro sont obligés de subvenir à une demande incessante. Ils ont, sur la berge du Desaguadero, de véritables chantiers maritimes où règne une animation constante (*Pl. IV, A*). Chaque famille possède une parcelle de la rive dont les limites sont marquées par des roseaux. Dans une enclos, ils entassent la *totora*, dont ses balsas sont faites. Cette *plante* (*Cyperus, de genre Scirpus*) (*Scirpus totora*, Kunth.) forme de véritables champs dans les marécages qui bordent le Titicaca. Les Indiens viennent la couper au fer et à mesure de leurs besoins. « Toute famille qui possède un champ près de la rive se considère comme propriétaire d'une certaine étendue de ces totorals. Elle est seule à l'exploiter et ses droits sont respectés par les voisins [1] ».

C'est un spectacle pittoresque que de voir revenir les Indiens partis en quête de *totora* ; les tiges coupées ont été réunies en innombrables gerbes qu'on laisse flotter comme un train de bois après les avoir amarrées à l'arrière de la balsa (*Pl. III, A*).

La *totora* ne peut s'employer que sèche. Aussi, après l'avoir moissonnée, le premier soin des Indiens est-il de l'étendre dans leurs enclos. Ils en font également des fagots qu'ils déposent la tige en l'air pour les exposer au vent et au soleil. Ce n'est que lorsqu'elle a perdu toute humidité que la *totora* peut être employée pour la construction des balsas. On dénoue alors ses dernières, on parvient la patiemment immédiate et surtout, on évite que les brins qui constituent la balsa ne se désagrègent en diminuant de volume.

La construction de ces radeaux est assez simple, bien qu'elle exige une grande habileté manuelle et une dépense assez considérable de force. La balsa se compose de deux cuissons longueur de *totora* lestées, liés ensemble. Les indigènes les obtiennent en enlevant et en entrecroisant les unes sur autres des tiges de *totora* d'inégale longueur (*Pl. IV, B*) ; ils ont soin que les plus courtes soient à l'intérieur, et ils les remplacent successivement de tiges de plus en plus longues, jusqu'à ce que le tout forme une masse compacte. La corde qui maintient chacun de ces ma-

1. Posnansky (Arthur), *Los Indios uruchus por los aymaras en el lago Titicaca*. (« Physis », Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, t. VI, Buenos Aires, 1923, pp. 140-146).

[P 85]

Fig. 15. — 1. Harpon en [illegible] (longueur : 17 cm.). 2. Empreinte de la gaffe dont les Uru se servent pour faire avancer leurs radeaux de joncs (dessin). 3. Bâton utilisé [illegible]. 4. Passage de bois [illegible] que les Uru portent sur leurs [illegible] (longueur : 1 m. 40). (Largeur : 1 m. 40).

tours, s'entrecroise à chaque tour avec celle du faisceau voisin. Deux baguettes sont fixés ensuite sur le rebord, où ils jouent le rôle de liens et contribuent à augmenter la solidité de l'emboîtement. Le seul instrument auquel les Indiens aient recours pour la fabrication de ces radeaux, est un crochet de bois (fig. 21,5) dont ils se servent pour enlacer les cordes de paille, soit pour les serrer, soit pour faire passer en dessous la corde qui unit un faisceau à l'autre. Ce jeu alterné des cordes oblige les constructeurs de *balsas* à travailler toujours deux par deux (*Pl. IV, C*). Pour naviguer, les Uru ont de longues gaffes *lásna* dont le bois provient des versants orientaux des Andes. L'extrémité de ces gaffes se termine par une sorte de trident qui les empêche de s'enfoncer trop profondément dans la vase du lac (fig. 23,2).

Les nattes. — Les Indiens Uru destinent à plusieurs usages les nattes en joncs (*totora*). Ils en font la charpente et le toit de leurs huttes, leurs lits, la porte de leur maison et les voiles de leurs *balsas*. La fabrication n'en est pas compliquée. Les tiges de *totora* sont disposées sur cinq ou six cordes parallèles tendues entre des piquets auxquelles on les attache par petits tas.

Cordes. — Les Uru sont obligés de fabriquer constamment des cordes, connaissance indispensable aux deux industries qui viennent d'être mentionnées. Diverses espèces de graminées, dont le *Stipa ichu* Kunth, *Festuca orthophylla* Pilger et *F. dissitiflora* Griseb[1], leur fournissent une matière première d'excellente qualité. Ils les arrachent avec leurs racines, puis les réunissent en gerbe en coupant les deux extrémités, et les laissent tremper dans l'eau. Ensuite, ils les écrasent sur une dalle à coups de marteaux. Ceux-ci se composent d'une pierre qui est prise dans une gaine de cuir à laquelle est attaché un manche en bois (fig. 25,1). Il ne fait aucun doute que ce manche soit d'innovation récente, et que les marteaux primitifs des Uru, comme tous ceux des Aymara de la conquête et des Cipaya modernes, n'aient été autres qu'un simple galet creux, tout au plus, quelque dépression pour faciliter la prise de la main. Une fois la paille assouplie par le lavage et le martelage, elle est roulée sur la jambe avec la plat de la main, selon un procédé courant dans toute l'Amérique.

Vêtement. — Le vêtement des Uru est identique à celui des Aymara, c'est-à-dire, à peu de choses près, à celui des classes pauvres dans presque toute l'Amérique latine : un pantalon, une chemise, un chapeau de feutre et un poncho. Cependant, presque tous les Uru conservent encore la « camiseta », cette longue chemise de laine qui jadis était le vê-

1. Parodi, p. 4.

I: Métraux SF24 Uru

tume national des Indiens appartenant aux civilisations andines ou soumis à leur influence(fig. 23,4). Il est rare qu'ils le revêtent aujourd'hui, et ce n'est que sur ma demande expresse que ceux que je photographiai consentirent à enfiler cette tunique par-dessus leurs habits ordinaires (*Pl. V, A*). Ils se couvrent la tête d'un petit montgolfier en laine, dont l'origine précolombienne est douteuse. Jadis, les Uru le tressaient avec des fils faits du duvet d'oiseaux aquatiques. Le Musée de Berlin possède un échantillon de ces bonnets, dont le Dr. Th. Krickeberg a bien voulu étudier la technique à mon intention. Cet examen l'a conduit à la conclusion que si l'idée de filer le duvet d'oiseau est ancienne, les points de tricot sont, eux, nettement européens d'origine.

Les femmes sont habillées comme les Indiennes de La Paz : plusieurs jupes de couleur, mises les unes sur les autres, une blouse ceinturée que dissimule à peine une manta fermée sur la poitrine, un chapeau de feutre et des sandales. Quelques vieilles femmes conservent encore des rudiments de l'ancien costume précolombien. Comme les Cipaya, elles s'enveloppent le corps dans une pièce d'étoffe noire, retenue sur les épaules par deux aiguilles et serrée à la taille par une ceinture (*Pl. V, B*). Elles ont modernisé ce vêtement en cousant le bord primitivement ouvert ; elles ont ainsi une sorte de tunique, de surcroît. La couleur foncée de ce vêtement et celle de la ceinture, qui en est un accessoire indispensable, témoignent du goût des Uru pour les tissus aux tons sombres ou sombres. Leurs manteaux sont généralement unies ou brunes, et les tissus provenant de cette région du lac se caractérisent par leur très utilitaire et la simplicité des motifs qui les décorent (*Pl. V, C-D*).

Ni les tissus que j'ai vu faire aux femmes ou, ci leurs métiers à tisser (*Pl. III, C*), ne présentaient de particularités dignes d'être mentionnées.

Organisation sociale et religion.

Les renseignements que j'ai recueillis sur leur organisation sociale sont malheureusement fort peu explicites. Ils sont divisés en clans, dont la liste m'a été dictée ; ce sont : Titikana, Kunka, Kuna, Kaipa. Le groupe est également réparti en deux moitiés : *anan-saya* et *mana-saya* ; dont les noms uru sont : *hanan, manan*. Ils peuvent se traduire par leur équivalent aymara : « moitié d'en haut » et « moitié d'en bas ». L'autorité est exercée à Anapaqui par des *kilakata* qui portent un collier comme insigne de leur fonction. Le nom uru de cette dignité est dérivé du mot désignant cet ornement (*anaiorikili* : « porteur de collier »). Ils ont un *corregidor* (*kapé tapuri*) qui réside à Jesus de Machaca (?).

Religion. — Je n'ai pu faire, au cours de mon bref séjour à Anapaqui,

que de rapides observations sur les survivances du paganisme chez les Indiens Uru. Ils sont aussi beaux et mauvais catholiques que les Aymara, et la petite église construite au milieu du village est du type courant sur le haut-plateau. Les grotesques peintures exaspérées de ses retables semblent être les mêmes que celles des Aymara.

La *Patamama* ou la « Terre-mère » est leur principale divinité, comme partout ailleurs, sur le haut-plateau. Ils m'ont parlé également de *mal'ku* et de *wanari*, sans que j'aie pu obtenir de précisions ou de détails sur le culte qui leur était rendu. J'ai remarqué sur le mur, près de l'entrée de toutes les huttes, une tache de sang, souvenir du sacrifice fait en guise de lien, au moment où la maison était recouverte de son toit. Un tas de pommes de terre qui venaient d'être arrachées, était surmonté d'une croix de paille, d'une bouteille d'alcool et de feuilles de coca ; c'étaient, nous disait-on, des offrandes faites à la *Patamama*.

Un vieil Indien m'a dicté quelques prières adressées à cette divinité, en diverses occasions. Elle est qualifiée de *mal'ku*, c'est-à-dire de « chef », comme à Cicopaya. Les voici :

Jawiru Mal'Ku			*pirwita*			*Jal'tawi*	
Notre divinité			Terre			Notre Créatrice.	
Tita	*ni*	*kuka*		*wawita*		*taka*	
Tout	entre	vers		Petite		donneras.	
K'ullira		*kuka*		*tuki.*			
Prêtre de terre		vers		je donne.			
Kusa (ji)		*taka*		*Jawiru*	*Mal'Ku.*		
Lune		donneras		Notre	Divinité.		

Mythologie. — J'ai pu recueillir à Jesuyaqui les fragments d'un vieux mythe, dont je possède une version plus complète recueillie par les Cipaya. « Jadis, il y eut un cataclysme qui anéantit l'humanité entière, à l'exception des Uru. C'est ce qui explique qu'ils parlent une langue différente des autres Indiens. Tahuamanco et son épouse existaient avant que le soleil fût créé. Ils avaient été faits par Dieu. Lorsque le soleil apparut dans le ciel, l'église et Tahuamanco s'effondrèrent. Ils reconnurent là les vestiges de l'ancien soleil ce que Betanzos[1] nous a conservé.

Tale	*jaya*	(*cruel*	*tiempo*)	*taki*	*desastrosamente*	*ahuyentado*	
Autrefois	temps	mauvais	temps	grand	anéanti entier	grace des autres	
existencias	*ubi*	*desarrollaban*		*mientras*	*si*	*Sol*	*creado.*
existaient	dans	développé		pendant que	ce	Soleil	créé.

1. Betanzos (Juan Díaz de), *Historia de los Incas y Compendio del Perú*. (Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú, t. II [3ème série]). Lima, 1924, [pp. 40-41].

La narration. — Les Uro ont un caractère et un génie assez semblables que les Aymara. L'étranger qui visite les régions reçoit un accueil froid et légèrement hostile de leur part. A cette malveillance se joint la rapacité méfiante des Aymara et des Boliviens, pour l'agacerie et cette lourdeur d'esprit qui rendent l'Indien accompagné si désagréablement odieux. Je n'ignore pas, cependant, les causes de l'exemplaire mansuétude de l'Indien bolivien ; les Uro n'ont pas échappé leur hostilité et à l'exploitation des patrons espagnols, pas de leurs successeurs plus avides encore, les métis affranchis de la Bolivie. En simple fait illustre mieux que toute froide humeurisme le traitement auquel, de nos jours encore, on soumet ces Indiens : les deux soldats boliviens qui m'accompagnaient, et qui étaient presque à la chasse des Indiens révoltés, menaçaient pour la moindre bagatelle mes pauvres informateurs uro, de les fusiller publiquement et de brûler leurs huttes. Ce sont là les procédés les plus courants et les plus doux, dont les officiers boliviens usent à l'égard de l'indigène.

Linguistique. — Les Uro emploient presque plus leur ancienne langue, et même entre eux ne servent couramment de l'aymara. Cependant, le dialecte uro d'Iruyanqui semble avoir été moins contaminé par l'espagnol et l'aymara, que celui des Uro de Chipaya. De même, à Iruyanqui, j'ai eu la bonne fortune de retrouver plusieurs vieillards uro, qui sont déjà disparus à Chipaya. Ce fait peu paraître inouï si l'on songe que les Uro d'Iruyanqui ont été de tout temps réputés beaucoup plus riches que les Aymara et les Espagnols que leurs frères de Carangas. Leur civilisation matérielle a été plus profondément modifiée que celle des Chipaya, dont la physionomie est entièrement archaïque. Comment expliquer que leur langage soit demeuré plus pur que le dialecte des Chipaya ? J'incline à croire que cette anomalie est due au fait que les Uro d'Iruyanqui se sont trouvés plus près des grands centres uro du Titicaca, et qu'ayant été jadis plus nombreux que les Chipaya, ils ont moins vécu à matériser leur langue. Outre à présenter à continuer un détail linguistique qui vient confirmer la thèse soutenue par le Dr Rivet sur l'identité des peuples et dialectes. Les concordances lexicographiques signalées par le Dr Rivet rendaient cette constatation presque certaine. Les Uro se me démontrent une grande distance. Ils appellent leur langue kotsu, parlant pour la distinguer de l'aymara. Le fait m'avait déjà été signalé par Le Pan ; il m'a été confirmé depuis par tous mes informateurs.

LA PHONÉTIQUE DU PARLER DES CHIPAYA

Le système phonétique adopté dans cet article est le même qui emploie

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible], [illegible] ; [illegible] [illegible] (Uni. « [illegible] ? »).
[illegible], [illegible].
[illegible], [illegible] : [illegible] [illegible] (Uni. « [illegible] »).
[illegible], [illegible].
[illegible], [illegible] : [illegible] ; [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] (Uni. « [illegible] »).
[illegible], [illegible] : [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible], [illegible] : [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

93

[illegible]

C.

[illegible], (idil bed[ed]) ; adv ; se mêler, lipi.
[illegible], faire mêler, faire-mêl mêler : mi, mo, mu, mêlé.
mêl, Pape.
mêmê, [illegible].
[illegible], [illegible].
mêmêmê, mêl.
mêmê, lire ; mêmê ; [illegible], Pêlo (1).
mi, mêlé, ti, te, ti ; mêl : dis ; mêlé-là : [illegible] dit.
mêlêmê, lipi.
mêlêr, Pêlê.
dêlêmê, ti.
dêlêng, 'mêlê, 'dêlê.
dêlêlêr, mêl[i]e.
dêlêmê, dêmê.
dêlêlêmêmêl, mêlê, lêlêmêlê, pêlêlêr.
dêmêpêr, lipi.
dêlêl, mêmêr.
dêlêlêr, mêmê.
dêlêl, Pêpê.
dêlêlêr, 'Pêlêl.
dêmêr, lêmêl, mêlê, dê mêr.
dêmêlê, lêlê, lêlê.
dêmêlêr, lêr, dêlêl.
dêmêlêr, Pêr ; qui dêmêlêmêlê ? : [illegible] Pêr[i] ; dêmêlêr : 'lêmêlê ;
dêmêlêr lui mêlê pour le mêmêmêr : lêlê Pêrê à mêmêlêmêl.
dêmêlêr : 'lêr-i[i].
dêmêmê, lêmê
dêmêmêr, Pêr pêmê (lêl. « lêlêmêr dê lêmêr »).
dêlêlêr (cf. « lêlêmêr dê mêlê »).
dêmêr, pêlê.
dêmêr, lê.
dêlêlêr, mêmê.
mêl, lêlê, lêlêpê, lêpêl.
mêl, lêl-lêmêl, lêmêr (cf. « mêmêl »).
dêlêrêmêmêl, mêmêr (cf. « pêmêr »).
mêmêr, mêl, mêl.
mêlêr, 'lêmêl mêr ; pr mêlê mêlêr : dêlêlêpêmêl[i] (1).
mêlêmêr, lêmêr, lêmêr-lêlê.
mêlêr, mêlê.
mêmêlêmêr, lêr, lêmêmêl, lêpêr, mêmêlêmêr dêmêlêr mêlêl ? : Pêr mêl lêlêr

[illegible]

[illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ;

Amen, *amni*, *kafé*.
Arbuel, *matière Arbuel* : *mishal* ; *se mettre Arbuel* : *lito*.
Arbuen, *Prédarbe* (*cf.* « *Arue* »).
Arrivée, *kafe*, *safe*, *kafe vers*, *kafe fuel*.
Arrosoir, *gabuté* (*cf.* « *vinaer* », « *roubale* »), *gabuen*.
Arrosoire, *kror*, *alhel* ; *je Arrosoire* : *word vaer alrosé* (*lito.* « *je vois au kror* »).
Arsenic, *vaer*.
Attacher, *kef*, *kirk* ; *Attacher la kafke* : *vaer kafé kirk*.
Attire, *fer* ; *j'ai Arc Attire* : *fer ro[ne]* (*lito.* « *garder Arc Attire* ») ; *gagner vos Attire* : *voir kenaf vaer* (*lito.* « *Arrouer vos Attire* »).
Avec, *prof* ; *Avec ressemble* : *pabolsa* (*pâlsa*).
Aéroplane, *alkenpia kafé*, *Pier Sonor* (?).
Arrive, *kafe arrive* (*lito.* « *salut qui respecte Arrive la vaer* »).
Arc, *fr-* ; *fil[ne]* ; *je Arc* : *voir Arc[ne]* ; *le Arrouer* : *Arrouerfil* ; *Arc* : *[y]Arc*.
Argenter, *en*, *enerv*, *Imenerv*.
Arrêt, *l'arrêter* ; *Arrêt de bravoure* : *Pier Sophene*, *Arrêt de pied* : *Pier Sophene*.
Arrouer, *ry*, *ar* ; *Arrouer vaer vos vaiore vref* : *vaio ofel* « *vai* ; *Arrouerer à vaer gar* : *kafé kafé vaf[ne]*.
Arrosoir, *ker* ; *je Arrc* : *voir ro[ne]* ; *je vaer Arrosoir* : *angele gabuté*.
Arsi, *vaer*.
Arsen, *Intellect* (*cf.* « *Vaer* », « *Sea* ») ; *vaifé*.
Arrouer, *ric* (*cf.* « *Arbuel* ») ; *je vos Arrouer* : *word Arrouer*.
Arsh, *ke*, *Sarc* (?) ; *vaior Arsher* : *se Pier*, *Sarc* (?) *Pier*.
Art, *kafé*.

S.

sen, *Pier* ; *Sea vaer* : *Pier ofel*.
Affaggen, *kef* (*cf.* « *vaifé* »).
Affange, *serrare* (*cf.* « *gange* »).
Affelt, *Gelt* (*cf.* « *gfelt* ») ; *enfeu*.
Assaler, *sauve*.
Assaffe, *kef*.
Aff, *se*.
vaifemaffen, *Se gren si vos vaifemaffe* : *vaio Sarte*.
engrigen, *assiffe*.
engrirer, *S'engrirer* : *si h'Alle* (*cf.* « *garder* »).
assister, *Assister assurance* : *assif* (*cf.* « *vaifaffe* »).
assfen, *vaifen vo* ; *Sea vaiaver les assistements qui servent de vaifen-Alle* : *vaio ogf*.

F.

façon, de cette façon : *tilta*.

faim, avoir faim : *čuri s-tukja* ; cet homme est mort de faim, nous lui donnerons à manger : *ti čoči luxlukura tikstiučai, luli čuki omuki* (cf. « manger »).

faire, *pa-*, *(a)pa-* ; *(a)patani* ; je fais une *balsa* : *wiril tula pana(čai)* ; je fais un pot ; *wiril pau(čai) mutkuki* ; nous faisons les *balsas* avec la *totora* : *tutanakuki pala tukstani* ; chose faite : *čulum panta*.

'kis- ; fais : *'kisna* ; que fais-tu ? : *čulum ti 'kisini* ; chose faite : *čulut kistakuki* ; que fais-tu ? : *čulum tiki* (*čulum iki* ?).

asu[oo] ; nous faisons des paniers pour les vendre ensuite : *kanasta*[oo] *čku asučai tuiasuč nekstani*.

farine, *sk'eta*.

fatiguer, se, *očo* ; je ne suis pas fatigué : *anal-očo* ; fatigué : *očoč*.

faute, *ux*[a] ; ta faute : *amp ux*.

fautif, *ux čič* (litt. « qui porte la faute ») ; tu es fautif : *am ux čičam(čai)* (litt. « tu portes la faute »).

femelle, *xata*, *xat(a)*, lama femelle : *xat-xyala*.

femme, *čukun wawa*, *'kun wawa*.

fermer, *čayksna*.

feu, *uxi*.

fil, *xilo*[oo] ; fil noir : *čok'-xilo* ; fil blanc : *čivi-xilo* ; fil rouge : *pas xilo*.

filer, *kawan-* ; *kawuski* ; ma femme est en train de filer : *wist kun kawančai*.

filet, *čaku*, *kakuna* ; faire un filet : *lankš(čai)*[ooo] (cf. « travailler »).

fille, *mat* ; *us* (*uš*), *wist us* (litt. « ma fille ») ; jeune fille ; *uyuwiša*, *ok'kal*.

fils, *mač*, *usa* (cf. « enfant mâle ») ; *tua*, *očal*.

finir, *mir-* ; *mirta kuanilčijki* (?)

ierx- ; finir la maison : *k'oya serxtua* ; je finirai la *balsa* demain : *baka tuiali ierxtna(čai)* ; *čelantsni*.

čaku (*tsaku*) ; j'ai terminé le radeau : *tulali čaku*.

flamant, *xyala*.

fleur, *pankara*[ooo].

flûte, *pčks*.

foie, *paxti*, *tusi* (cf. « cœur »).

fois, une fois : *tsi wasa* ; deux fois : *pitk wawa* ; trois fois : *krp wasa* ; autre fois : *ičis tani* (?).

force, *asi*, *čama*.

fourmi, *tkyata*.

foyer, *wič'*.

frapper (cf. « battre ») ; frapper quelqu'un : *wawa(čai) čoči*.

frère, *čis*, *čič* (*čički*), *čixte*, *čitalai* (cf. « cousin ») ; *atsk čič(k)* ? ; beaucoup de frères : *yukultani čički*.

froid, *tuki* ; c'est froid : *tukitutki* ; il ne fait pas encore froid : *ennta tuku tuki*.
frotter, *xpa*, *tsalsa*.
fumée, *kʰtti*.
fumer, *tʰtti*.

G.

gagner, *gosa*-[se] ; nous gagnons bien : *ni thuki tuali gosaru(tai)*.
gai, *aiu*.
garçon, *au* ; petit garçon : *ni au* ; jeune homme : *tsui*.
garder (cf. « cacher »).
gauche, *thar* ; main gauche : *thar-aru*.
gendre, *tsui*.
genou, *sui*.
glace, *tuis*.
goutte, tomber goutte à goutte : *kʰpasi tox*.
graisse, *kʰeus*.
grand, *tauk tuk* ; grande maison : *tauk-kʰoya*.
grandir, *puks*.
grand'mère, *apiti*, *tauk ma*.
grand-père, *apitu*, *tauk apa*, *ati*°, *apito*.
gratuitement, *inati*° ; *kas ina hiatuki* (litt. « peut-être est-ce pour rien »).
grêle, *tsuus*.
grenouille, *thata*.
griller, *uelsna*, *uelski* ; nous grillerons du maïs : *tara tuku uelski*.
grimper, *kaka* (cf. « monter »).
gros, *kʰeus* (cf. « graisse »). Un homme gros : *kʰeusta kaki*.
guérir, *ici*(*i*)*n*(*i*)*si*, *pikats*. Ce remède guérit Hipa : *ti kala tuki pikats(tai)*.

H.

habiller, *s'*, *skiti tuk* (*kutsk*).
hair, *nukatiuta*°, *nukakika* ; il me hait : *nukaia(tai)*.
haut, en haut : *tsia*, *tsiktsarku*.
herbe, *tauk'ua*, *takua*, *tauk'a*, *iru-p'iti*.
héron, *alati*.
hier, *kigu*.
hilocate, *tapsti*, *xuatuttiki* (litt. « le porteur de collier »).
homme (*homo*) : *taki* ; homme (*vir*) : *tua*.
huallata (oiseau aquatique), *tsliis*.

L

lai, *tikit* ; il y a beaucoup de gens ici : *unik° kwia tikit* ; d'ici au village il y a trois lieues : *tokto untkiau tip tapu°*.
il, *ni* ; sa maison : *ni t-t°ya*.
intestin, *kola*.
ivrogne, *likini* (*cf.* « boire »).

J

jambe, *lis, lit, k'ut'-ax* (*cf.* « pied ») ; *k'ue-tulus* (*tulus* : esp. « talon »).
je, *uixi, uixil*.
jeter, *tuk-* ; *tuka(tai)* ; je jetterai : *uixi tukasi* ; tu jetteras : *amis tukax* ; je jetterai une pierre : *mukli tukax (tai)*.
jeune fille, *ux*.
jeune homme, *n°, tuxi*.
joue, *yuk*.
jouer, *ulinki*.
jouer de la flûte, *kwata, kwakwa° yuk(tai)*.
jour, *mazin, mazikt, mazixt, tuxax*.
jusqu'à, *tak'wazxo*.

L

là, par là, *nixikt*.
lac, *k'tuis°* ; au bord du lac sont les *kulus* : *k'tuxtki tutuxkuki*.
lâcher, *kut, kuli* (*cf.* « détacher »).
laine (*cf.* « poil »).
laisser, *eka, ekata, ekika*.
lait, *lik°*.
langage, *tuku* ; ce langage : *ni tuku* ; notre langage : *uixuxka tuku, nixmis kutuxki(?)*.
langue, *nax(i)*.
lanterne, *axni*.
larmes, *k'tupki, kax tipi(?)* ; mes larmes : *uixi k'tupki*.
laver, *axuxi, axuxki* ; nous nous lavons la bouche : *nix tuki axuxki* ; nous nous laverons la bouche : *nix tuki axuxtai*.
lécher, *xulux*.
léger, *kixuxkasi*,
lente, *tixxo*.
lenteur, *kwulaxtix(tai)(?)*.
lever, *xuxki*.
lever, se, *tita(?)* ; il ne peut se lever : *xuxi-tita pulita°* ; se lever (en par-

Lust du soleil) : *aqâhûta* ; le soleil se lève : *ruhi aqâhûta* ; *ruhi aqâhûta(ha)*.
lever, *se* : *ayuki*.
levier, *pishma, pishma* ; levier vert : *tar pishma*.
lèvre d'une boîte *pinda*.
lit, *tauf°* (cf. « couverture ») ; *tauf* (cf. « dormir ») ; *net*.
lieu, *Pueiru* (?).
lieu, *aubu, aubru* ; le village est loin : *uatuh aubiatyai*.
long (cf. « grand ») ; *aujâhug bâtru* : *ti tauh pare*.
louer, *Jâtru*.
lui, *ni* ; avec lui : *aitua*.
lumière, *neiu* (cf. « allumer »), *tautau*.
lune, *yis, yi* ; pleine lune : *tauh yis* (litt. « grosse lune », ou « vieille lune ») ; *Ayuiu tsiuiu yis* ; lune décroissante : *Jâtsiuiu° yis* ; la lune est courte : *tâtsiui yis* ; tache de la lune : *aiuiui*.

M.

macher, *hâi* (cf. « manger »), *Jhuru* (?)
magicien, *Jâmâi* (litt. « celui qui sait »).
maigrir, *aruiuja*.
main, *Paru*.
maintenant, *aipuia*.
mais, *tara°°*.
maison, *Puju* ; ma maison : *nâti Puju* ; ta maison : *ami-Puju* ; sa maison : *li-ine-Puju* ; notre maison : *niamu Puju*.
mal, *amâta-tsiti* (litt. « pas bien »).
maladie, *aiuiuja°* ; cet enfant est malade : *ta alâ aiuiuja(ha)* ; *je suis malade* : *uatâl ai(.)ua*.
maladie, *hua* ; grande maladie : *tauz hua* ; maladie contagieuse : *ami hua d'alahâ(ha)* (litt. « la maladie »?).
male (en parlant des hommes) : *hâ* ; enfant mâle : *hâ uamu* ; (en parlant des animaux) : *Pit(a)* ; bonne mâle : *Pit-aquia*.
manche-sagaie (une des « matières » de la tribu des Uru) : *amatia* (cf. « bras »).
manger, *hâ-, hâ(.)â°* ; manger : *hâta* ; je mange : *nâti hâta(ha)* ; le monstre mange : *matia°° hautia* ; je mangerai du gibier : *nâtiâ tapa hâta(ha)* ; vous êtes en train de manger : *amâtahâ hautia* ; manger en paix : *ti Puzuâ° hâta* ; vous mangerez en paix : *ti Puzuâ° hâtahâja amâtâ*.
manier, *ire-manja°*, *tari*.
manivelle, *manka°* ; grande manivelle : *hâ manka*.
mari, *hâte-uamu* (cf. « mâle »).
marier, *hautâ°°*, *tapihâti* ; il s'est marié : *hautaja°°*.

mashara, frémir.
mashe, mashi(ha).
masrein, masrah (fém. « pas bon »); masrein pourrait : masrah bon; le maïs est mauvais : ma masrein hah (fém. « maïs pas bon »).
mashaal, homme méchant : mashalya^{m} ; est homme méchant ne : ali ama hah alia(ha).
mahaa, il est mahaa : mahah ida.
maaar (ne trouvons) : ahi(ha).
maatir, nécessaire mahi (fém. « je le mens »).
maatima, haste.
mahra, mar.
mahim, pah : mahimaa les gentilles de hama dans la mer : pahi de Pha pah; mahimaa de l'eau dans la marmite : mahihi ha(il) Pgani pah ; j'ai mis la spirale dans l'eau : hala ha(il) Pgahi (pah ; je mahimi dimanche la spirale dans l'eau : halai Pgahi hala yau ; nous mahimaa en général dans le bouillon : si ngo ta alaj(a) pah mahahi-mara.
mahire : mahe ; je mahe : mahi l'as ; mahire ma pomme : pomia ihani.
mahou, rhabiha^{f}.
mahiha, hima.
mai, mai, mahi, mahimi.
mahoa, (pahe).
mahaaai, dans ma maaaraa : mihaaraihai, mihaaraihima.
mahaigaa, ma, ma.
mahiar, hah- ; je mahiar : mahi hahaiai.
mahaha, ha.
mahi, rihaia.
mahiar, ngo-mah, ngaaai (fém. « mahiar [pour] glisser ?», mah (sf. « mahaha »); mahiar glisi : hah mahia.
mahi, hau.
mahaha, 'mapa, hapa, halaapa^{f}.
mahaha, mah-, mah-, mahr-, mahi ; je mahaha : mahi mah(ha); l'enfant mahaha le glisser : ngai mahaai mih.
mahaiia, rihi.
mahiih, ngai, mah ; le mahaa est mahiih : ma mihra.
mahaia, rih, rihi ; il est mahi : rihaaja ; rihaia, rihi.
mahahiha, rih.
mahaaiga, halaapa^{f} (sf. « mahaha »).
mahaha, mahi^{m}.
mahi, mahia (fém. « pas parler »).
- mai, pihi^{f}.

N.

nable, *kiama*, *ilik* (cf. « étendu »), *mulu*.
neige *ayi* ; étendue de neige : *k'utki*.
neiger, *k'utun*.
nerf, *lakuʼmil*.
nesil, *ne(i)*.
neveu, *tiʼmaʼ* (litt. « fils de frère » ; *tipa-tun* (litt. « fils de sœur »).
nez, *nu* ; mes fesses : *shuʼa nu*.
nid, *tuʼu*.
nièce, *tiʼ-ai* (litt. « fille de sœur »).
noir, *lukʼ*, *tuki*
nom, *tu* ; quel est ton nom : *tuli ap tuli* ; *tul tu tamtai* ; mauvais nom : *anu lun tu*.
nombril, *tuki* (cf. « ventre »).
non, *anu*.
nord, *tialarku*.
nourriture, *luli*, *luli* (cf. « manger ») ; cet homme est mort de faim, nous lui donnerons à manger : *ti uni luxlidaru tikitatai luli tuki mauki*.
nous, *niʼun*, *niʼuna*, *niʼunulu*, *niʼunulti* ; avec nous : *niʼunakatani*, *niʼunok'eya*.
nuage, *tiri*
nuit, *kir*, *nyani*, *niyaw* ; à cette nuit : *niyawila uuw*.
nuque, *tuta*.

O.

obéir, *kta*.
obscur, *simiki*.
œil, *tuk(i)*.
œuf, *tiki*.
oiseau, *tula* ; différentes espèces d'oiseaux aquatiques non identifiées : *kaʼu-uuina*, *aiuwa*, *lawaki*.
oncle, *liaul*ⁿ, *tiaul*ⁿ.
oncle, *tululu*, *tululai*, *uiui* (cf. « beau-frère ») ; oncle paternel : *ep-tiʼ* (litt. « frère du père »), *uiui* ; oncle maternel : *il-lip* ?).
ongle, *tiki*.
or, *kuri*ⁿ.
oreille, *kuki*.
ornement de plume, *panau*.
orteil, (cf. « doigt »).
os, *tixi*. *tsix*.
où, *uaxil i-kalakaiki* ; où (locatif) : *uaxilakaʼ-kalaki* ; d'où : *kauʼ* ; d'où

venant l'homme : *kaxã ekexi tũki* ; où (avec mouvement) : *xaũki* ; où va ce chemin ? : *xi hãi xaxiarãe ek'e*.
oublier, *tuhuxenejai*.
ouest, *tan i-hpaix* (litt. « le soleil se couche »).
ouvrir, *k'ixna*, *k'ixnixja*.

P.

paille, *tũka*
paître, *faire paître* : *tũta* ; faire paître des moutons : *ovitã''' tũxi*.
pancréas, *painix*.
panier, *kenaxta'''*.
paresseux, *xãkaxãi*, *kaixa''* ; paresseux qui ne veut pas travailler : *kaixa' ana i-'kixni pũ*.
parler, *tix-* ; *parle* : *tiki* ; nous parlons cette langue : *xi tũxũ tixna(tai)* ; connais-tu parler cette langue : *xakaxi xi tixhi tixna(tai)* ; nous savons parler la langue de ce village : *xi yuxix takakai tũxhi tixna(tai)*.
partager, *yakit''*.
passer, *xuix-*, *xuixta* ; *je passerai au pied de la montagne* : *ana k'ixnixa xuixta*.
pasquière, *tũt-xkixi*, *tũkũ-xkixi* (litt. « peau de l'œil »).
peau, *xkixi*.
pêcher, *k'ixi tyki tau* (litt. « nous prenons des poissons »).
peine, *avoir de la peine* : *tũt-* ; *j'ai bien de la peine* : *xaũki tũtxãn tũlu*.
pelle, *xaixka*
pelote de fil, *tixna kaqui* ; *k'ixqui*.
pendre, *xapa(tai)*, *xapaxãi*.
pénis, *xiki-xkolo*.
penser, *kaxkaxta*.
perche, *xamaxã*.
percer, *'kaixa 'kaixa*, *tak'ixna*, *kuxi* (?).
père, *ap*, *ap(a)*, *ap*, *tata* ; *rudesse de mon père* : *ap-e-xaia*.
perforé, *ghi tũ* (litt. « trou perte »).
petit, *ni*, *xia*, *xãa* ; *c'est bien petit* ; *inexxi xixixãki* ; *petite maison* : *xi-k'ixja*.
petite-fille, *xuã-xuã* (litt. « fille du fils »).
petit-fils, *xuã-xuã* (litt. « fils du fils »).
peu, *xuxaja* ; *il y a peu* : *ipaka kixta*.
peur, (*avoir*) : *ixkexa-*, *ixkexa-*.
pied, *k'ixta*.
pierre, *xakai*.
pierre plate sur laquelle on écrase la paille, *tũ-k'ixna*.
pimenté, *xapi''*.

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

nom nom nombre dans une autre « mesure » : tâtuli ruu ukulu tâtuli ruutuli ndiuru ni ruuna[n]ᵐ nuuli « deux[ne][n]ᵐ. (Pour dire nom : ilaru, « ilaru nuuli »).

pourquoi, ta-ilaui, ilalalla. Pourquoi pleures-tu ? : ilalalla ilap.

pourrir, mdiui.

pousser, ngilau.

Poussière (consolidation), ruuruna.

pouvoir, ta-, tauui ; je pouvais : tauui nuu[ne].

préparer, préparer un repas : ta-; la fille de l'infirmier a préparé un repas : nilalaui[n]ᵐ nuuli kuli tandalaya.

prix de, Prix, heure. Ce combien est prix de l'eau : mili[n]ᵐ Prix P'yuuja.

prêt, être prêt : ndu, ilui[n]ᵐ ; est Vincent est prêt : a ilalili mlui (ta) Vincent[n]ᵐ.

prêter, ilaui[ne] (cf. « ilaui »).

prier, tpalu.

printemps, tauuli (cf. « pouvoir »).

profond, P'ruu.

propre, ilayi.

puer, ilui.

Q.

quand, ta-ilaui[n]ᵐ ; quand t'en vas-tu ? : P'ruuna ulilali.

quatre, pangidi.

qui, lalilla ; qui est le plus fort ?: lalilla jiuu[n]ᵐ lalalli.

quoi, ilaui, ilaui ; quoi de chire : jiuda ilaui.

qui, lalui ; qui (interrogatif) : lalla ; qui : lalui ; qui a attendu le beau ?! lalui nyalu mala ; qui est ton père ? : lalu(a) ma ngaali ; de qui : lalu ; de qui est cette maison : lalu ilaya nilu ; qui viendra demain : lalalli lalli jalilalli ; qui est ton père ?: lalla qali.

quinze, ilulu.

quoi, que veux-tu ? : tulaua pali.

R.

racine, ngaua.

raisin de jour (lalu), P'uu, nuu.

ramener, ali(a) ; nous ramenons des pierres : nali lali ali.

rapide, anuli.

ravenant, ndu, ilaualauui.

ravenir, ilaua[ne].

rayon des rubans de jour, ilayi.

rein, mainere.

[illegible]

[illegible], m., -ier (cf. « gaz »).
[illegible], -ière[f].
[illegible], -aje, -[illegible], -[illegible] ; [illegible] [illegible] ; [illegible] d'eau ; -aje d'air (Drumm.[f]).
[illegible], -[illegible] (cf. « chaise »).
[illegible], -[illegible] (cf. « tâtonner » et « boisson »).
[illegible], -[illegible] ; [illegible] [illegible] ; [illegible][illegible] ; [illegible] [illegible] ; -[illegible][illegible] ; [illegible] [illegible] ; -[illegible][illegible].
[illegible] (Son [illegible] d'un [illegible]) ; [illegible].
[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] (cf. « [illegible] »). [illegible] [illegible], [illegible].
[illegible], [illegible] (Littré) ; [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible], *kaka, tapiyatse.*

[illegible], *qakasi* ; faire mettrement : *qakasi (a)pâsani, kai (a)pâsani.*

[illegible] de la tribu (*arasa-saya*) (correspond peut-être au « matriline » des tribus nord-américaines) ; [illegible] d'un haut : *si aisi* (litt. « celle de tête ») ; [illegible] d'un bas : (*marasa-saya*) : *asmaka.*

[illegible], *pis, pisi.*

[illegible], *tahi.*

[illegible], *tahi* ; trois [illegible] des [illegible] de terre : *k'ua tahi tahi* ; [illegible] [illegible] de [illegible] : *tara tahi tahi* ; *je ensemence un champ demain* : *kaka [illegible] tahi(ini).*

[illegible] (*arrête ton clamer*), *mahi[illegible]*, *[illegible]'(ini)* ; *je [illegible]* : *mâri mahasa(ini).*

[illegible], *[illegible], tâ'ara.*

[illegible], *[illegible]* ; *pahe* ; *yahasitai* (cf. « tirer »).

mâi, mai'

[illegible], 'mastas.

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], tapki, k'aya(?).

mâi, [illegible] mâi, j'ai soif : k'apsi 'k'anja.

[illegible], [illegible] (cf. « [illegible] »).

[illegible], mâi ; *le soleil se lève : tahi napkikka ; tahi napkaka(ini) ; le soleil se [illegible] : mâi t-pakasi (ini).*

[illegible], [illegible] tahi.

[illegible], ch-, ai : *je [illegible] de la maison : mâri k'apkiraca kaka cha(ini) ; je me [illegible] par devoir : anai kakahi anai mâri ai (a) mahâki ; ils ne [illegible] pas avant dix jours : anai k'ala mamaca chimamala ; mara dakara : kaka [illegible] ; le [illegible] sort par le trou : ghai l-k'ai aiani(ini).*

[illegible] je [illegible] soif : sina pasta.

[illegible], mai-, mâi(ini) ; de quoi souffres-tu ? : kalai mâi ; kaka(pa) mâi ; je [illegible] du genou : se mâiki.

[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], ch.

[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] (*registre des poissons du Titicaca*) : *tisi.*

[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible].

T.

[illegible] de la lune, aisiai.

[illegible], ai, [illegible].

[illegible], k'ai [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible].

tante, tante paternelle : *ga-tja* (litt. « sœur de père »), *matahu* (*matahi*). Femme de l'oncle : *gaa, gal.*
taro, *pala* (*vahu*).
tarte, *pâte*.
tasse, *Pati, Pati-vaka, Pani* (cf. « manger ») ; *ata-vaka* (cf. « manger »).
tatouer, *aki* (cf. « orale »).
tête, *ata*.
thym, *tini*.
tibia, *Pai-pâture*.
tiens, *pai, pahi* ; *tiens un enfant* : *tai hala pai*.
tienne, *nani* ; *je tiens* : *nani(tai)* ; *elle tient* : *nanija*.
tiens, ses, ces ; *le tiennent* : *ami Pupu* (cf. « mettre »).
tiré, tirons, tirez, tirent (litt. « grande mettre »).
toile, *kaha*.
tombe, ou ; *tou(?)tou* (?) ; *je vais tomber dans l'eau* : *Papahi kaha*.
tonnerre, *le ciel tonne* : *tikoriua ra'ivaka* (litt. « le ciel tonne »).
tapa, *mahiti*.
tordu, *ouma*.
tortue, *tonu tua, tuki*.
toujours, *oioi, oitahipoija*.
tourner, *ava*.
tout, *mahipuri*.
traître arbre, *mouna*.
traire, *tapai*.
trame, *matitia, Pani*.
travailler, *Pâpâ* ; *nous travaillons* : *tuki Pâpâki* ; *tauki(tai)* (litt. « faire un filet »).
traîner, *akala, tua ratiatapai*.
trembler, *ratiatoka*.
trouer, *tava-ekore*.
trouer, *ekor-* ; *ma femme trouve la poêle* : *nei mauá ekorioi ratia*.
truband, *pori*. *Truband pour attraper les poissons* : *pori tini tano, pâ'ano*.
trique, *mahi*.
trois, *toga* ; *trois ensemble* : *topuluna*.
trompette, *tapui*.
trouver, *mâi* ; *trouver quelque chose* : *talaua mâi* ; *l'homme et la femme se sont trouvés ensemble* : *talaua nanua tahanua mâi pahitani ati i.*
tube, *pauhaí'a*.
tuer, tue-, tuez ; *je tue* : *mâiti tauai(tai)* ; *je tue aujourd'hui* : *nanu tauaja* ; *j'ai tué hier* : *ongo tauaja mâiki* ; *je n'ai rien tué* : *amai rá mâiki tauaja* ; *il*

a'à gwa tsé ; *ema ɔ'ámɛlɛi* ; *É a tsé ema ámɛlɛa* ; *ámɛa ámɛlɛlɛi* ; *Ga a'ámɛi gwa tsé ne mwamɛ* ; *ema a'ɔlɔ mɛ'ámɛlɛ ámɛlɛlɛlɛa ɔlɔ* ; *le mwamɛmɛ a tsé 20 mwamɛlɛ* ; *pɛlɔ́ É ɔlɔ ámɛlɛlɛa(lɛi) mɛ'ɔlɛlɛlɛlɛ* ; *le mwamɛ a tsé le mwamɛmɛ* ; *ámɛi mɛ'ɔlɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ a ámwamɛa* ; *je le tsɛmɛi à mwɛgɛ de pwɛmg* ; *mɛgɛ́i ámɛa* ; *tsé* ; *ámɛa* ; *tsɛ́ɛ le* ; *ámɛa mɛ́i*.

Nombre, *mɛlɛi*.

Système de Nombre, *mɛlɛa*.

E.

ea, *ó*.

mɛ́i (*cf.* « *ámɛi* »), *mɛ́ɛlɛa*.

mɛlɛa, *ámɛa*.

F.

mɛlɛa, *pwɛlɛlɛlɛ* (?).

mɛlɛa, *ɔ'ɛa mɛlɛa*[ɔ́ɔ́].

mwɛlɛa, *mɛ́i* ; *mɛlɛ* ; *mɛ́i ámɛa mwɛlɛ* ; *é mɛlɛ́ɛ a mɛ́i* ; *É mwɛlɛ* : *mɛgɛ́a* ; *gwa mwɛlɛ́ɛ le ?* : *lɛlɛa mɛ́i* ; *ámɛi mɛgɛ́i*.

mɛ́ɛlɛ, *pɛ́ɛ* ; *je mɛ́ɛlɛ* : *mɛ́ɛlɛ pɛlɛ́a* ; *le mɛ́ɛlɛ* : *mɛ́ɛlɛ pɛlɛ́a* ; *É mɛ́ɛlɛ* : *ni ɔ'gɛlɛ* ; *mɛ́ɛlɛ mɛ́ɛlɛlɛ* : *pɛlɛ́ɛ mɛlɛlɛlɛlɛ* ; *ils mɛ́ɛlɛlɛlɛ* : *mɛlɛlɛ́i a pɛlɛ́* ; *deux (personnes) mɛ́ɛlɛlɛlɛ* : *pɛlɛlɛ́a pɛ́(ɛ)lɛ* ; *je mɛ́ɛlɛ du village* : *mɛlɛlɛ́i pɛlɛ́* ; *hier on lɛlɛlɛlɛa mɛ́i mɛlɛa* : *mɛgɛ́a pɛ́(ɛ)lɛa ni lɛlɛi* ; *une femme mɛ́i mɛlɛa ne mɛlɛlɛ* ; *mɛlɛa mɛlɛa pɛ́(ɛ)lɛ mɛlɛlɛ́i* ; *deux femmes mɛlɛlɛlɛlɛ ámɛa'a* ; *lɛlɛa pɛlɛlɛa lɛlɛi pɛlɛlɛlɛ* ; *mɛlɛa mɛ́i* : *ɔlɔ pɛlɛ́a* ; *ámɛa pɛlɛ́a* ; *qui viendra demain ?* ; *lɛlɛlɛlɛ lɛlɛi pɛlɛlɛlɛ* ; *ɔ'ɛa mɛlɛa-le ?* : *mɛlɛlɛa pɛ́i*.

ámɛ- ; *mɛlɛa* : *ámɛa* ; *beaucoup mɛlɛ́i mɛlɛa* : *pɛlɛ́i mɛgɛ́a* ; *le viendra mɛlɛ́a mɛ́ɛ au village* : *lɛlɛlɛa mɛlɛlɛ́a mɛlɛlɛa*.

Il est venu-le ? : *ámɛlɛlɛlɛlɛlɛa* (?)

mɛlɛ́i, *lɛ́ɛi*, *lɛ́ɛa* ; *on est revenu* : *il faut du vent* : *mɛlɛa lɛgɛlɛa*.

mɛlɛlɛa, *mɛ́i*, *ámɛi* (*cf.* « *ámɛlɛlɛlɛa* »).

Venez, *lɛ(ɛ)lɛ lɛlɛa*.

verrou, *pɛlɛgɛlɛ*.

vers, *-dre* (*milieu*).

verser, *l'eau* : *mɛlɛa* ; *vous versez de l'eau* : *ɔ'ɛa mɛ́i mɛlɛ́i*.

vert, *lɛlɛ́a*.

vêtement, *ɛlɛ́i* (*cf.* « *gwɛa* »).

veuve, *ɛlɛ́*, *ɛlɛ́-ɛa*, *lɛlɛa-ɛa*.

viande, *nɛ́i* ; *viande de bœuf* : *ɛgɛ́i nɛ́i*.

vide, *mɛlɛlɛ́a* ; *lɛ́ɛi*[ɔ́] ; *maison vide* : *lɛɛlɛlɛa ɔ'ɛa*.

vie, *'mɛlɛ́*.

vieillard, *lɛlɛmɛlɛ́a'a*.

Vieillir, *lɛgɛlɛ́a* ; *j'ai vieilli* : *mɛ́ɛi lɛgɛlɛ́a*.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[p. 110 - A]

[illegible] Planche III.

A. B.

[illegible] A. [illegible] B. [illegible]

C. - [illegible]

[illegible]

Société des Américanistes, 1955. Planche IV.

A. - Chasseurs de bisons à Arromayo.

B. - Fabrication des balsas.

C. - Fabrication des balsas.

[p-110 - C.]

Textile en fabricación, cap.

Plumaria II.

A. - Indivo Cro ofre
de la cosecha

B. - Pareja en

C. - Pilloro en

D. - Joven Ollo en

[p. 110-D]

2:Métraux E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

The Uru-Chipaya Indians of Carangas
[Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya de Caranga]

A. Métraux

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[Title page]

2:Métraux-a1 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/111/

The Uro-Čipaya (1) Indians of Carangas

113 1. One will find in Créqui Montfort (G. de) and Rivet (P.), "La langue uru ou pukina /The Uru or Pukina Language/" (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, New Series, Vol. XVII, 1925, pp. 211-244; Vol. XVIII, 1926, pp. 111-199; Vol. XIX, 1927, pp. 57-116) the complete bibliography and extracts from all the publications on the Uro-Čipaya which appeared up to 1927. I shall mention here only the articles published after that date in which some information on this curious tribe may be obtained. Buck (Fritz), "Ein wenig bekannter Indianerstamm des bolivianischen Hochlandes /A Little-known Indian Tribe of the Bolivian Altiplano/" (Cosmos, Ann. Publ. 26, 1929, pp. 12-15 and 54-56); Troll (Karl), "An expedition to the central Andes 1926 to 1928," (Geographical Review, published by the American Geographical Society of New York, April 1929, pp. 234-247). I have made known some of the results of my expedition in various popular articles a list of which follows: Métraux (Alfred), "Los Chipayas constituyen un pueblo de antigua data étnica en una de las regiones más desoladas del altiplano /The Chipaya Constitute a

2:Métraux--2 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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113

People of Ancient Ethnic Date in One of the Most Desolate Regions of the Altiplano/" (La Patria, Oruro, March 13 and 14, 1931); Id.: "Un mundo perdido. La tribu de los Chipayas de Carangas /A Lost World. The Tribe of the Chipayas of Carangas/" (Sur, Year 1, No. 3, Buenos Aires, 1931, pp. 98-131); Id.: "Un rincón dela América prehistórica en el altiplano Boliviano/ /A Corner of Prehistoric America in the Bolivian Altiplano/" (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, August 9, 1931); Id.: "Från en Försvunnen Värld, Chipayaindianerna på Bolivias högslätt /From a Lost World, the Chipaya Indians on Bolivia's Altiplano/" (Göteborgs Handels-Och Sjöfarts-Tidning, Saturday, October 3, 1931, pp. 3 and 7); Id.: "El Instituto de etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán /The Institute of Ethnology at the National University of Tucuman/" (La Nación, Buenos Aires, Saturday, July 9, 1932, p. 9); Id.: "Chipayaindianerna. En folkspillra från en förgången andinska Kultur /The Chipaya Indians. A Remnant from a Past Andean Culture/" (Ymer, Stockholm, 1932, Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 233-271).

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/111 cont./

Forward

In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya, convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/ to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/ as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting inquiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me. Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered. Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have had pitiful informants in them.

A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly, I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they had celebrated before me practically the entire cycle of their main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, unfold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[Text continues on p. 5]

2:Métraux--4 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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/112 cont./
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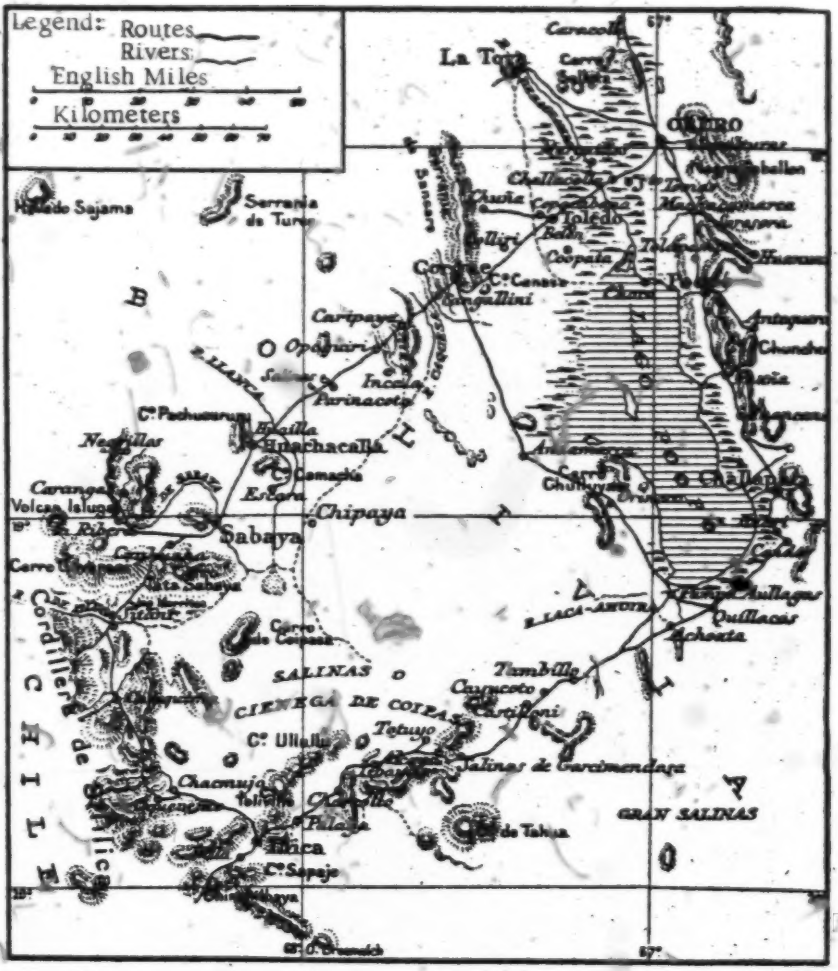

Map 1. — Carangas Province, after J.-B. Minchin.

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/113 cont./

178 Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly
123 sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I
-124 was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously.

178 Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has
-771 been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared
121 forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves
174 only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My docu-
[126] ments have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

404 The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); č corresponds to the Spanish "ch," š to the French "ch," ǰ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and l' is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign k^{x} is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel e is a very open e close to a closed a.

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The Tribe and Its Environment

131 [101] Location of the Čipaya. The Čipaya Indians still make up today a small, semi-independent tribe situated in the southern part of Carangas Province in Oruro Department (Bolivia) (Map 1). The area of their territory is approximately 100 square kilometers (1).

113

1. In order to determine the exact location of the Čipaya and to guide myself during my trips in Carangas Province, I used the following maps: Mapa topográfico de la Altiplanicie central de Bolivia, trabajado en los años 1867 para el proyecto de canalización y ferrocarril a la costa del Océano Pacífico /Topographic map of the central Altiplano of Bolivia, made in the years /sic/ 1867 for the project to build a canal and railroad to the coast of the Pacific Ocean/, by Hugo Reck; Part of the bolivian Table land from a Trigonometrical Survey executed for the National Government in 1892 by J.B. Minchin; Régions des hauts-plateaux de l'Amérique du Sud (Bolivie, Argentine, Chili, Pérou) parcourues par la mission française /Regions of the altiplano of South America (Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Peru) traversed by the French mission/ (G. de Créqui Montfort and B. Sénéchal de la Grange, 1903). Map drawn by

/114 cont./

113 V. Huot, after the work of members of the mission, original unpublished sources, and the most recent documents, on a scale of 1/750,000; Mapa de la red de caminos del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Map of the network of roads in Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1924); Mapa telegráfico y de vialidad del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Telegraphic map and map of accessibility of Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1930).

133 361 The village of Chipaya properly so called is located about 30 kilometers north of the Coipasa salt marshes and about 20 kilometers from Cerro Camacha, the first spur of the Cordillera to the west. To the east Chipaya is separated by more than 100 kilometers from the marshy banks of the Poopó. The village does not 114 361 133 stand on the banks of the Barras River or the Chipaya as shown on the map of the Créqui-Montfort Mission, the best that we have for the Bolivian Altiplano. The Lauca River, which flows to the west, is 10 to 12 kilometers away from it. Since all the maps that I have seen show the Barras River flowing between the Lauca and the village of Chipaya, I undertook several trips from different sides to verify this. Northeast of Chipaya, about seven kilometers away, I found the bed of a dried-up river, which perhaps corresponds to the course of the Barras River as it is drawn on some maps. This river must have taken another direction today, for having crossed it at the same time at the height of the village of Kala, a two-days' trip to the north, I was able to ascertain that it was Passably filled with water.

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/114 cont./

114 passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map, 361 undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is 131 located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and 19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate 361 Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will [179] help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Iscara, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon [631] which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the [484] distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission 361 as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Chipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

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1. Bacarreza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor [illegible], comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor..., commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

/115 cont./

an physical study of Carangas Province in Oruro Department/." Boletín de la Oficina Nacional de Estadística, Nos. 61, 62, 63, 3rd trimester 1910, La Paz, 1910, pp. 477-480. Buck ("Ein wenig bekannter Indianerstamm des bolivianischen Hochlandes /A little-known Indian tribe of the Bolivian Altiplano/," p. 55) estimates the population of Chipaya at 800 individuals in 1929! This figure is, of course, the greatest fantasy.

government in 1910, estimates the population of Chipaya at 385 individuals in 77 families. Although the first of these two figures seems a little exaggerated to me, the second appears exact. It may even be considered official as it was drawn from the number of "contributeros," i.e. the heads of families paying an annual tribute of 3 bolivianos (the Čipaya told me 2.40 bolivianos). According to my own census there would be about 100 households in Chipaya. As I do not know the principle which guided the authorities in their division of fiscal charges, I cannot decide how exact either of these last two figures is. Uhle[2], who was the first scholar to mention the existence of the Čipaya, estimated their

2. Uhle (Max), "Ueber seine Reisen in Bolivia /On His Trips in Bolivia/," Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XXI, 1894, pp. 328-332.

/115 cont./

161 number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not
[114] go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

162 The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion:
121 Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants (58 at Warta ayl'u and 111 at Tuanta properly so called), and
[121] Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayl'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can
123 only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who
124 gave me the list of people in this "moiety" did so reluctantly and
161 very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that
651 this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

651
659 1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population.
[609] The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

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/116 cont./

651 659 that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

163 The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

162 [439] One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Iscara seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

197 [197] The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect ha-

2eMétraux--12 E-b (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SFDA Uru SFDA

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Chipaya

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197 had to manifest itself through the intermediary of Aymara. The Uro dialect of the Cipaya is thus an ailing language in the process of disappearing in the future that I believe to have saved from oblivion, if not in its entirety, at least to a great extent.

133 139 The territory. The physical environment is that of the puna (Pl. VI, A /see p. 30 /) artificially altered by man. If one arrives in Chipaya coming from the north, one traverses for almost a day an uninterrupted succession of sand dunes, to which some tufts of long, hard graminoous plants (icu, Stipa ichu (Jaravа) or the black, twisted stalks of tolas (Baccharis Lepidophyllum and other Compositae) cling. Once the dune area has been crossed the terrain becomes completely flat, and the rarer tolares alternate with the mossy swellings of yareta (Azorella). In places the vegetation disappears completely, but the most sterile parts are adorned with some Alpine flowers, which make imperceptible spots of color against the greyness of the ground. The Indians are not disdainful of them. I remember having seen them gather bunches of them during a festival to stick in their hair or to decorate the images of saints. The aridity of this sandy soil manifests itself with an intensity which becomes more and more acute the closer one comes to Chipaya territory. The boundary is marked by the complete disappearance of the plants mentioned above and by the appearance of stunted grass, thinly sown, which hardly reaches a few centimeters in height. These wretched pastures are the product of human industry. The Cipaya obtain them thanks to a system of irrigation that would do honor to their spirit of enterprise were it not the necessary condition of their existence in this environment. Using canals, some of which are almost two meters deep and three meters across, they have diverted a part of the waters of the Lauca River and conducted it by secondary branches across the entire extent of their territory. During the rainy season and the period of great floods, they provoke inundations by raising a few dams here and there. The water fertilizes the sands of the

[301] [324] [334] [311] 312

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Chipaya

/117 cont./

pure, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants, which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as bears. The Cipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities. As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this assertion. It nonetheless reveals a certain care for precision among the Cipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the scantiness of this flora which a little wetness causes to grow in the midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques, the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds draw into strange formations and assume a luster elsewhere unknown. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the existence of the Cipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River, which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the characteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months, threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation of the "canmh," the flocks which feed upon it. This is the most crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals of the Cipaya take place at this time and that all have the

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objective of requesting the demons and saints to send them prosperity along with the rain. The beginning of the year 1931 was marked by a long period of dryness (T) and I witnessed the anguish

1. During the months of January and February I made a certain number of meteorological observations which were unfortunately incomplete because of my frequent moves. For January the average maximum temperature was 18° to 20° /centigrade/ and that of the minimum temperature 6°. In February we had an average maximum temperature of 15° and a minimum temperature of 3°. In January I noted a high of 24° and a low of 1°. For February the high was 23° and the low -1°. February was rainier than January although the end of the latter month was marked by some violent storms and hail.

of the Cipaya; this anxiety manifested itself perhaps in the pomp and seriousness with which they carried out the festivals which I shall describe later.

The winter is a trying time for the Cipaya. They spoke to me in eloquent language of its rigors—dried and yellowed pastures, thin and starving animals, icy winds which pierced to the /119/ bone. This entire season passes without festivals, at least without pagan festivals, and this cessation of religious life is good evidence of the close correlation that exists between the pagan ceremonies of the Cipaya and their problems of subsistence.

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[32 82] No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly was credited to it there can be no doubt that Cipaya mythology would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the [52] Carangas deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness: "these bare plains where we live," such is the expression which 133 most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an impression of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes in a pale stroke.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous without the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Cipaya worship, is not visible from the village itself, Cerro Camacho hiding it from sight.

136 The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina) (Phoenicopterus andinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly disdained by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining themselves in red against the brilliant blue of the puna sky. The 237 Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the 825 great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated [782] with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I [301] have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of flamingo eggs threaded together.

Chipaya

/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few virunes I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Chipaya take have a small rodent, the tuco (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), pertained to the task of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /12h/ the altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely bee zone about 200 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jimenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

DAMERON--37 E-5 (1890-1970) 1935, 1936 6726 Lbs

Carnegie--
El grupo
Aymara 1973

and Urinsaya (2), and be divided the said Indians into two parcios or groups; one to called the Hanansaya, which means "that of the group of the upper"; the other party, the Urinsaya, which means "that which serves the lower." /Cited in Spanish./ A.F. Bandelier (The Islands of Titicaca and Koati, New York, 1910, p. 80) indicates this type of grouping among the modern Aymara: "The ayllus remained as before, as well as two larger groups, each of which epitomized several clans. These groups existed at Cuzco as geographical divisions, called, respectively, Upper and Lower Cuzco "Hanan" and "Hurin-Cuzco." Under the names of "Aran-kaya and Ma-kaya," analogous divisions are met with the ayllu, by the Spaniards. At the present day the village of Tiahuanaco is divided into Aran-kaya and Ma-kaya, the former embracing what lies north, the latter what lies south, of the central square. In the older church books of Tiahuanaco the two "sayas" are named occasionally, the ayllu always." /Cited in English./ G. McCutchen McBride ("The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia," American Geographical Society Research Series,

No. 1. [illegible] p. 1) commits a serious error when he states that each [illegible] clan or is its own-moiety [illegible] two parts: "A peculiar feature of the present community organization, surviving in many places to-day was the division of each clan into two groups, the ayoreyi and the ereseya. This division of the people is said to have originated at the time of the founding of Cuzco a: the capital of the nascent Inca Empire." [Lined in English.]

The indigenous communities of Cayoga Department are all divided into ayeo-ayca and mayeo-ayca. In Cayoga the ayeo-ayca "moiety" contains six clans and the mayeo-ayca five. The schoolmaster of the village translated these two terms for me as "below part" and "above part"; but in reality if one keeps to their connotation one must say, as in Chipaya, "eastern moiety" and "western moiety." This is the case at Huarivilca. Rowe[illegible]'s observation on the subject of the ayca of Tuhuasca seems [illegible] that the division of clans into ayca does not always depend on their respective locations in relation to east and west.

p. 18a	p. 18c	
p. 18b	p. 18d	p. 18e

Chart of Positions of Map 2.
[Facing p. 18a]

Chipaya
2:Мёнамх--18а E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Map 2. Chipaya village and its clans.
1: Church; 2: Prison; 3: Cemetery; 4, 5, 6: Chapels

2:Métraux--1ec E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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Chijaya

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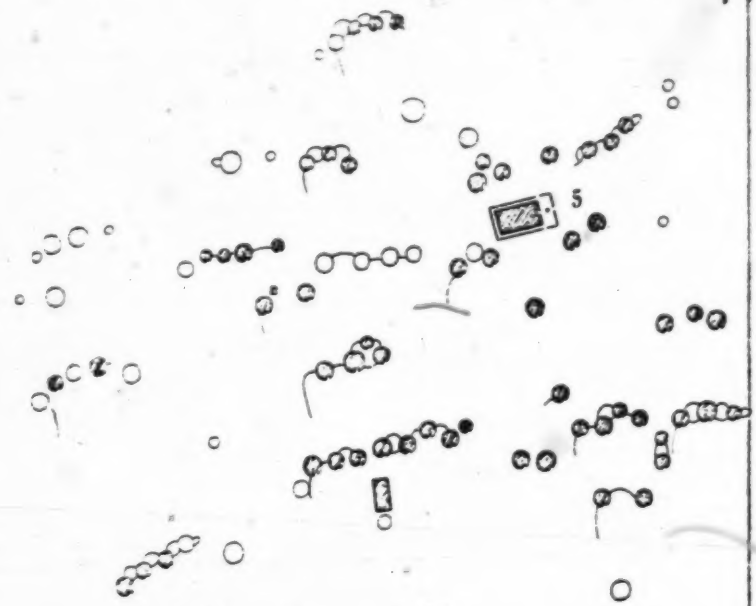

Warta ayl'u

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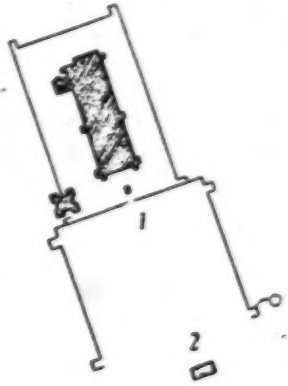
(Aran-saya)



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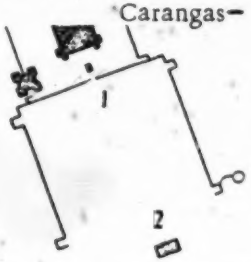
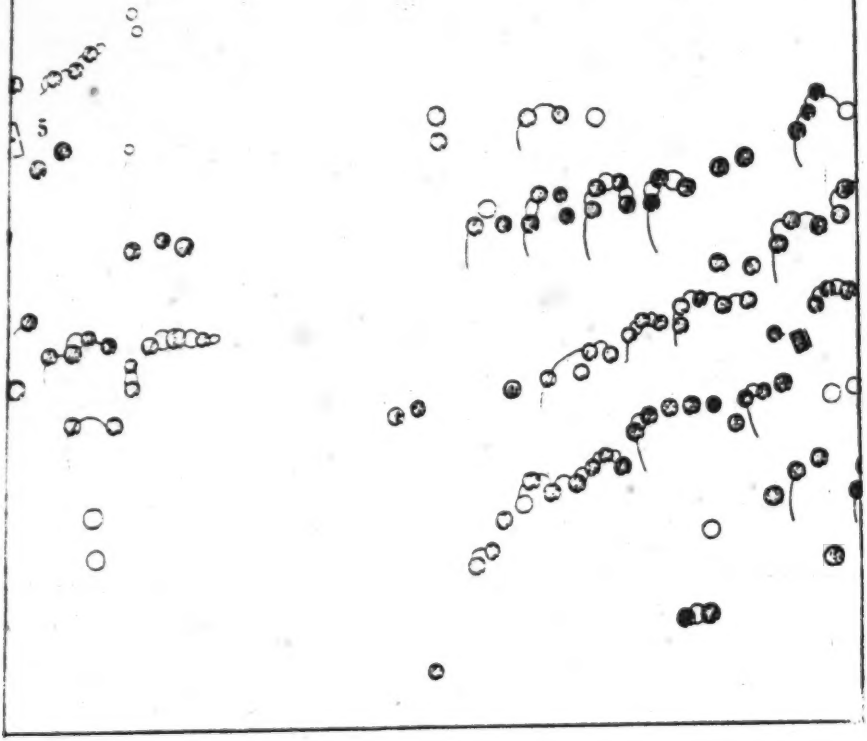


Tuanta (Manan-saya)



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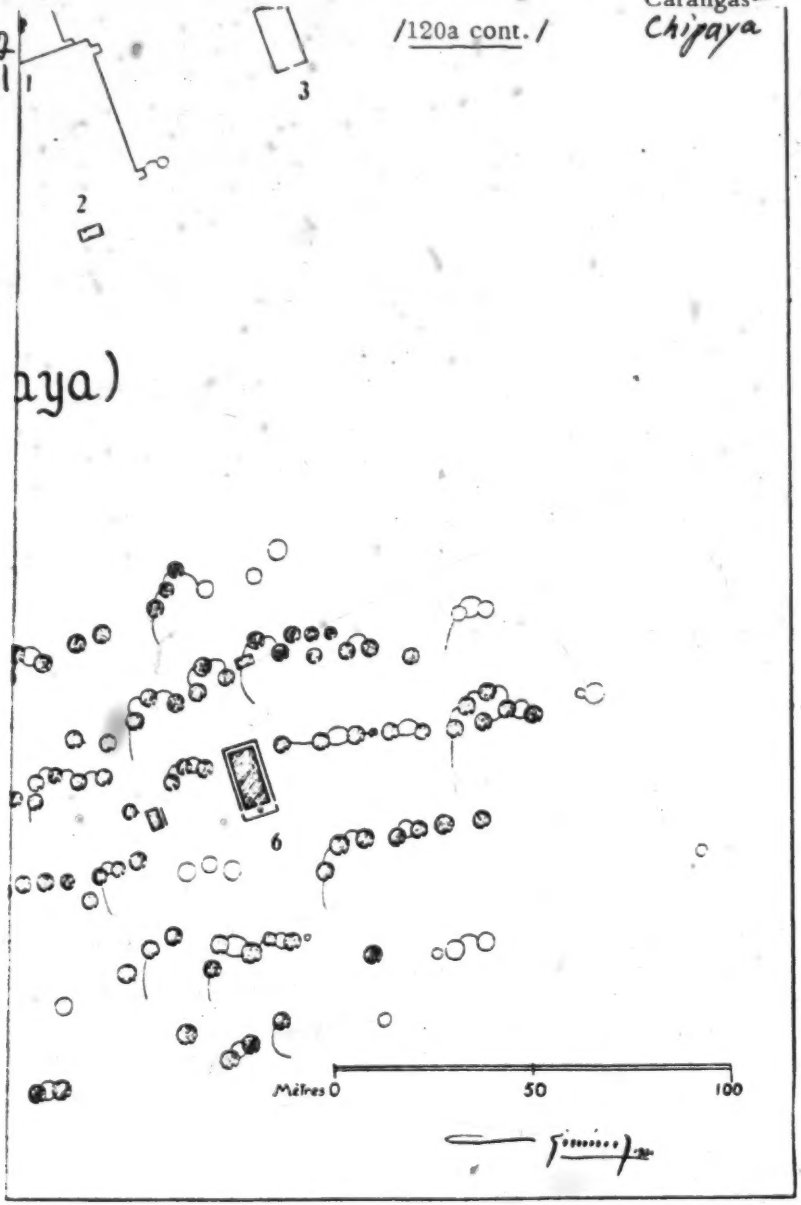

aya)

/121/

621 616 [77] Aymara and Kičua /Quechua/ communities recalls the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two [220] [892] practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [273] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-making. Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common [123] that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [195] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about 621 616 614 their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

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/121 cont./

621 616 614 not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality [368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

342 343 Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are 361 [363] grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long, more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

351 The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts [171] so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this [176] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

2:Métraux--21 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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/122 cont./

The chapels are surrounded by an enclosure and before the portal stands an oratory or a cross from which emanates a whole series of small chapels and oratories which follow each other in close succession for five or six kilometers. These strings of sacred buildings correspond in every respect to the zeque (1) of Cuzco, the

1. Ondegardo (Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas /Accounts concerning the Religion and Government of the Incas/, Part I, p. 114: "Many others, men and women, have charge of set huacas, of which particular account is given in the general letter about Cuzco, which is common in the whole realm and includes all the places which are distinguished from the others in some way, whether near the town or even as far away as the mountain peaks, if it is rugged country, and which they call apachetas, such as some large stones, and all the puquios and springs of water, or some level places which they build on some slope, or some specific trees, or the places where they sow the maize for the sacrifices, because all of these things are divided off by their ceques and boundaries around every town and are in the charge of persons who make within them different sacrifices for diverse effects, in some so that women may become pregnant, in others because they say that from them come the ice or the hail, and in others so that it may rain. Thus in this way does the Inca teach them this division of places

I 346 778 /122 cont./

in all that was conquered, charging then greatly with the benefit which the would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 3-43.

U I 346 778 191 succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominiums in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the I 361 empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

U 823 82 [361] [788] It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to U [780] the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. U [172] The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

/123 cont./

(Aside from one chapel)
the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

The Čipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Čipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the saya tuanta overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the homes of the authorities.

The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Čipaya give them: kˣas-kˣoya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancias.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

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Chipaya

/124 cont./

Social Organization

627 [616] Exercise of authority. Each saya is under the authority of an alcalde who exercises the functions of a justice of the peace. He intervenes in disputes, arrests and imprisons the guilty, and receives accusations. As we have just seen, the alcaldes preside at the division of arable land and are in addition responsible for directing work done in common, such as the upkeep of canals or the repairing of roads.

692 The corregidor represents the tribe before the government. The one for Chipaya, my friend Paulino Kondori, was so little convinced of the legitimacy of his office, very recently created, that he accompanied me on my return to be presented to the prefect of the department and to obtain from him permission to consider the territory of Chipaya an administrative district independent of Huachacalla. By one of those curious inconsistencies of the Indian character, he did not wait for me at Oruro, where he had preceded me, and I was not able to support his efforts to bring this administrative revolution to a successful conclusion. As long as his title has not been recognized by the government, the corregidor of Chipaya will continue to be subordinate to the one at Huachacalla. During my stay I had the chance to read the letters which his superior sent him and which were often conceived in a comminatory tone. I remember that once he was ordered to have his alcaldes arrest a recalcitrant debtor and another time to conduct to Huachacalla an Indian suspected, mistakenly moreover, of murder.

Paulino Kondori appeared to have some judiciary functions, for the Čipaya made allusion before me to "demandas," i.e. complaints which had been presented to him by Indians who had been injured or believed themselves to have been. It was to him that the Čipaya came to impart their misgivings about my unusual activities and my mysterious investigations. I was lodged in his [123] [344] own hut, which instead of being round like the others had a rectangular plan and a two-pitch roof. This form, seen in two or three

/124 cont./ This form, seen in Two or Three other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in use among the Aymara.

/125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori, of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves.

His authority extended no farther. The Čipaya would have had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their duties.

There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an incident which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya, which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or returning with their cargo. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by the timidity of the Čipaya, let their animals graze on the lands belonging to the latter and irrigated by their efforts. The Čipaya decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he called together the majority of the adult men of the village around his hut and they discussed the question all night. The next day the Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

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Čipaya

/125 cont./

The family. The Čipaya family like the Aymara is copied on the Creole model. Marriages are performed at the church and registered at Huachacalla. When I made a census of the population, I was able to observe that individuals of the same name have a tendency to group themselves in a specific part of the village. Certain names are characteristic of each of the sectors of the village; thus the Alabe, the Lopez, and the Pirka in Warta-ayl'u; the Kondori (1), the Mul'u, the Loza in the other part of Tuanta; and the

1. Family names such as Mamani (hawk), Kondori (condor), and Kispe are purely Aymara and are borne by almost all the Indians of this race who do not have Spanish names.

Varači, Lazaro, Felipe, Kispe, Kopa, and Taka in the saya Taxata. Some other names, in contrast, are found disseminated throughout the village; thus /126/ the Mamani (1) /refers to footnote above/, who are as numerous in Tuanta as in Taxata. The Vilka overlap in Taxata and Tuanta. With the exception of the Mamani, the individuals whose names are distributed in all three sectors of the village alike represent only a few families that are practically isolated and probably emigrants. For example, there are only two Čino households, one of which occupies a hut built on the periphery of Warta, and the other at the end of Tuanta properly so called. This far-out position in the village indicates a nonlocal or recent origin. It is the same for the two Pirka, father and son, who are neighbors of one of the two Čino households in Warta.

My attempt at a census gave me the means to examine the question of exogamy at close range. The results of the study following this line confirmed the testimonies of the Čipaya on the absence of any restriction in this respect. The members of each "moiety" take wives from the other "moiety" as well as from their own. Tuanta wives are in large part from the Taxata section, but in

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Čipaya

/126 cont./

616 [551] Taxata, in contrast, although there are nmerous Tuanta wives, the greatest number of households are made up of individuals from the same section but with different name. I was able to establish that in a few cases within the same sectin a husband and wife had the same name. Since on these two occsions it was a question of patronymics without equivalents in another sector, one may conclude that the spouses were somehow elated to each other; I do not know how.

591 [611] Filiation is rigorously paternal. The wife during her first year of marriage lives with her husband's parents. After one or two children are born the couple builds a hut for themselves beside that of the husband's parents. This rule is not absolute for there 428 are huts belonging to households without children. I gathered some information on inheritance law that is unfortunately vague and of which the accuracy is suspect. In caseof the husband's death, if the wife has no children her husband's poperty passes into the hands of her father (he becomes custodianof it?). If she has a [556] child her husband's possessions are left to her, and in a case where the child is still small, "another family" takes care of the sheep, i.e. of the pre-eminent part of a Čipaya's fortune. One Čipaya man told me that, orphaned at an early age, he was raised by a woman of his "moiety." His father's flock passed into the hands of his brother, who gave him his share when he was old enough to go himself to herd his sheep.

Kinship terms.

601 Although the nomenclature of the kinship terms teaches us nothing /127/ about the former organization of the Čipaya, I am recording them in any case to relieve my conscience:

grandfather	mastĩil'a, Čaukal'a
grandmother	mā-tĩl'a
father	hep
mother	mā
father's brother (oldest)	čax-hep
father's brother (second)	taipir-tata

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Chipaya

/127 cont./

father's brother (youngest)	piču-tata, pičota
mother's brother	tolo, tul'u, tul'uya
father's sister	uplaya, piču-mama
mother's sister	malak^{x}al'a, piču-mama
son	mač, (wet-mač: "my son")
daughter up to ten years old	tur, māt, (wet-māt: "my daughter"); xat-waw (lit.: "female child")
adult daughter	naš-māt, naš-uš
grandson, granddaughter	tuto
brother	hila (Aymara)
brother (name a sister uses)	wisi
younger brother	lak^{x} (wet-lak^{x}: "my younger brother")
elder brother	pak^{x} hila (lit.: "brig brother")
sister	kul'aka (Aymara)
younger sister	taipir kul'aki, skolta kul'aki, pič-kul'aki (lit.: "little sister"), lak^{x}
older sister	pakx-kul'aki (lit.: "big sister")
brother's son	pak^{x}-hil-uša, hil-š-mač, lak^{x}-lau
sister's son	kul'aka-mač
brother's daughter	hil-š-māt, pak^{x}-uš
sister's daughter	kul'aka-māt, pak^{x}-kul'aka-uš, kul'a-kane-wawalpa, malak^{x}alk^{x}a-uša
male first cousin	hilaš-k^{x}a-uša
female first cousin	kul'akis-k^{x}a-uš
single woman	turtaka
married woman	tun
a man calls his brother's wife:	tsuñi, t'uñi
a wife calls her brother's wife:	tau(wet-tau: "my sister-in-law")

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/127 cont./

601 a wife calls her sister's husband: tsun (wet-tsun: "my brother-in-law")

/128/ a husband calls his wife's father: axmus, axmus hep

a husband calls his wife's mother: kaičiña

son-in-law: wasi

daughter-in-law: wasal'u, wasal'a

husband of a remarried mother: wir ep

wife of a remarried father: wiri-mā

[177] male cousin (without distinguishing degree): pirimiri-hila (Spanish and Aymara)

[178] female cousin (without distinguishing degree): pirimiri kul'aka (Spanish and Aymara)

man: ješ

young man: toa

child (boy): skolta-uša

child (girl): skolta-ušal'a, skolta-wawa-ušal'a, kʷat-uš, uš.

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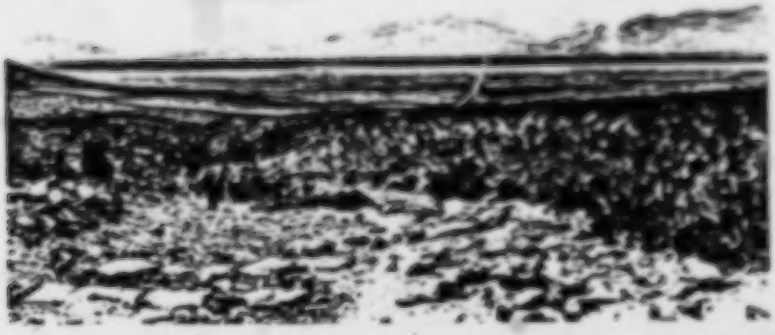
Plate VI



A. – The Carangas puna.

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B. – Chipaya village: the western saya (taxata).

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The Religion

Preliminary Remarks

Aymara and Spanish influence. The Cipaya /Chipaya/ have probably been Catholic for a very long time. I do not know the date when they were converted but I presume it to have been a long time ago. It is possible that their conversion to Christianity took place at the time when a priest came to settle at Coroque, perhaps at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The churches of the neighboring Aymara villages were doubtless already in existence in the eighteenth century and perhaps even in the seventeenth. The one that stands in the middle of the Cipaya clans can hardly be more than 50 years old. The Indians were incapable of giving me information on this subject, as was the curé of Huachacalla on whom the Cipaya depend. These Indians are totally ignorant of all religious doctrine, for only once a year, in June, do they receive a visit from their spiritual shepherd, who has nothing more pressing than to leave this desolate region and this wretched flock. The Cipaya nevertheless insist on celebrating their marriages or the birth of their children at the church; in each of these circumstances they undertake the trip to Huachacalla.

The religion of the Cipaya is essentially pagan as you will be convinced upon reading the following chapters. The relative isolation of this Uro tribe, the often superficial work of the first Spanish missionaries, the worthlessness and lack of zeal of the modern Bolivian clergy have contributed in different degrees to the preservation of the beliefs and practices of the pre-Columbian epoch in this lost village. So many causes must have favored the persistence of the past that it is difficult to explain to oneself /326/ the number of Christian elements which are mingled with the ancient rites. The whole way of life of this fossilized people would make one think

Schinnerer--32 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SFD4 Uru SFD4
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them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism. But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Sometimes even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

There would be little required for certain festivals, such as those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous ecclesiastic on the subject of rites. The processions which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed hours. A special official, the mayo-asno, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez, "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

/326 cont./

mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even Kičua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last detail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence. The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century. They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence. On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Aymara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

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171 consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives
174 of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

176 Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities
178 which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerónimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku, Kemperani-mal'ku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, and their church tower (Turi-mal'ku).

178 The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio mal'ku, and
825 by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

182 /328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumaries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Čipaya.

197 The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that of Virxina, which they make follow the word for earth (taika).
184 Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

/328 cont./

addressed soely to her person. The homage rendered her is associated with the festivals celebrated in honor of demons, sacred stones (samiri), and San Jerónimo.

It is for the Paca-mama that candies are put in the hollow at the foot of the effigy of the demon "to sweeten her," and for her also plants thrust into a lump of tallow are buried and animals molded in tallow offered, no doubt, to the demons.

The mal'ku. The Aymara word mal'ku, which in Bertonio's dictionary (1) is translated "chief," "señor de Vassallos /lord of vassals/," has a more extended meaning today and expresses a notion of a religious order. In the Aymara texts which constitute the oral ritual of the Čipaya, the qualifier or title of mal'ku is bestowed upon the Earth-mother, the Lauca River, certain mountain peaks, and the church tower. This same word is joined to diverse proper names borne by some curious monuments that the Čipaya hold in great veneration. These are cones of earth from 1.20 to 1.70 meters high, nine of which stand around the village within a radius of five to 15 kilometers. They are constructed like the Čipaya houses of champas, i.e. clods cut out of the sod and placed in such a way as to form a compact mass which is covered with a whitish coating (Pl. XI, A /see p. 132/). All these monuments have a small cellar at their base carefully closed with a plug of earth; the Indians bury the offerings they make to the demon of the place there. On one of the cones a niche oriented toward the east replaced /329/ the cellar. These monuments are sometimes supported by an oval platform about one meter high. Beside the cone, which occupies the central part of the platform,

1. Bertonio (F. Ludovico). Vocabulario de la lengua aymará /Vocabulary of The Aymara Language/ (Reissued by J. Platzmann). Second part. Leipzig, 1879. p. 220.

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/329 cont./

*1078 there is generally a small oratory or altar with a niche, where the
782 Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries, where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes every Čipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration of the ceremony the Indians burn khoa there, a resinous plant which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

*1078 In the mind of the Čipaya these cones of earth are "statues" representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were designated to me when I heard about them for the first time. "These are," the interpreter translated, "bultos a manera de hombres
[552] /busts in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a name (Čunkirini, Korisančuri, Kemperani, Kant, Kilimint, Kusil'er, Kusil'awari, Estewan, Waxma, etc.), and if the majority of these names are Čipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of
[1070] the saya tuanta is called Estewan, or Stephen (1). When I asked the
[1076]

1. I am tempted to see in the Kiliment (o) mal'ku a demon whose Spanish name, Clemento, has been indianized.

recognized officiant of the saya tuanta about the nature and attributes of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied to me that they were spirits who crossed the puna disguised as white men dressed in a tunic (ira) of the same color, and with a large hat on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

[616] Each saya has its own mal'ku near which it acquits itself, i.e.,
[621] makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the
[987] Kemperani mal'ku) constructed at the boundary of the sayas, which is worshiped by the whole tribe.

*1078 These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous
1074 waka (huaca) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

/329 cont./
destroying in the villages of the ancient Peruvian empire. The word waka is moreover the equivalent of mal'ku and is also difficult to translate exactly. This difficulty arises from the fact that the demons of the popular Peruvian religion and of modern Čipaya folklore are not very individualized and hard to disengage from the sacred object itself. I am even led to believe that the Indians had only a very vague idea of a spiritual being who was the counterpart of their waka. I will not go so far, however, as to say that the notion of spirit was foreign to the representation which the natives made for themselves out of stones or trees, which they worshiped under the name of waka. /330/ Everything seems to indicate that these sacred objects were considered in themselves as provided with a certain individuality and life. It cannot be otherwise, for wives and children (1) are often attributed to them. This is pre-

1. Santillán (Licenciado Fernando de). "Relación del Origen, Descendencia Politica, y Gobierno de los Incas /Account of the Origin, Political Development, and Government of the Incas/," in Tres Relaciones de Antigüedades peruanas /Three Accounts of Ancient Times in Peru/, published by M. Jiménez de la Espada. Madrid, 1879, p. 33: "Some (huacas) are worshiped as men and others as women and they express their devotion to each one by a kind of necessity." /Cited in Spanish./ Arriaga (F. Pablo Joseph de), Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru. (Reprint, facsimile of the original edition of 1621). Buenos Aires, 1910, p. 12: "others have diverse figures of men or women, and some of these

I 978 M6 113

/330 cont./

huacas are said to be children or wives of other huacas." /Cited in Spanish./ Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Accounts of the Indians/, Vol. I, p. 75: "and it was so much the practice of these people that there was no idol to whom they did not give a wife and children." /Cited in Spanish./

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cisely the case with the Čipaya mal'ku. In prayers their name is often repeated two times, the first time followed by the word mal'ku and the second time by the epithet tal'a. The latter was explained to me by the Čipaya themselves as designating the wife of the mal'ku. This assertion is accurate because we find in Bertonio's dictionary (2) the word "Ttalla Ccaprhomi: wife of the

2. Bertonio. Vocabulario de la lengua aymará, p. 347.

chief man of the town, and the lower relatives of the maycos." /Cited in Spanish./ If the word mal'ku, "chief," finally took on the meaning of "demon," "spirit," it is natural that the word tal'a, "wife of the chief," "noblewoman," should have acquired the sense of "female demon." The mal'ku who are symbolized by these monuments or who are these very monuments personified are hence conceived of as forming a couple. The word pokara, which often follows the word mal'ku in Čipaya prayers, is, it appears, a synonym of mal'ku. The meaning and origin of this term are unknown to me; I am inclined to believe that it is not Aymara but Uro. In this case it would have the meaning "demon," "spirit." Hence the Čipaya church tower is called hača pokara, "great mal'ku."

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U *708 [171] The word mal'ku among the Čipaya as among the Aymara also indicates a special category of fetishes which are widespread in Carangas Province and perhaps also in other parts of the territory inhabited by the Aymara and the Kičua. These are stuffed animals A 708 or plants which protect the house. My Aymara interpreter gave me miscellaneous information on the subject of the mal'ku of his people, the accuracy of which I have subsequently been able to verify. A [824] The mal'ku can be a rather rare cactus which the Indians gather in the fields and which they transplant to the courtyard of their hut. A [182] [707] They build a miniature chapel of adobes for it, decorate it with tufts of colored wool and snakewood /serpentin/, and make a sacrifice to it on the first of August, the month which is considered "aciago," i.e., of evil omen.

A 282 708 788 539 /331/ Here is the sacred formula in Kičua which is recited while making offerings to the mal'ku:

Mal'kito	kaita	korisk^{x}aiki	wawaik^{x}ika
Little mal'ku	this	I will give thee	we are thy sons

amapinak^{x}onkiču	tukuy	imata	korisk^{x}aiki.
do not be angry	all	next	I will give thee.

"Little mal'ku, I make thee this offering. We are thy sons. Do not be angry. I will make thee this offering presently."

A 778 [825] The titi-mal'ku is a wildcat, grey in color, which the Indians stuff, put on a table or a box, and to which they make offerings of coca every Friday and Saturday. It is often decorated with ribbons and other ornaments. My informant led me to the house of a chola of Oruro, where I saw one of these animals prepared in this way.

A [342] [782] The crossbeams of the roof (ako-mal'ku) are also qualified with the epithet mal'ku and are considered sacred since they receive blood sacrifices.

U /331 cont./
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Further on (p. 115) the description of a sacrifice made by a Čipaya Indian in honor of a titi-mal'ku, i.e. the wildcat protector
U [825] of his house will be given. In a hut which served as a storage place in Chipaya, I saw a stuffed hawk, mamani, which was likewise
U [171] pointed out to me as the mal'ku of the family which owned the hut.
Certain characters in Aymara folklore also bear the epithet mal'ku. Thus the Wasa mal'ku, mysterious protector of wild ani-
U *798 mals. These examples allow us at present to form a fairly clear
199 idea of the evolution undergone by the word mal'ku and of its present meaning. In the beginning this term denoted pre-eminence, whether it was purely secular and due to social rank or derived from the sacred nature of the object or person thus qualified. The substitution of approximate Spanish equivalents for the ancient native names designating the different degrees of authority has caused the use of the word mal'ku in the sense of chief to disappear. It is only preserved in the language to denote excellence, that which is worthy of respect, and consequently the supernatural and sacred. This evolution has been carried through to its most extreme limit, and
U today mal'ku can be translated in certain instances by "demon."
[782] In some Čipaya prayers the magician calls indiscriminately upon "all the mal'ku"; he invites the "mal'ku" to come eat the pieces of meat which are tossed to them in the air.

*798 /332/ The bibliographical research which I have undertaken
17 has brought me only rare examples of the word mal'ku being attri-
127 buted to supernatural beings or being invested with the meaning
M "sacred." The present natives of the Huarochirí region (1) worship
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1. Tello (Julio C.) and Mirando (Prospero). "Wallallao. Ceremonias Gentílicas realizadas en la Región Cisandina del Perú Central /Wallallao. Pagan Ceremonies carried out in the Cisandean Region of Central Peru/." Inca, Lima, Vol. I, No. 2, 1923, pp. 475-549, 510, 532, 545.

M /332 cont./
798 the "mallkos or mummies of their pagan ancestors." Before re-
969 pairing the irrigation canals "the people go to the communal house where the officials are in order to learn from their mouths the prognostications transmitted by the mallkos." "Near the lagoon of Pokle there is a large, rounded rock, which they call the Mallko of the potato. The officials and the old men dance around this rock, chanting in Keshwa /Quechua/." In the first examples the word mal'ku seems to be synonymous with malqui, bodies of ancestors. "After the stone Huacas," Arriaga (2) tells us, "their greatest object

2. Arriaga. Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru /Extirpation of the Idolatry of Peru/, p. 14.

of veneration and adoration are the malquis, which are called Munaos on the plain; these are the bones or the entire bodies of pagan ancestors, whom they call sons of Huacas; they keep them in the fields in secluded places and in the Machay, which are their ancient tombs; sometimes they adorn them with very precious tunics and with plumes of various colors or with cumbis." As at Huarochirí mallko is, it appears, the native name for mummies; it may be assumed that it is a dialectal form of the word malqui, which has the same meaning. As for the mallko rock, it is identical with the ancient konopa and comes close to our sacred cones and the samiri which we will discuss later. It is evident that in this case the word mallko corresponds fairly exactly with its Aymara and Čipaya homonym.

U *798 [71] Rigoberto Paredes' book (3) on religious survivals in Bolivia

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3. Paredes (Rigoberto), Mitos, supersticiones y supervivencias populares de Bolivia /Bolivian Myths, Superstitions, and Popular Survivals/. La Paz, 1920, pp. 53-56.

/332 cont./

*178 191 contains several allusions to mal'ku, which the author confused with the Wasa mal'ku which was under consideration above. "If the Indians slaughter a sheep, a llama, or an ox, they sprinkle the fronton, or the triangular extremity of the main wall of their house, in homage to the mal'ku, who, being assured that he has not been forgotten, favors this hearth in thanks for the offering." Here it is a question of the worship of the household mal'ku, which I have already mentioned. The same folklorist describes some ceremonies performed in honor of a mal'ku, i.e., a doll which the Indians attach to the end of a pole and to which they make blood sacrifices. "This effigy can sometimes be a decorated doll /333/ and at other times a carved stone, a plaster image, or a stick wrapped in colored rags."

*178 194 In contrast to the word mal'ku itself, the idea which it expresses is familiar to all those who have been occupied with the ethnography of ancient Peru. I could give many examples to demonstrate that the Čipaya mal'ku are nothing other than huaca, whose nature, form, and number were so often mentioned by the old chroniclers. As their descriptions have been compiled by numerous modern authors dealing with Peruvian religion, I think it unnecessary to cite in my turn these well-known passages (1).

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1. See among others Jijón y Caamaño (J). La religión del Imperio de los Incas /The Religion of the Inca Empire/. Vol. I. "Los fundamentos del culto. Huacas, conopas, apachitas, urcos, huancas, machais /The Foundations of the Cult. Huacas, Conopas, Apachitas, Urcos, Huancas, Machais/." Quito, 1949; Latcham (Ricardo E.). Las creencias religiosas de los antiquos Peruanos /The Religious Beliefs of the Ancient Peruvians/. Santiago, Chile, 1929, pp. 51-55.

2:Métraux--43 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru
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Chipaya
Aymara SF5
Inca SE13

A 7778 A [8?3] /333 cont./ The shore-dwelling Aymara on the Titicaca give the word ačačila, "ancestors," a meaning near that of the word mal'ku. "The Aymara Indians," Bandelier (2) tells us, "call each 'nevado' or snowy peak

2. Bandelier. The Islands of Titicaca and Koati, pp. 8 and 94.

'Achachila,' i.e., 'grandfather.' They apply this term to every outstanding thing; the importance of the achachila does not, however, always correspond with its size." "The Aymara of the islands pay particular attention to the achachilas, literally, to the grandfathers, spirits who reside in elevated places or in striking objects and which are supposed to exercise continual influence over man. This belief in the achachilas is nothing other than the fetishism so well characterized by Mr. Cushing, traces of which I have found in every Indian tribe with which I have been in contact. Every extraordinary object in nature is presumed by the Aymara to contain a nucleus or a spiritual essence which plays an active role in the existence of that which surrounds it, including men." Bandelier's A [114] interpretation is naturally far too highly colored with animism, but what he tells us about the aˇačilas or the aˇačila (the Earth-mother is also an acacila) and their worship greatly recalls the concept of mal'ku and the superstitious practices of which the mal'ku are the object (3).

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3. A passage from the chronicler, Cristóbal de Molina (Relación de la conquista y población del Perú /Account of the Conquest and Population of Peru/. Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú /Collection of books and documents referring to the history of Peru/. Lima, Vol. I, 1916

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Inca SE13
Modern Quechua SE24

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pp. 105-199, p. 147) leads us to understand that in ancient Peru the word mama finally received a meaning close to that of huaca (waka) and might be translated by "sacred, holy." "The method by which they made up these huacas, which they invoked to the point of idolatry, was because they said that the Sun created all things, and that it gave them each a mother; and that they cut the land because they said that it had a mother, and they had made for it /?/ busts and adoratorios /"temples of idols"/; and fire they said also had a mother, and maize and other sowing seeds and the sheep and cattle had a mother; and chicha, which is the beverage they use, they said that its vinegar was the mother and venerated it and called it mama, water mother of vinegar, and they idolatrized each thing in this manner, and they had made for it, as I say, houses and set up a complete and special service for them; and the sea they said had a mother who was called marivacocha, which is the mother of the sea, and for which they had great respect." /Cited in Spanish./

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798 /334/ An evolution analogous to that of the word mal'ku occurred
796 in Kicua with the word auki, whose early meaning was identical, namely "master, lord."

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Modern Quechua SE24

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In the Cuzco region "the auquis form a special category of guardian spirits of the air, the water, and the earth. They preside over the actions of men and receive their offerings. It is believed that individuals, animals, and things are possessed by mysterious beings, spirits, fluids, and essences, the manifestations of which are often concrete. Of these, some are benevolent and become protectors if they receive the offerings of men, above all the first-fruits of drinks (sic) which they consume. Just as the auqui may be a protecting divinity, others are always malevolent and constantly inflict ills on certain persons. It is they who create the hail and freezing, who destroy the harvests, cause epizootic disease, and make the murderous and destructive lightning fall. These are the machus of the Kiĉua and the achachis of the Aymara (these two words have the meaning of old) who are insulted, at whom rocks are thrown, and who are jeered to keep them at a distance (1)."

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1. Ordóñez (Pastor). "Los Varayocc /The Varayocc/," Revista universitaria. Cuzco, 8th year, No. 29, September 1919 (pp. 41-48), pp. 41-42.

The word auqui recurs frequently in the reports published by the University of Cuzco on the folklore of this region. It is thus that the flocks are supposed to be protected by an auqui and that the soul of a sick person may be taken captive by an auqui (2).

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2. Muñiz (César A.). "Del folk-lore indígena /Native Folk-lore/," Revista universitaria. Cuzco, 16th year, No. 52, 1926, pp. 14-20.

/334 cont./

The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play a foremost role in the religious life of the Čipaya. The majority of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku, he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /335/ of the pagan religion of the Čipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the sands of the puna. The pit is housed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a yareta.

The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The Čipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent to konopa, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).

1. On the konopa, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Latcham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 55-62, may be consulted.

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Chipaya
Aymara SF5

/335 cont./

798 [171] The worship of samiri exists among the modern Aymara, although their samiri are of a different nature and have a more extensive role than in Chipaya. Near Corque while making excavations I saw a stone about 20 cm. high which looked vaguely like a human statuette. I wanted to carry it away but was dissuaded. The loss of this stone would have afflicted and upset the Indians for whom it was a samiri. A mountain, the Malaku Kurusani, was pointed out to me by the Aymara of the village of Kurusani as being their samiri. They gathered there on Saint Andrew's day to burn khoa and slaughter a llama or sheep. The ačačila, or ancestors, come down from this mountain to bring "luck." My Aymara interpreter furnished me with other facts about the samiri which I will present just as he related them: "The samiri are animals which are kept with one and which bring luck. They are generally toads or lizards that are caught in the fields and put into little glass boxes. They are fed with candies. Each Tuesday and Friday offerings and libations (č'al'a) are made to them. They receive coca with llijta (l'ixta) at this time. In Kičua country the libation is accompanied by the following formula:

798 825 [177] [782] [171] [539]

wefá	wastawan	kompañawačun	sumak
to offer coca	more	that may accompany me	good

suerte.
fortune.

798 [787] /336/ At San Pedro near Oruro one can see two stone lizards and a toad which are the samiri of Oruro. When these stones are moved it is a presage of misfortune (1).

1. This information is confirmed by Paredes, Mitos, supersticiones y superviviencias, etc., p. 67:

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Aymara SF5

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"Near the city of Oruro there was a large loose stone in the shape of a toad which was considered a miraculous huaca by the pueblo and, consequently, it venerated it by covering it constantly with flowers and maslin, and pouring over it chicha, wine, and brandy." /Cited in Spanish./

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Mal'ku konvento is the samiri of Umala: The yatiri, or Aymara magicians, have buried living toads there. These batrachians do not suffer, it appears, from their underground stay and even multiply. The box in which they are contained must be changed every year, and on this occasion a great festival takes place over which the body of yatiri or magicians presides. The latter perform various mysterious rites which those present, kept at a distance, can only dimly observe. The medicine men give long speeches interrupted by frequent libations. Every inhabitant of the village must make some offering to the samiri: morsels of sugar, khoa, llama fat, bottled wine, pure alcohol, and coca with llijta. Moreover, two black llamas are sacrificed; their blood is buried, their bones burned, and their meat eaten by the faithful. [534] This ceremony is a pretext for all kinds of merrymaking, in particular, dances to the sound of the flute and tambourine.

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The samiri is thus the protector of the village, and it also watches over the flocks. To gain its protection for the livestock, amulets representing oxen and sheep are deposited at the consecrated spot. Each year at sowing time two ewes are sacrificed to it.

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The samiri can be a mountain. Accordingly the hill of Potosí is a samiri and legend has it that a toad lives at its summit. The hill of Oruro is itself also a samiri. In the inauspicious hours of the night two mysterious serpents appear there which make weak-hearted men die. [782] The worshipers of the hill of Potosí offer up

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Aymara SF5

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708 libations (č'al'a) and offerings of llama fetus to it. They burn in-
823 cense made of khoa to it and smash a bottle of wine in its honor.
[782] These sacrifices, which are not carried out at any set date, always take place at the foot of the mountain. The summit inspires profound terror in the Indians, who would not venture there under any pretext.

Besides mountains bodies of water and caves can be samiri. The latter are particularly awesome and it is preferable to stay
[782] away from them. The offerings are deposited at a certain distance, and the yatiri themselves hardly dare approach these sacred places.

708 /337/ The only precise bibliographic information on the
114 samiri that I know about are in R. Paredes' book (1). These

1. Mitos, supersticiones y supervivencias, etc., pp. 41-42.

references like everything Paredes gives us are enveloped with embellishments which considerably alter their scientific value: "samiri, repository, place marked out as the original home of the ancestors, whether men or animals. Because of this fact a strange vital force has remained localized in this place, and each time that the descendant goes there he receives life-giving inspiration and returns full of courage. Such a quality has been given this place by the Pača-mama, who did not wish to grant the inhabitants of her age all that she could have bestowed upon them. Thus, as long as life exists, as long as there is a world, her sons will not lack means to remedy their discouragement and physical wear and tear. This place is a mother for the living being who implores its aid. The Indians venerate these places which are considered sacred and offer sacrifices to them.

708 "My samiri," says the Indian, and he points out an elevation, a summit, a field, or a grotto. "The samiri of my flock is such-and-such another place," he adds, and he indicates similar places although he may never have been there."

/337 cont./

708 If Paredes' accounts are correct the samiri of the present-day
175 Aymara are the pakarina of the ancient Peruvians, i.e., the place
195 from whence each ayl'u, or clan, has sprung and which is conse-
[614] quently sacred and revered by the members of this clan. As the samiri of the Čipaya do not have such a character in any respect, one may assume that the word samiri like mal'ku has taken on an extended meaning which it did not have originally, and that it has finally come to designate, besides the pakarina, the protecting fetishes of the flocks and fields.

708 The chronicles and documents of the sixteenth century do not
175 mention samiri. In the famous work of the inquisitor Arriaga (2),

2. Arriaga, Extirpación de la idolatría en el Pirú, p. 12.

however, a brief allusion is made to sacred places called zamana. "And not only do they venerate Huacas but even places where they say that they rested or /where/ Huacas were, which they call zamana, and other places from where they invoke them, which they call Cayan, they also venerate." /Cited in Spanish./ The word zamana has here a meaning close to that which Paredes gives samiri, "repository."

The definition of zamana given by Arriaga could not suit any of the Aymara or Čipaya types of samiri.

Here, as in the case of the word mal'ku, one term has been substituted for /338/ another and has been extended to include an idea that was formerly foreign to it. This is, however, only pure hypothesis on my part, for we must not forget that we know only a little about the former religion of the Aymara, and one cannot always infer Kičua beliefs from those of the Aymara, despite a certain homogeneity of cults and religious representations among the inhabitants of the ancient Peruvian empire.

[614] The present state of our knowledge compels us to look upon the samiri as clan fetishes with a specialized or nonspecialized function, or simply as sacred places from whence each clan has sprung.

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Chipaya

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*7078 The mountains (1). In their prayers the Čipaya invoke the

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1. On the worship of mountains in the ancient Peruvian empire, consult Jijón y Caamaño, La religion del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 328-342.

mountains on their horizon in general and certain summits, such
[133] as the Sajama, in particular. The latter is the most sacred of all, for from it comes the Lauca River which fertilizes the wretched Chipaya plain. The Indians relate that there lived in Sajama a spirit (male or female) who made the contents of a pot boil so that steam was seen escaping. Sajama is now an extinct volcano.

[782] The Lauca River. Like the mountains the Lauca River is a divinity who demands offerings and blood sacrifices. As the Pača-mama has been associated with the Virgin, so the Lauca River has been confused with María, who for the Čipaya, it seems, is a personage distinct from the Virgin; this is why the Lauca River is called Santa María Lauca. Its name is followed in a prayer with the double epithet of mal'ku and tal'a. These qualificatives would oblige us to assume that this river is symbolized by a pair of demons or considered in itself as being both male and female. I have not been able to obtain any clarification on this point, all the less so as the Čipaya have very rudimentary if any knowledge of mythology. These contradictory attributes given to the Lauca River perhaps are only an empty form without importance.

[796] The Čipaya assured me that they hold a festival each year
[782] for the Lauca River. On this occasion one specimen of the three kinds of animals who live in Chipaya is sacrificed to it.

*7078 The sacred sticks. These are not lacking in any Čipaya hut, where they are set against the wall facing the door. The Indians worship them /339/ at home, as they told me, and I actually saw them placing censers at the foot. These sticks, one of which is reproduced here (Pl. XVI, D /see p. 137/), are made of palm-tree

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*778 wood and come from the forests of eastern Bolivia. The Indians call them by the half-Aymara, half-Spanish word kamana-para,
[171] "house stick." I never saw one in the Aymara huts where I stayed.

Sanctuaries, chapels, and oratories. The Čipaya celebrate their festivals at the foot of the sacred cones of earth, or mal'ku, near the samiris' cellar or in the chapels and the village church. I have already mentioned above the location of the mal'ku in relation to the village, and I have given a complete description of
*778 them. Hence note must be taken here only of the edifices of a
346 mixed character, i.e., those which are used simultaneously for observances of Christian and pagan worship.

The church falls into this last category. Its belfry is a divinity common to the entire tribe, as the church is situated in the middle of the neutral ground which separates the two saya. Its interior is miserable and does not differ at all from the rural churches in the rest of Bolivia, unless in its poverty. On the altar are a few images
[182] made of pasteboard, which receive blood sacrifices, offerings of coca, and libations of alcohol and chicha. Exactly as in other
[176] Bolivian churches, one finds in this one an unusual number of boxes containing the image of Saint James on his horse, a saint whom the Indians hold in particular veneration and to whom they have given all the attributes and functions of the ancient god of thunder. One sees there also innumerable small terra-cotta bowls, full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns; these little lamps take the place of candles and are given by the faithful.

[614] Each clan has in addition its chapel, built on the same plan as the church but smaller. The interior decoration is almost the same but even more wretched. In front of the chapel a small enclosure is used for gatherings of the faithful when they assemble to drink or feast together in homage to some Christian or pagan divinity. From the Tuanta chapel a line of chapels and little square edifices, which for want of a better word I shall call oratories or altars, extends in a straight line toward the east, or more precisely toward the southeast. These are small cubes of earth topped with a niche

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*1108 and decorated with small earthen cornices which make them vague-
347 ly comparable to miniature pagodas. The niche always faces east and generally contains coca leaves, dishes with the remains of offerings, small bottles full of alcohol, morsels of copal, and little lamps /340/ with tallow. Some coins are also to be found there. These curious constructions are carefully painted white and are numerous not only in the village but also in the whole extent of Chipaya territory, where they tend to be distributed in long strings. They alternate with tiny chapels which are within an enclosure and also decorated with cornices. The interior of these chapels is completely bare, and on the earthen altar one rarely finds anything other than the remains of offerings. However, one may make some bizarre discoveries there: tea boxes containing the oddest objects, cheap little mirrors, pious or secular pictures taken from illustrated magazines which have come to be stranded in these distant parts.

*1108 Chapels and oratories are particularly abundant in the whole
346 of Carangas Province. They are generally on top of mountains
171 in the middle of the desert. Paths and even superb roads lead to
[487] them in a straight line, without regard for rugged places and
[491] sloping ground. These strange monuments which stand out against the grey of the mountains and which, distorted by mirage, look like temples or churches radiantly white, all contain the remains of offerings and some rare decoration. Near the village of Kala, a day and a half from Chipaya, I saw a whole group of these chapels carefully kept up and, in addition, bearing a small shelter for pilgrims. One could see piles of excrement there, drawn from the entrails of sacrificed animals, and traces of blood. At the foot of the hill there were stone enclosures for llamas. From this place
[491] roads five to six meters wide broke away and led in straight lines to all the points of the horizon. These large avenues, absolutely clean, did not seem to have been used for a long time. I never had the leisure to follow them to the end, but I believe that they would have led me to some village or to some group of houses forming
*1108 an estancia or an ayl'u. The Indians never wanted to give me any
171 information about the purpose of these sanctuaries, and the priest

/340 cont./

*708 171 of Huachacalla whom I questioned replied to me that they were used for "superstitions," and that he did not want to know anything about the cult and the pagan ceremonies which were clandestinely performed there.

*796 554 The agents of worship. Each festival is presided over by an alferez who bears the costs of it. It is he who furnishes the victims for the sacrifice and who distributes the coca and alcohol, the main attractions of these ceremonies. He must, moreover, offer a feast for all the inhabitants on the day after the festival. This generosity gives him the right to occupy a place of honor in the middle of the assembly, to sit behind the sheaves of sacred straw, and to /341/ receive the homage and compliments of those present. These privileges do not end with the ceremony of which he took charge. On Carnival day the alferez of the preceding festivals dance, carrying on their backs the sheaves which they acquired while they were in office and which the rites have consecrated. On this day they bear once again the white banner, the insignia of their rank from which they draw their name. A rivalry exists among the [578] alferez which is translated into a desire to eclipse each other and to surpass each other in largess. If the festival for which they had responsibility was particularly successful, if the people of their saya were well entertained and intoxicated, and if the garlands of cheese and fruit were plentiful, they gain a certain prestige which flatters their vanity. For vanity is the weak point of the Indian character. I do not know if an alferez who has proved himself generous has more of a chance than another to get the title of alcalde or corregidor. The institution of the alferez is very widespread in the [171] [179] entire Andean region. It is so strongly impregnated with Spanish and Catholic elements that one hesitates to see the survival of indigenous traditions in it. Nevertheless, this idea of rivalry and certain details recall the forms of potlatch too much to allow us to attribute an exclusively post-Columbian origin to this important office. One must read in Paredes (1) the pages which he devotes to

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*796 /341 cont./ in Paredes (1) the pages which he devotes to
554 One must read

1. Mitos, superstitiones y supervivencias, etc., p. 176-186.

the alferez's to realize what the rank of alferez means to an Indian or Bolivian cholo. The pointless glory of bearing this title for one day generally brings the ruin of the hero of the festival with it.
*796 This expense is so crushing that in order to meet it the alferez are
554 often obliged to have recourse to their relatives or friends for help.
426 This consists of small gifts, and those who give them are called ayni. The debt which is contracted in these circumstances is, Paredes tells us (2), sacred, and one cannot fail to discharge it.

2. Ibid., p. 162.

*796 During the Chipaya festivals I have actually seen Indians who came
431 to offer the alferez either eggs, sheaves of straw, coca, or alcohol. These little gifts were most welcome and accepted with gratitude by the alferez, whose resources had been singularly strained by the
*796 world-wide crisis. Dr. Rivet (3) observed customs in Ecuador
554
171
[113]

3. Rivet (Paul). "Étude sur les Indiens de la région de Riobamba /Study on the Indians of the Riobamba Region/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Paris, New Series, Vol. I, No. 1, 1903, p. 76.

identical with those described here, the only difference being that in that land the alferez bears the name of prioste. "The Indians have a strong desire to give festivals which will eclipse all previous ones. This folly pushes some unfortunates to work a whole year, denying themselves stubbornly all but the strictly necessary, /342/ even on Sundays (strange contradiction). Then the festival arrives,

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/342 cont./

*796 554 171 there they are priostes, and in eight days of orgy the fruits of one year of work are devoured."

One cannot give the officiant of Čipaya festivals the title of *796 791 "magician," although the Indians designate him by the name of yatiri (magician in Aymara). The personage who operates at the sacrifices, who prepares the masterly mixtures offered as libations to the demons, and who says the prayers, is not at all like a medicine-man /given in English/. He is generally an old Indian who has maintained the traditions of the past. Beyond the service which he renders the younger generation thanks to his knowledge of the ritual, he fills no particular office and enjoys no more esteem 791 than any other elderly man. It is not, however, impossible that my friend, Anacleto Mullu, was actually a real yatiri. This is only a supposition on my part after having seen him officiate at several festivals and having admired the competency with which he accomplished his task. The Indians frequently pointed him out to me as the man who best knew the prayers to the mal'ku. He also had some talent as a fortune-teller and was a past master of the 791 art of "reading in the coca." I do not know, however, if his skill 956 was called upon in cases of illness. The only cure at which I was present was made by a Čipaya whom I had never seen officiate in any festival and whom I would never have suspected was versed in these superstitious practices.

*796 791 159 Espíritu Mamani, a bearded giant with the head of a faun, made himself noticed by his zeal during festivals. His functions were, however, limited to reciting prayers, which for the most part had a marked Christian character. He discharged this duty with a fervor and enthusiasm which made me doubt his mental equilibrium. Among all the Čipaya he alone was animated with exuberant life. He appeared truly possessed by an internal demon when with half-shut eyes he prayed as if in ecstasy. Immediately afterward he would wink and laugh with an air of complicity, as if he had just pulled a good trick. He was affable and pleasant in spite of this, but fickle, unapproachable, and as wild as a forest god.

/342 cont./

*796 He lived far from the tribe in a place called Yunguyo. He was
797 never seen in the village. He appeared only for the festivals,
159 strangely dressed and reciting his prayers without stop, kneeling, rising, and offering libations with a half-comical, half-tragic pomposity. He was treated with a certain respect due to his art, and I believe that the Čipaya insisted on having him with them during all their festivals no matter how small. He animated them
[781] and gave them the religious character which they would often have lacked without him.

159 /343/ Anacleto Mullu, of whom I previously spoke, was the
791 most intelligent of all the Čipaya with whom I had dealings. His small, lively eyes sparkled with a mocking gleam, and he never missed an opportunity to tell a joke, even an improper one. His facial mobility was such that he could immediately abandon his jovial air to take on a grave and serious expression, as if he were the most respectable of men.

Festivals and Rites

*796 The taking of office of the new authorities (January 1).
632 The first of January, the day on which the transmission of powers is carried out in Chipaya, is the occasion of a festival, the only one in which only rare pagan elements are mingled. I shall mention a few of its details which illustrate the attitude of the
[354] Čipaya toward the Catholic religion. That morning the small church of the tribe had been abundantly lighted; lamps or tallow candles were burning on all the altars and fragrant smoke was rising from all the censers. The outgoing alcaldes had gathered beside their successors near the altar, and a kind of sacristan was fumigating
[152] them copiously. Some women squatting behind the men were sobbing and sighing as though their hearts were broken. They were only quiet when small baked clay llamas which they had placed on the altar were distributed; they kissed them and fondled

/343 cont./

*796 627 them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

692 The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the 692 576 other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They [273] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

622 535 [292] Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the outgoing alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He [301] [824] [939] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead. Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

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/344 cont./ Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and dancers, stopping in front of each hut to obtain a tribute of alcohol for himself and his troup. In exchange for this gift he gave his momentary host the privilege of seizing the white banner and putting himself at the head of the dancers. The end of the day was only a succession of rounds and drinking which went on until complete exhaustion.

The second day. On the next day, noticing that all the Indians were going toward a particular hut, I in turn went. There I found about 30 individuals, men and women, squatting on the floor around the alcalde taking office, who was seated on a pile of cloth behind a table facing the door. He was holding his stick of authority in his arm and had bunches of flowers and a napkin full of coca in front of him. His physiognomy did not act in his favor; his ravaged, closed face was scarred with smallpox; his thick features, aquiline nose, and projecting chin gave him an air which was both cruel and bestial. I sat down next to the men immediately to the right of the host. All were keeping a profound, almost disturbing silence. At long intervals a man would rise to profer his bag of coca to the alcalde. The latter would take a few leaves from it and tender his own chuspa with a bored gesture. Others moved toward the table, took a pinch of coca leaves, some of which they left in front of the flowers, and swallowed the rest. The drinkers never forgot their libations directed, as were the offerings, toward the flowers on the table. On that day the chicha of maize and quinua, in exception to the rule, competed with the alcohol. It was served by the women in terra-cotta bowls. I had the opportunity to be present that afternoon at a scene, the significance of which remains a mystery to me. A man got up and greeted a young woman in the usual manner; /345/ she replied to his greeting and went to kneel at the head of the audience. The individual who had greeted her took the young woman's head and shoved it against that of a man squatting next to her. Several seconds later the young woman gave way to weeping identical to that with which the church had resounded the day before. Silence

/345 cont./

re-established itself little by little, and during the entire day the Indians remained in their hut, as apathetic as I had found them in the morning.

The festival of San Geronimo (January 7)

Very early in the morning an Indian ran through the saya tuanta, beating on a drum and stopping before each hut to wake the inhabitants and call them to the festival which was about to begin. Not knowing the significance of this household-rousing, I attributed little importance to it and thus missed the initial ceremonies. I could ascertain, however, that two piglets had been sacrificed on the threshold of the chapel of the saya: the cross which stands in front of the door, the outside walls, and the altar had been splattered with fresh blood. Inside two tables had been set up on which coca leaves had been spread out. Some Indians squatted in the chapel chewing coca leaves and drinking alcohol, preceding each mouthful with a prayer and libation. Espíritu Mamani subsequently recited the text of the prayer to me, uttered, no doubt, at the moment when the blood of the pigs is sprinkled:

Araxpača	auki,	suma	tiempo	apanital'a,	wainu
Sky	lord,	good	weather	send me,	good

mara,	suma	mara,	araxpač-patruna,		todos
weather,	good	weather,	sky	master,	all

wawataki.	Lo mismo	Virxin-taika	xumapeuyuwaxista,	
children for.	Likewise	Virgin-earth	thou feedest me,	

katokanta	(taki)	wawanakataki,	todos	mondos,
thou wilt receive	(all?)	children of,	all	the world,

wawanakataki	ukˣaro	todos	mondos	pakˣalis	aka
children of	then	all	the world	animals	these

/345 cont./

*796 539 loktaña suma ora resibitanta. Lo mismo, araxpača,
I give thee good hour receive. Likewise, sky,

pobri wakča wawmat aka wakča, Tatai, istitai
poor orphans children these orphans, Father, hear me

laiku suma tiempo apanital'a, San Xeronimo.
for them good weather send me, Saint Jerome.

"Lord of the sky, send me good weather, good weather, master of the sky (send good weather) for all thy children. Likewise, /346/ Virgin-earth, thou who feedest me, thou wilt receive (these offerings) from all they children, from all the world. (In the name of) all the world, of they children, I give thee these heads of livestock, receive them under good protection. Likewise, o sky, we, poor orphans, are thy sons, Father, hear me on behalf of these orphans, send me good weather, Saint Jerome."

*796 I succeeded in joining a group of Indians who were heading east of the village, going along the line of oratories and chapels
[532] of which I have spoken. The women had flowers stuck in their plaits, and one of them was carrying a box which contained a papier-mâché effigy of Saint James on his horse. All, men and women, were holding a long stick topped with a cross surrounded with wool threads of different colors in their hands, and some also had brought their kaman-para, or sacred stick. They proceeded at a rapid pace to the sound of a drum which an old Indian was playing incessantly; I shall refer to him by the name Officiant from here on. It was actually he who carried out the chief rites.

In front of each of the altars which marked the plain in a straight line, the little band made a halt and kneeled down to recite
[533] a prayer in chorus. Then all went around the oratory several times on their knees with the exception of the Officiant, who remained in his place, beating frantically on his drum and loudly intoning a monotone Aymara song. Before setting out again, at a given

/346 cont./

*796 signal all kneeled again in a row facing east and again recited a brief prayer. They began the same rites before each oratory up to the last chapel situated at the limits of Čipaya territory. Having arrived before this low, narrow hut, men and women entered in turn and prostrated themselves before the altar on which the [796] Officiant had placed the effigy of Saint James, the cross, and the sticks which the worshipers had given him. Some paid homage to the saint with their bags of coca, which they placed at his feet or hung in his niche. Others lit small lamps, if this name can be given to dishes containing tallow and a wick, around him and, kneeling before the saint, held censers toward him or burned grains of copal (1). These signs of reverence were accompanied by

1. The Indians give the name copal (kupala) to a resin which while burning gives off a fragrant smoke. This substance comes from eastern Bolivia.

prayers in Aymara.

A small enclosure continues the chapel to the east. It contains a cross of straw which stands on a crude pedestal of earth and some slabs /347/ serving as tables on which the participants place [796] [973] coca and alcohol which they offer each other. While each family was taking its place at the spot which pleased it and set out coca, a bottle of alcohol, and the drinking cups that play an essential part in the festival on a small cloth, the Officiant and his helper stretched a small tablecloth in front of the cross, on which they placed 36 mugs and two extra ones outside the rug. They poured a little chicha in each of them, and in each one in succession, following a set pattern (a mug on the left, then a mug on the right, and going from bottom to top), dipped three stones, silicious in appearance, two white and one grey. These stones were then placed between the mugs of the lower row at regular intervals. The Officiant moistened small, round, green stones from old,

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*796 prehistoric necklaces, in each cupule. He did the same with a piece of iron pyrite. His helper put small pieces of gold and silver leaf, small quantities of pink and blue mineral powder, incense, cinnamon bark, white and black maize flour, etc. in each cupule.

*796 539 The Officiant then planted a cross and his sacred stick facing east and knelt before them. He then began to recite, with eyes half-closed, in a loud and penetrating voice a series of prayers, of which I was able to record the following:

Tata	Santiago,	araxpaǩa	Santiago,	kimsatunxsoxtani			
Father	Santiago,	sky	Santiago,	36			
platu	resibite	tarapital'a,		ukˣaro	Santo	San	Felipe,
dishes	receive	thou wilt receive,		next	Saint	Saint	Philip
ukˣaro	Santo	San	Geronimo,	Santo	Yunguyo(1)	resibe	
next	Saint	Saint	Jerome,	Saint	Yunguyo	receive	

[103]

1. Yunguyo is the name of a group of huts where Espíritu Mamani, who recited this prayer to me, lived.

tarapital'a	aka	insensio,	resibe	tarapital'a	
thou wilt receive	this	incense,	receive	thou wilt receive	
todos	abogados	araxpaǩa,	suma	karpa,	waino (2) karpa,
all	intercessors,	sky,	good	rain,	rain,

[193] [192]

2. This word, which always precedes a significant word — "rain," "weather," or "year," has always been translated for me by "good"; I have felt some doubts, however, about the precision of my transcription. Its pronunciation

/347 cont./

has seemed to me sometimes wainu, sometimes l'anu. In the first case one could relate it to the Kičua waina and conjecture that through a strange semantic evolution the word "young" came to mean "good." It is also possible that l'ano is the Uro word for "good," which has today been replaced by the Aymara suma.

apanital'a	l'ano(2)	karpa	araxpač̆a	hasiru,	kočeru
send to me	good	rain	sky	shadow	lagoons of water

2. /Refers to preceding note./

niviru,	araxpač̆a	makinero,	araxpač̆a	barkiru
snow	sky	engineer	sky	boatman

/348/ "Santiago, (our) father, Santiago of the sky, receive these 36 dishes, next Saint Philip, next Saint Jerome, next Saint Yunguyo, receive them as also this incense. You all who are our intercessors in the sky, send us good rains, shadows of the sky (clouds), lagoons of water and snow, you who are the engineers, the boatmen of the sky."

Taki	kimsa	pak̆al'u	uyuwiri	Wirxina,
All	three	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin,

kač̆a	pak̆al'a	uyuwiri	Wirxina,
large	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin,

kulumayu	uyuwiri	Wirxina,	č̆ita	mama	uyuwiri.
pigs	foster-mother	Virgin,	sheep	mother	foster-mother.

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*796
539 Kimsa-čata, lo mismo xača mal'ku, L'auka-mal'ku,
"Three summits," likewise great demon, Lauca-demon,

Lauka tal'a, apayaniri taki parwal'a apayaniri,
Lauca-demon woman, who sends all the grass who sends,

lo mismo xumapekätoktanta, Estewan-mal'ku, Čunkirini-
likewise thou wilt receive Stephen-demon, Čunkirini-

mal'ku, katoxtanta marka-kol'o, pokara,
demon, thou wilt receive country mountains, demon?,

katoxtanta Korisančuri-mal'ku, katoxtanta
thou wilt receive, Korisancuri-demon, thou wilt receive

Kemperani-mal'ku, Kemperani-tal'a, tunkapayani
Kemperani-demon, Kemperani-demon woman, 12

parwal'a, todos parwal'a, katoxtanta Kilimint-mal'ku,
grasses, all grasses thou wilt receive Kilimint-demon,

Kilimint-tal'a, Kusil'er-mal'ku, marka-kol'o,
Kilimint-demon woman Kusil'er-demon, country-mountains,

marka-tal'a Waxma-mal'ku, mamita-señor(a)
land female demons, Waxma-demon, little mother lady

Sant(a) Ana, pá pokarani, turi mal'ku kača pokara,
Saint Anne, two demons(?), tower demon great demon,

pá wertani, mamit(a) Sant(a) Ana, pá kača kotani.
two plants, little mother Saint Anne, two great lakes.

/348 cont./

*796 539 "Virgin foster mother of all these three kinds of livestock, foster mother of the large livestock (the llamas), foster mother of pigs, foster mother of sheep. (You) the "Three summits," likewise thou, great demon, divine river Lauca, Lauca demon woman, who sends us all our grass, receive (these offerings). Demon Stephen, demon Čunkirini, receive (these offerings), receive them also, mountains of the country, demons, receive (these offerings) and you also, demon Korisančuri, demons Kemperani, male and female, (give us) 12 kinds of grasses, all the grasses, receive (these offerings), demons Kilimint, male and female, demons /349/ Kusil'er, mountains of the country, female divinities, demon Waxma, little-mother, lady Saint Anne, two demons, sacred Tower, great demon, little mother Saint Anne, (give us) the two plants, two great lakes."

*796 Without interrupting his invocations for a single second, with nervous and rapid gestures, as if he were being urged to finish, the Officiant threw in front of him the contents of the cups which his assistant held out to him two by two.

The last cup emptied he got up with two mugs of alcohol in one hand and a pinch of coca in the other and, turning toward the north, he called on all the mal'ku one by one.

*796 539

Čiksa-č'al'a		aka	mal'ku	tal'a
Together let us offer libations		this	demon	female demon

taki	takpača	L'auka-mal'ku	Saxama-mal'ku	Čunkirini
for	all	sacred Lauca	sacred Sajama	Čunkirini-

mal'ku	son	mal'ku	ilxpax	Estewan	mal'ku	turi-mal'ku
demon	are	greatest	demons	Stephen	demon	sacred tower

son	marka	mal'ku.
are	country	demons.

/349 cont./

*796 539 "Let us together offer up a libation to the male and female demons, to all, to the sacred Lauca River, to the sacred Sajama, to the demon Čunkirini. The greatest demons are Stephen and the sacred tower. They are the demons of the country."

He sprinkled several drops of alcohol on the ground and threw his handful of coca leaves to the wind. He did the same looking to the south. Then he knelt again before the cross to begin again all his prayers accompanied this time by libations of alcohol and offerings of coca; the act was attended by the following formula:

Mal'ku	tapa	tal'a	Virxina	pawartasă.
Demons	all	woman demon	Virgin	I throw some coca.

Before getting up again he addressed himself to the Pachamama in these words:

Pača-mama,	wirxin,	taika	mama,	xuma	uyuwaskista.
Pachamama,	Virgin,	earth	mother,	thou	thou makest

grow for me (thou feedest me).

"Pachamama, Virgin, mother of the earth, it is thou who makest the plants grow for me, it is thou who feeds me."

*796 He ended this last invocation by kissing the earth with a strange fervor.

/350/ During the entire duration of this ceremony, men and women had approached the cross one after the other and knelt near it, fumigating it by blowing on the embers of their censers.

*796 576 All then reassembled in the little enclosure attached to the chapel and the festival properly so called began. There were interminable exchanges of civilities which lasted almost until evening. The Indians accosted each other and bowed, with hat off, knee on the ground, and with a circular motion of the arms as if they wanted to press the man or the woman to whom they were

U /350 cont./
*796 making these signs of respect to their breast. Some made a pre-
576 tense of kissing the wrist of those who inspired them with a special feeling of respect. Each of these embraces was accompanied with the word tatai or mamai, according to whether they were addressed to a man or to a woman, said in a plaintive tone. They were answered with the same suffering murmur. While engaging in these manifestations of courtesy from time to time, the participants exchanged their bags of coca and offered each other mugs of alcohol (1). The one who invited another to drink would indicate,

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1. These rites of courtesy certainly date from pre-Columbian times. They were observed among the Aymara in the sixteenth century: Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 72: "and for this operation they gather in groups in special houses, dancing with drums and dull instruments; and it is customary that none of these Indians ever drinks this drink alone, but all hold their drinking vessels in pairs, and one having drunk from one of the said vessels has to give his companion a drink from the other." /Cited in Spanish./

U by means of a hallowed formula, the name of the saint to whom he
*796 wished the libation to be offered up. The person thus favored had
539 to sprinkle a few drops of the precious liquid on the ground and
576 address a prayer to the saint who had been named, in which he requested prosperity and the increase of the flocks.

Here are some examples of these formulas: "San Xeronimištan ču̯ta, San Mikelištan ču̯ta, San Filipištan ču̯ta, Antonio tatašitan

/350 cont./

*796 539 576 čuta, Tata unkuštan čuta, Tata san Rafaelištan čuta, Santa Martaštan čuta, Taikas Mariaštan čuta, Tata San Xoakinaštan čuta, Kosé Kristoštan čuta, Waralupaštan čuta, Wirxina-altaštan čuta, Pačamamaštan čuta: L'auka Mariaštan čuta, Kimša pakʷal'a nasimiente čuta, mantinšon parwal'a čuta."

*796 [554] The drinking was presided over as usual by an alferez, who this time was hardly able to make a display of his munificence, since the alcohol and coca that were being consumed had been brought by each of the participants. Nevertheless, he was greeted with the cry: "Xal'al'a alferez" (Hallelujah alferez) and was treated to several refrains of asiento de paloma, i.e., "pigeon next."

This agreeable pastime did not, however, cause them to neglect their /351/ religious duties. Each moment two or three Indians who were especially pious or endowed with a good memory would throw themselves on their knees and in a rythmic and moaning tone recite prayers, some of which have been transcribed above. Espíritu Mamani gave evidence of very special ardor and zeal. He was as if possessed by a fit of mystical enthusiasm. The following prayer was the one which recurred most frequently on his lips:

*796 539

Araxpača	auki,	wawaxinaka	taki	suma	waina	tiempo
Sky	master	children the	for	good	young	weather

aka	mara	taki	čuranipkita,	owa-naka-taki
this	year	for	that thou givest us	sheep the for

kaura-kal'u,	kuči-kal'u	usa-kal'u,	pakʷal'a
llamas young,	piglets	lambs,	livestock

nasimiento	taki.
birth	for

/351 cont./

[796] [539] "Master of the sky, grant good weather to thy sons this year. Give us sheep, young llamas, piglets and lambs, (increase) the births of our livestock."

Frequently, a single Indian, or still more often a couple, would leave the enclosure and go kneel down a certain distance from the chapel facing east. They would each carry a censor or light a handful of khoa beside themselves. They would remain there about ten minutes, meditatively murmuring invocations to the mal'ku, and then would offer up a libation to them followed by several pinches of coca.

Others would go in the chapel to kneel before Santiago and pray to him. The Officiant beat the drum for several minutes at short intervals, probably with the intention of chasing away the evil spirits who were prowling around thereabouts.

Toward the end of the afternoon two old men, turning toward the north, offered up a libation and an offering of coca to Cerro Sajama, "father of the Lauca River which makes us live," and to the Lauca River itself. Both were given the title of mal'ku (Saxama-mal'ku, Mal'ku-xuna-Saxama, L'auka mal'ku).

[273] As the hours passed spirits revived under the influence of the alcohol which provoked a recrudescence of piety. Libations were offered more frequently, prayers were repeated after shorter and shorter intervals, and xal'al'a burst out at the slightest opportunity.

[776] They invited each other to offer alcohol to the foster-parent divinities:

[539] Taki	čulma	č'al'tama	uyuwirinaka	taki.
All	we	offer up libations	foster parents the	for

/352/ And they expressed the wish to gather together again the next year at the same place to drink and offer up libations: Mara kičur(u) hama ("That next year [we offer libations] likewise").

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Chipaya

/352 cont./

*796 The saints and mal'ku were requested with more insistence to grant the Čipaya a good year, without dry spells or frost, in the course of which the flocks would multiply. At a given moment [824] [301] all left to gather little mountain flowers with which the men decorated their hats and the women their braids. They also spread bouquets on the small tablecloths covered with coca. "The flowers bring luck," they replied to the question I put to them on this subject.

Shortly before sunset all those present knelt in a line before the chapel, whereupon the Officiant took the box containing Santiago /James/ and put it on the head of each of the faithful. He left it there during an entire prayer, doing the same for all, and did not proceed to the next person until the hoofs of Santiago's horse had been respectfully kissed. On the way back they stopped in front of every chapel as before to kneel, this time to the east. Several times I noted that before getting up again, the men, and more especially the women, touched the ground with the hand and then brought it to the mouth.

Espíritu Mamani put a pinch of copal or incense on the east side of the niche with which each oratory is provided.

When the group arrived at the village it headed first toward the chapel of the saya tuanta and on their knees went around the cross placed near the threshold. They then reached the church, where they performed the same ceremony, accompanied with prayers and chants. The Officiant, who had armed himself with censers, put them under the noses of the faithful as if to make them inhale the fragrant smoke which was released from it.

[202] On the next day the saya was awakened by the beating of a drum as on the day before. All the inhabitants hastened to reach the surroundings of the alferez' house to take part in the feast that [264] the latter, aided by his relatives, had prepared. The women ate squatting in front of blankets on which various types of hash had been spread out. The men carried off their rations in the flaps of their poncho or their cape. When the feast was finished the

/352 cont./
*1196 prayer reciters called upon the saints and the Earth-mother in the name of the gathering, which listened in peaceful contemplation. Everyone then went his own way after having kissed the nourishing earth.

*1198 /353/ The festival of the Samiri (January 20)
*1196 This festival took place around the small cellar (kaxuela) where the sacred stones (samiri) are buried. It was concealed under a yareta on top of a bare mound which stands southeast of the saya-tuanta not far from the last of the small oratories, which stretch in a line from the village for about a league toward the east.

When I arrived the cellar had already been opened and the samiri placed together in a terra-cotta dish (Fig. 35, B /see p. 78/). I had been preceded to the place of the ceremony by the alferez and his wife as well as about 15 members of the tuanta, who had come with their complete households. All had chosen a place and the groups were settled at the right and left of the alferez in a semicircle open toward the east. The men were in the first row and the women were behind their husbands. Between the two they had spread a small tablecloth on which a bottle of alcohol, the two traditional silver drinking cups, and a bag full of coca had been placed. The baggage of the alferez and his wife was naturally more extensive; in addition, on the rubble from the open cellar they had planted the two white banners (ĉi-wandera), insignia of their office, which waved in the breeze beside the sacred stick (kampara or kamana-para) of the Officiant. The llama, sheep, and pig destined for sacrifice lay stretched out before the audience, their hoofs firmly bound. A bandage had been bound over the llama's eyes.

Each new arrival received two drinking cups full of alcohol and a little coca with which he had to offer up a libation and an offering over each of the future victims (Pl. XI, C /see p. 132/).

/353 cont./

*798 Some, kneeling before the latter, passed a censer in which copal
*796 or khoa were burning under their noses.

[782] Without waiting for the assembly to grow larger, the Officiant and his helpers proceeded to slaughter the llama, the pig, and then the ewe (Pl. XI, B, D /see p. 132/). The sacrifice done with a knife of poor quality was a painful sight. At the moment when the blood splashed from the severed arteries, the Officiant took from two bags a pinch of white maize flour (k^{x}uli l'umpaka) and black (tsox k^{x}uli l'umpaka), which he sprinkled on the spurt of blood. Then catching the blood in a bowl in the bottom of which [823] [875] he had mixed a bit of the two kinds of flour, he walked around the animal sprinkling the ground at the four cardinal points. A certain amount of blood was poured on the samiri.

The rites were repeated identically for each of the victims. /354/ When the Officiant had ended his sprinkling, the sacrificed animals were drawn aside to be skinned and prepared immediately.

Only at this moment did the spectators, who up to now had remained bareheaded, their eyes fixed on the ground, put their hats back on and come out of their meditation.

Shortly afterward the Officiant, armed with an old bayonet, walked around the knoll, making holes in which he put a little copal and a small plant stuck in a pellet of fat the size of an egg.

*798 He accompanied each of his offerings with short invocations
539 to the Paǰa-mama, the text of which he recited to me later.

Werxina	unto-k^{x}al'u	Werxina	tima	am	amura	lo mismo
Virgin	fat pellet	Virgin	that	thee	love	likewise.

parwal'a	am	amura	tunčis	am	amuraǰa.
grass	thee	love	today	thee	it is thy love.

"Virgin, (take) this pellet of fat which thou lovest, likewise the grass which thou lovest, today (thou receivest?) that which thou lovest."

/354 cont./

Werxina	yu(u)wiri	t'apa	čivi	k^{w}al'u	tanšni	tija	
Virgin	foster mother	all	white	pellet	take	this	
amura	hasiki	škatoktišina	t'apa	čivi	k^{w}al'u.		
love	in this moment	receive	all	white	pellet.		

"Foster-mother Virgin, take this white pellet of fat which thou lovest. In this moment receive this white pellet of fat."

During this part of the ceremony his helper spread a napkin in front of the cellar on which he set out 36 small mugs filled with water; then the Officiant prepared the libation (1). He began

1. On the day of the festival of Kemperani-mal'ku I observed several variants in the preparation of the č'al'a. Here they are: the yatiri rubbed the first two cupules of the first row with a blackish stone, which he deposited beside the second mug, and did likewise with the two following, but this time with a reddish stone, which he placed after the fourth. The bottoms of the two latter were also rubbed with a greyish stone, which he left on the rug. The Officiant then proceeded to do the same operation with beads from stone necklaces of pre-Columbian origin. After having grated the bottom of a mug with one of these beads, he took another of them and followed suit until all the beads of the necklace had soaked in the cupules full of water.

/354 cont./

+1798
*1796

He then put portions of gold and silver leaf in 18 mugs (12 gold and six silver). The mugs in the last row received grey and white flour and those in the first, feathers of a bird called čučí. The ten-centavo coin was placed in the middle of the mugs. On a neighboring cloth he placed 12 mugs two by two. Into the first two he poured cinnamon bark and white maize flour, into the two next ones grey flour. Two separate drinking cups were filled with alcohol and one of them received green mineral powder and the other blue powder.

[823]

In the mal'ku festivals I was able to ascertain that the contents of the phials was always poured in the direction of the cardinal points, in the midst of invocations to the mal'ku and to the earth-mother. The yatiri who officiated during the festival of the Kemperani-mal'ku poured out his phials beginning to the east, the north, and the west, and ending to the south.

/355/ by taking out three stones (yunka, tsox-yunka), apparently siliceous in nature, from his bundle, and then two ten-centavo coins, one of which he placed in front of himself and the other on the opposite edge of the cloth. He then passed on to the preparation of the mixture. To this end he set out in succession the following materials: small mica crystals, bird down, incense, copal,

/355 cont./

*798 portions of silver leaf (koriki-wanderl'a) and gold leaf (kori-
*796 wanderl'a, kori-limpi), a white maize flour, violet maize flour, crushed candies, and lastly mineral powder of various colors. Outside the cloth the assistant had placed two cupules in which only a part of the enumerated ingredients were mixed. I could observe that, among other things, mineral powders of different colors were put in them (Fig. 35, D /see p. 78/).

These mixtures were considered definitely ready only when the Officiant had dipped each of the siliceous stones of which I just spoke into all the mugs.

On one side of the rug the assistant magician had lined up 12 phials also full of water. Only a bit of calcareous powder, white and grey maize flour, and mineral powders of different colors were poured into them. As with the cupules two phials in addition to the 12 had been put aside. A concoction which differed somewhat from those preceding it was prepared in each of them (Fig. 35, E /see p. 78/). Green mineral powder in particular was poured into one, a substance which had not been used before.

Once the libations were fully prepared the Officiant planted on the east side a cross with a chaplet, both covered with a handkerchief. Beside the cross he planted a sacred stick (kaman-para). At their foot was placed a handful of khoa which was set alight in order to burn there, along with some coca leaves, two llama fetuses rudely decorated with tufts of red wool.

The Officiant knelt down in front of the rug, his body turned to the east.

To pour out the contents of the last two cupules, the Officiant stood up, his arms outstretched in the gesture of offering. Before offering up this final libation, he uttered, with particular composure, a long prayer.

He then passed to his phials, the liquid in which he threw in the air while walking /356/ around the assembly and uttering invocations to the various divinities of the tribe.

/356 cont./

*778 *796 *Offerings of coca, pinches of which were sown in the wind in the direction of the four cardinal points, followed the libations (č'al'a). /Fig. 35 appears here/

The alferez' wife then arose and went to attach tufts of red and yellow wool around each samiri. Then kneeling in front of the Officiant and his assistant, she and her husband made a pretense of clasping them in their arms in order to thank them for their work.

During the entire ceremony two censers (Fig. 35, C /see p. 78/) had been kept lit in front of the /357/ samiri; the alferez and his wife took hold of them to go render homage to the Officiant. This same gesture was repeated by all the new arrivals who were beginning to come in great numbers. Each Indian upon arriving at the ceremonial area began by taking one of the censers, the flame of which he re-animated by blowing on it and adding a few pinches of incense. Then, getting down on his knees, he covered several meters toward the east in this position. He then put down his censer, recited a prayer, and then dragged himself to the samiri to fumigate them. Finally, without getting up he went to greet the alferez and the alfereza with the gestures previously described.

*793 *794 *824 While the Officiant was ending the first part of the ceremony, the alferez and his wife had begun to lay out the straw that they had brought in sheafs. Each sheaf was tied with festive slings and on the front new sacks of coca in gaudy colors and decorated with glass beads were attached. A few quinua plants had been mingled with the stalks of straw. The alferez and his wife stood these bunches of straw upright by squashing the roots in front of the place from where they presided over the ceremony (Pl. XIII, A /see p. 134/).

The new arrivals brought other sheaves of straw with them as gifts, some of which, tied with festive slings, were in addition decorated with garlands made of ring-shaped bread (pil'u), a shape which I saw among the Čipaya only during festivals. In the sheaf delivered by the alcalde his stick of authority was planted. The

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 79]

/356 cont./

+978
x796
415

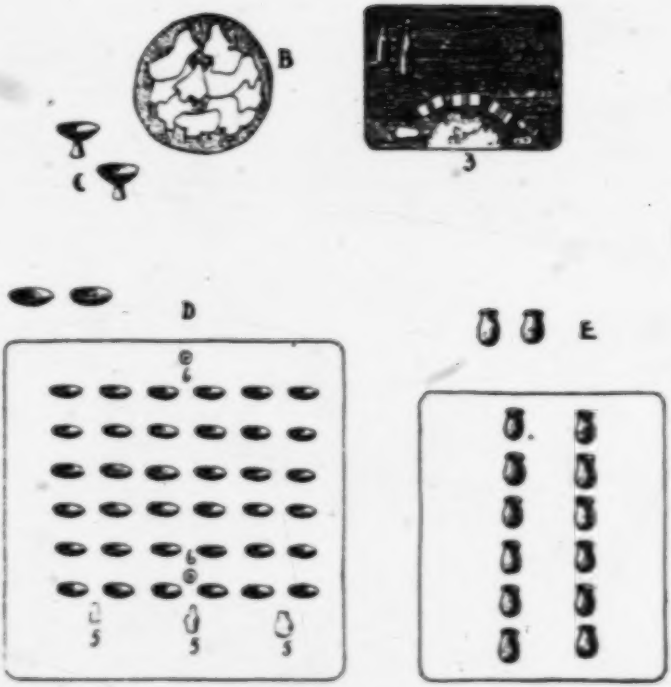

Fig. 35. — Respective arrangement of the various accessories at the time of the K'al'a (Festival of the samiri).

A. Cellar containing the samiri. 1:Bottles full of alcohol; 2: bags with various magical materials; 3: the samiri covered with wool; 4: bunches of flowers.

B. Bowl containing the samiri (calcareous stones) and blood.

C. Censers.

D. The cupules laid out on a cloth. 5: small baked clay bottles; 6: two coins.

E. Phials containing a special mixture differing from that of the cupules.

/357 cont./

alferez and his wife received in addition cheeses, eggs, and even some small silver coins which they placed in front of the sheaves along with two horns and some flutes. They then proceeded to the distribution of part of the straw, which the women passed between the twists of the braids on their temples. The men decorated their hats with it.

In the samiri's cellar (Fig. 35, A /see p. 78/) the Officiant placed four small bags of white paper tied with strings of red wool, which contained respectively the following items: in the first, lozenges and white, yellow, and pink candy destined for the Earth-mother to make her sweeter; in the second, cloves, pimento, cinnamon bark, pallios (a type of cinnamon), and maté leaves; in the third, olives, orange peel, Carob-tree pods (kᵡoka), dried pieces of peach, guava, quince, and apple; and in the fourth, dark red, clear blue, and brown mineral powders (sevarios), each in a separate little paper bag, rosemary, starch, and lastly two white and pink candies. Next to the little bags he then placed two small plants stuck into a pellet of fat and a bunch of pinks. On the other hand he then took out a bottle which had /358/ been in the cellar, into which those present one by one came to pour the contents of a drinking cup of alcohol. At the same time as this offering they sprinkled several drops of alcohol on the samiri and pinches of coca into the cellar. This libation was ceaselessly accompanied with this prayer muttered in a low voice:

Hača	pakᵡal'a	samiri	kulumayo	pakᵡal'a	samiri	kon
large	livestock	"	pigs	livestock	"	with

usita	pakᵡal'a	samiri	maitarapita.
sheep	livestock	"	give to me.

"Samiri of the large livestock (llamas), samiri of the pigs, samiri of the sheep, give to me."

/358 cont./

*798 *796 Several women came to add new tufts of red wool to the samiri, so much that the stones finally were no longer visible.

[296] At the same time the rest of the assembly drank, chewed coca, and exchanged the usual civilities.

Then several handfuls of khoa were lighted; they burned on the place of sacrifice all day.

[252] While these ceremonies were under way, several men and young girls were busying themselves at the side with the cooking. The victims were cut up, their bones crushed with a stone, and the entrails boiled in large receptacles of tin. Once cooked pieces [246] were carried to the assembled people in large clay dishes and distributed through the efforts of the Officiant, who first of all threw a few slices destined for the spirits and demons to the four cardinal points as if to mark the formula then uttered:

[539]

hal'pa	tija	mal'ku	resevita
pieces	these	demons	receive

"Demons, receive these pieces."

[276] This preliminary meal ended all began to drink and chew [533] coca again. From time to time the Officiant took one of the horns placed in front of the sheaves and drew muffled and distant sounds from it. He or some other qualified person recited rapid prayers *798 *796 without interruption, in which the names of the saints and of the 539 mal'ku were closely bound together. Here is one of them:

Haču-pakʸal'a-samiri		samanta
Samiri of the large livestock (llamas)		thou wilt stay

kulumay(u)-samiri	/359/	samanta	čital'a-samiri
samiri of the pigs		thou wilt rest	samiri of the sheep

samanta	hani-hewtiri	patakwaranka
thou wilt rest	in order not to die	hundred thousand (years?)

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*978 *796 539

samanta taki pilu samanta. Mal'ku, pokara
thou wilt rest all wool thou wilt rest. Demon, demon

Korisančuri-mal'ku hiča kumplusmawa.
Korisancuri-demon now I have acquitted myself.

Kimsa pakžal'a loktitánta kasisposa
Three kinds of livestock thou wilt give me married people

saluro maitanta. Pasiensia-amta, pasiensia
health thou wilt give me. Patience thought, patience

rixta suma čuyma suma korasón, suma
righteous good heart good heart, good

loktitanta todos mal'kunaka suma amta
thou wilt give me all the demons good thoughts

(čura)nipxitata (?) todos santos y santas kurixo
you will give me (?) all male and female saints always

mantamiento loktital'a. (i)yawsital'a, huma araxpača,
nourishment give. Accept me, thou sky

wirxin-taika (i)yawsital'a palxayatalaiku,
Virgin-earth concede it to me by that which has been said,

(i)yawsital'a ma pori wawa laikusa. (i)yawsital'a
concede it to me a poor child for that. Accept me

ma wawa-wakča wawa-matulaiku. (i)yawsital'a
an orphan child son for. Give it to me

/359 cont./

*178 *196 539

San Sebastian alto kalo yatunka parwal'a bbrrrrr
St. Sebastian high generous nine grasses bbrrrrr

patakawaranka surti mal'ku surti tal'a
hundred thousand fortunes demon fortune female demon

todas kumpañas saluru bbrrr hayankiri
all the gatherings health bbrr those who are far,

hakankiri todös saludos, taki kumpaña
those who are near all safety, all the gathering

pak×al'a saluru surti mal'ku, mal'ku surti.
flock health good fortune demon, demon luck.

tal'a saluru brrr.
female demon health brrr.

"Samiri of the large livestock (llama), thou wilt stay here, samiri of the pigs, thou wilt stay here, samiri of the sheep, thou wilt stay here so as not to die. Thou wilt stay here a hundred times a thousand (years). Thou wilt stay here covered with wool. You will stay here, you, demon, you pokara, Korisančuri-demon; now I have acquitted myself with these three head of livestock, thou wilt give health to married people, thou wilt give me a patient mind, a righteous mind, a good heart, thou wilt give it to me. You, all the demons, give me good thoughts. Male and female saints, give me always something to eat. Show favor to me, thou, sky, Virgin-earth, be favorable to me for that which has been said, for that be favorable to me. I am a poor child, /360/ be favorable to me, I am an orphan, I am thy son, for that be favorable to me, Saint Sebastian, high, generous, give us nine grasses brrr, 100,000 fortunes, demon, female demon, give health to all the gathering,

/360 cont./

*798 *796 539 to those who are near, to those who are far away, health to all, to those who are there, health, luck to the herds and flocks, demon, female demon, health, fortune, brrr."

Others contented themselves with enumerating in a loud voice the various types of vegetation that grow in Chipaya and assure the life of the flocks and, indirectly, that of the Čipaya: "Lurumpa-parwal'a, kolča-parwal'a, lumča-parwal'a, čunka-parwal'a, skawri-parwal'a, kapara-parwal'a, uśku-parwal'a, awa-parwal'a, waila-parwal'a, tola-parwal'a, wiču-parwal'a, kora-parwal'a, l'apa-parwal'a, kaču-parwal'a."

*798 *796 These recitations were interrupted by imitations of the noise of the wind which various people did by making their lips vibrate rapidly. From time to time some Indian would detach himself from the group to go offer a libation to the samiri or to offer them coca.

Toward the middle of the afternoon some women took out some boxes of quinua from their shawls, took them in their arms and went with them to kneel down facing the east and to pray for a rather long time. When they had finished they offered their boxes to the alferez and his wife, who thanked them and tied the stalks of quinua to the sheaves of straw.

This rite, the magico-religious significance of which is obvious, was followed by another, the character of which is no less apparent. The alferez wife, taking a handful of maize kernels in her mantle, showered them on the assembly, crying out: "They will sprout well, luck, luck," or: "Wefá, bindišiuna, hača pakčal'a, bindišiuna, kulumayo, bindišiuna, čital'a." — "Offering, benediction, large livestock (llamas), benediction, pigs, benediction, sheep," and all rushed to gather them in the midst of general confusion. The slightest kernel was carefully kept as a relic.

[533] The musicians, who up to this point had only made themselves heard at rare intervals, began to appear more active.

/360 cont./

*798 *796 533 534 The orchestra, composed of two quenas players, two tarca (flutes with mouthpieces) players, and one drummer, played the airs reproduced on the opposite page /see p. 85/ at various times.

*798 *796 535 Shortly afterward the musicians got up to perform a dance, in which the alferez, his wife, and several others took part. Facing each other, they began by forming a circle around a glass of water put down by the Officiant. Immobile at first for a certain number of measures, they soon began to walk sideways in a circle in one direction, and then, /361/ at a sign from one of them, in the other direction. The dance ended as usual at the order of one of the players, who made a piercing sound with his instrument by stopping up all the holes at once. Soon all the musicians played the same note and the dance stopped. At other moments the tarka players formed in a row and advanced, made a half turn, and retraced their steps and performed evolutions by making volts around the circle of spectators. They carried out a series of directional changes from time to time with military precision. /Musical notation appears here./

The drum players did not respect the grouping followed by the flutists but revolved at the same time as the other musicians, i.e., when the latter had formed a circle, the drum players turned around them, and when the first outlined their one-step on the side, they turned in the direction indicated to the dance step. When the flutists were performing evolutions in a line, while changing direction, no precise placed seemed to be assigned to the drummer.

The dance step is a trotting walk on tiptoe allowing volts, the repetition of which is entirely left up to the dancer's initiative. These volts seem to be carried out successively in one direction and then in the other, after intervals of walking. The music, whose rhythm is difficult to make out, seems to constitute only an inducement to dance. In the course of the dance the dancers make gestures with their arms, which they hold apart from the body horizontally in order to bring them into a vertical position.

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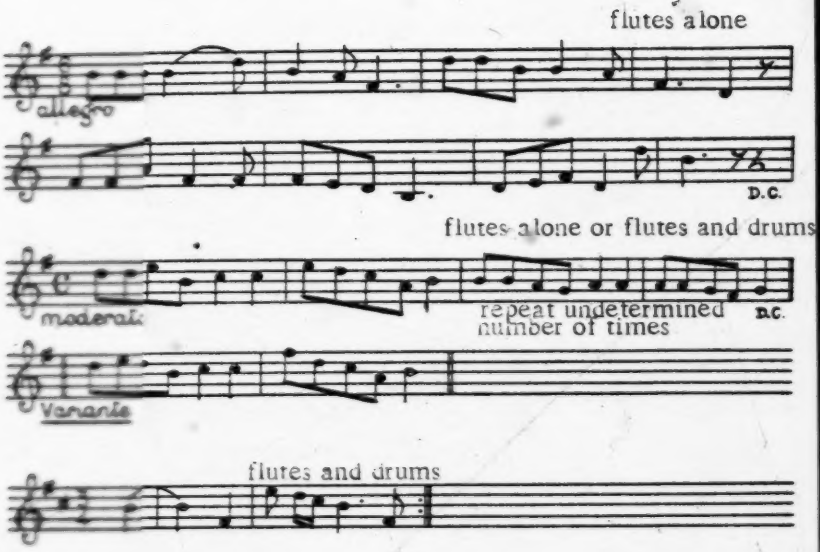
/361 cont./



Of course the alferez and his wife, furnished with the white banners, their insignia of ofice, displayed especial zeal /362/ and danced with all the more enthusiasm for being rather tipsy.

The Indians remained seated for hours, constantly exchanging civilities in the form of alcohol, coca, and cigarettes. The most frequent verbal civilty consisted of uttering the word xal'al'a or xal'al'a alfereza ("Halleluah alferez"), which some member of the assembly

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*708 *796 [574] repeated immediately in echo. It seemed to me that this cry was raised each time that the alferez began to drink or refilled his drinking cups. More direct compliments were frequently addressed to the alferez, who was treated as in the previous festival.

Several times the alferez' wife, displaying as much conviction as enthusiasm, threw out handfuls of white maize or peas over which the audience fought.

Practically the whole afternoon passed in this way beneath a leaden sky. When the prayers and wishes ceased to be heard, a mournful silence momentarily reigned, uninterrupted by any [573] [557] particular conversation. Although most of them were drunk, the Indians remained as apathetic and indifferent as usual.

*708 *796 262 574 Toward five o'clock the meal for which all had been patiently waiting was served. Two blankets were spread out in front of the alferez, and the cooks, led by the Officiant and his helper, placed the food on them. Boiled barley brought in bowls was poured out in ribbons forming a large oval cut again lengthwise by several parallel lines. At this point several guests got up to add either cuño (frozen potatoes) or roasted maize which was scattered between the ribbons of barley. The boiled meat brought in bowls was arranged magisterially on the ribbons of barley at regular intervals and in equal amounts. But part of the meat was directly distributed by the Officiant and the cooks, who first offered the llama, then the pork, and last the mutton. At the same time bowls of stinking boullion were passed from hand to hand and everyone took several gulps.

*708 *796 Before closing the samiri's cellar, the Officiant recited a prayer that was listened to by all with bared heads. This prayer is addressed to the mal'ku and the samiri. The cellar was then shut and hidden under a yareta.

[539] At the moment of departure the Officiant turned once more to the samiri and directed several words of farewell which put an end to the ceremony:

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*798 *796 [539]	Hasiki	suma	l'autita	suma	kumpltita	hasiki
	Now	well	shut	well	acquitted	now

katokta	suma	katoktakiya.
you have received	well	you have received.

/363/ "Now you have been well shut in, we have acquitted ourselves well toward you. Now you have received offerings, you have received well of them."

Little by little the group dispersed. Each, before going away, approached the site of the cellar, knelt, and said a short prayer, at the end of which he touched the mound with his hand, which he brought to his lips. The alferez' wife epitomized the gesture by kissing the ground. I heard them murmur while getting up, "Verxina-mal'ku lisinta" — "Holy Virgin, with thy permission." Some couples, before leaving the area, went to salute the alferez and his wife in the customary fashion.

The latter, moreover, did not seem to consider the merry-making ended, and it was with flags flying, dancing and drinking, that the most enthusiastic returned, forming a procession which disappeared toward the "water houses."

[E16] On the same day the saya taxata held a similar festival on its territory.

*798 *796 594 [E16] Second day (January 21). On the preceding day only a part of the meat of the sacrificed victims had been eaten on the spot. The rest was served in the course of a feast which the alferez offered to the members of his saya the day after the festival. The ceremony which I will describe took place at Taxata.

[554] *798 *796 594 262 The alferez' two white banners were planted before the door of his hut toward noon. The members of the saya had gathered near the threshold, men on one side and women on the other, waiting for the food (Pl. XII, B /see p. 133/). It was served to them as on the day before, on blankets spread on the ground. The menu was, moreover, substantially the same, but completed

/363 cont./

this time with two soups, one of quinua and the other of ẍuño and quinua leaves. They were distributed in small individual bowls which, as soon as they were filled by the efforts of the alferez' wife and several other women, were carried to the guests by a group of little boys. Inside the hut the alferez was standing behind a table on which the heads of the sacrificed animals and the sheaves which had been used the day before were placed. As usual, the alferez' wife was in her place, to the left of her husband. The most respected guests were seated inside the hut.

The meal did not last long. When the last guests were on the point of leaving, the flag was rolled up and carried away by an individual, undoubtedly the person who the day before had been proclaimed katokere, i.e., alferez of the next festival.

/364/ Several hours later a large group formed again in the alferez' hut, this time occupied in drinking according to the usual ritual. Two old men uttered prayers to the mal'ku without pause, even while drinking. At a given moment they knelt in the middle of the hut, their bodies turned toward the east, and, in this position, addressed a long invocation to them, which they concluded by kissing the ground.

Kant-mal'ku,	Kusil'er-mal'ku,	Kilimint-mal'ku,	Kusil'aviri,	
Kant-demon,	Kusil'er-demon,	Kilimint-demon,	Kusil'aviri,	
mätka-kol'o,	Kemperan	mal'ku,	Estewan-mal'ku(1),	
country mountains	Kemperan	demon,	Stephen-demon,	

1. During the feast of the Estewan-mal'ku, the alferez threw beans, peas, and dried fruit to the winds.

Carangas—
Chipaya

/364 cont./

*798 *796 539

xai'al'a	L'auca,	wasi	čoksã,	awiatori,	maitiñi,
hallelujah	Lauca,	?	?	shepherd,	he who grants,

Saxama	mal'ku,	čep-pakˣal'a,	awianta,
Sajama	demon,	three kinds of livestock,	make graze,

Sikwanku (2),	Pačata (3),	Turi-mal'ku,	t'apa	pokara,
Little bench,	Pachata (3)	Tower-demon,	all	demons.

[103]

2. Sikwanku: "chico banco" "little bench." Name of a mountain which is visible from Chipaya.

3. Summits visible from Chipaya.

L'auka-mal'ku,	Maria tokatoka		Mama sapo,	Tata-sapo,
Lauca-demon,	Mary	toad	mama toad,	father toad,

uruisxapa,	Sinata,	Pumari (3) /see above/		mara
to create for,	?	Pumari		year

aka pača	arax-pača,	mamita	Santa-Ana,	Samiri.
this time	sky,	mama	Saint Anne,	Samiri.

"Demon Kant, demon Kusil'er, demon Kilimint, Kusil'aviri, let graze, mountains of the country, demon Kemperan, demon Stephen, hallelujah, Lauca river, ??, thou who makest graze, thou who grantest, demon Sajama, we the three kinds of livestock of our herds, Mount Sikwanku, Mount Pachata, Demon Tower, divine Lauca, Mary toad, mama toad, father toad, create for us, Sinata, Pumari, grant us a new year like this one, you, sky, Mama Saint Anne, Samiri."

/364 cont./

*797 *796 They continued their orations, this time facing the alferez. They then walked around the gathering, greeting the men and the women and uttering a long string of wishes for each.

One of the hosts /?/, after long prayers and all sorts of gestures which were respectful in manner, carried one of the sheaves away. The other was given to the alferez, who kept it carefully in a corner of his hut.

*798 *797 533 /365/ Several guitarists then began to play, solely for the pleasure of the audience. At a given moment, a very shrill head voice, plaintive and unmodulated, burst from the group of women. Others soon accompanied it on the same notes. It was a song without words, slow and melodious, with numerous inflections: the notes, often very prolonged, were followed by the accompanists. At moments when the song seemed to have died, it would break out again, taken up by other voices. This song, an approximate idea of which is given by the following notation, is emitted with the mouth shut. It undoubtedly serves as an incantation for, according to the musicians, it could be dedicated to llamas, male and female, and to pigs. One probably also exists for the sheep.

[231]

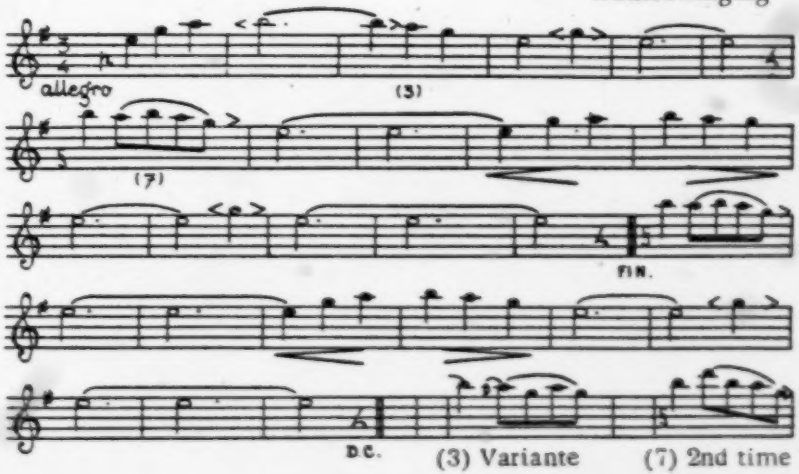
2:Métraux--91 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas -
Chipaya

/365 cont./

Song of the Pigs

*778
*796
533

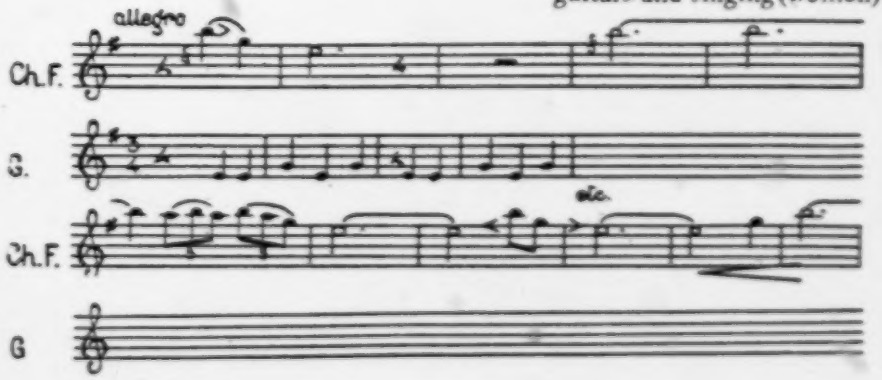
Women singing



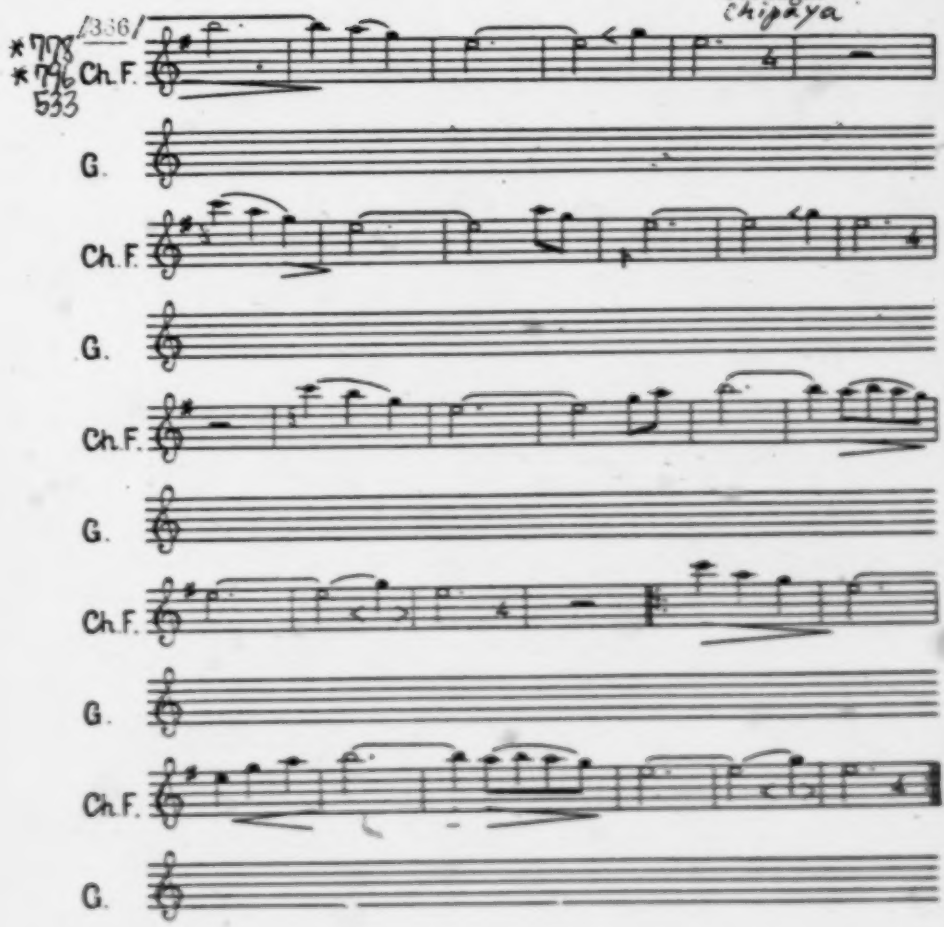
(3) Variante (7) 2nd time

Song of the Female Llama

guitars and singing (women)



Carangas—
Chipaya



*796
[616]

Festival of the Saya Taxata (February 2, day of Candlemas).

This festival was celebrated only by the saya taxata. In the morning "the mass" took place, i.e., a procession in which the alferez, the alcalde, and a part of the members of the saya took part.

[534]

After remaining several moments in their chapel to say prayers and to perfume the altar with incense, the Indians came out abruptly in a group to form a procession which walked around the church, banners unfurled, to the sound of dance tunes played on the flutes of Pan.

/366 cont./

[796] [562] [889] [732] In this case the alferez was an old woman, wrinkled and respectable, /367/ assisted by her son, a young boy 18 to 20 years old who was a deaf-mute. She led the procession dressed in her most beautiful attire with flowers stuck in her hair.

The procession returned to the chapel to kneel and to perfume again the altar, on which a spot of still fresh blood stood out. The procession broke up shortly afterward, but part of those present accompanied the alfereza and her son, who proceeded with one of the banners from the church up to the door of their hut. There the standard, which the alfereza and her son kissed respectfully, was rolled up and attached to a stake of Cereus.

[616] The authorities of the saya seated themselves behind a table, and a mantle (talu) was spread out on the ground a certain distance away, on the edge of which the alfereza and her daughter-in-law squatted. They were promptly surrounded by a large number of women who grouped themselves in a horseshoe. A small table-cloth covered with coca leaves was placed on the table, as on the talu.

The alfereza and her son began to pray on their knees before the banner and offered up a libation of alcohol to it; then the young man went to get his wife and repeated the same ceremony with her (Pl. XII, A /see p. 133/). The alcaldes congratulated the alfereza, repeating the sacred formula of suma hora. This rite of politeness accomplished, they went to kiss the post against which the standard had been fastened, and then, taking two wooden cups with two bulls carved on the inside from the table, they offered up a libation of chicha accompanied by a prayer (Pl. XVII, A /see p. 138/).

[915] [929] On the two sides of the talu behind which the women were seated a very old footless wooden cup, very old, had been placed, from which the women one after the other drank chicha (Pl. XVII, B).

The audience began to chew and to offer up libations. Prayers crossed each other, and in this exchange of vows and

Carangas--
Chipaya

/367 cont./

1796 invocations to the mal'ku, the saints, and the samiri, the professional rezadores /"prayers"/ were notable for their assurance and their volubility. The alferezа and her infirm son busied themselves with seeing that no one was overlooked in the distribution of coca and alcohol. The wooden bowls were refilled and proffered to the alcaldes, who shortly afterward were fumigated by a woman. The latter repeated the same ceremony in front of the alferezа. During the entire time that she, kneeling, burned her incense, those who were the objects of this rite uncovered themselves with a meditative air.

1796 535 A dance, which I only saw on this one occasion (Pl. XIV, A /see p. 135/), was organized next. The women placed themselves in a row facing their husbands. Taking each other by both hands, all began to pivot without changing place. Men and women turned their upper torsos in an opposite direction each time. During this time the musicians walked around /368/ the line, playing in a very slow rhythm. Toward the end some dancers made a demi-volta and with back turned put the hand to the mouth. One of the dancers had put a dead young llama on his back, which he passed to his neighbor.

Toward the end of the day the alferezа and her son, with white banners knotted around their necks, took other participants by the hand and formed a circle inside the circle of musicians. After having turned around for a few seconds, the circle opened up and made itself into a chain which ran to one side, then to the other, and then reformed into a circle. One of the figures of this dance consisted in making a quarter-turn and bringing the hand to the mouth.

1796 Toward the end of the ceremony the alferezа and her son, accompanied by numerous other participants, surrounded the banner and prayed before it for a long time, while offering up libations; then some kissed the post, others the banner.

Carangas—
Chipaya

/368 cont./

*796 A notable detail is that during the whole day a little khoa burned a few meters from the gathering.

[S3 D03] The end of the ceremony was announced by the beating of a drum in a special rhythm.

Second day. In the afternoon the alfereza, her son, and an Officiant met in front of their saya's chapel. Not having been alerted, I arrived at the place only at the moment when the latter had finished preparing the mixture destined to be offered as a libation. I have every reason to believe that the ingredients added to the water or to the chicha in the 36 small cupules were the same as in the previous festivals. As usual the Officiant had planted a [796] sacred stick (kaman-para) garnished with a cross in front of him facing east. He offered up the customary libations on his knees. The contents of two phials were poured before the cross that stands about ten meters from the chapel door. The Officiant had put some coca leaves in two cupules probably containing alcohol, before pouring them as a libation in front of his stick. The yatiri, his helper, and two of those present knelt before the carpet and kissed the ground; then the Officiant, getting up, sprinkled the four corners of a little oratory situated near the chapel with chicha. A long prayer was then said, in which Christian names were mingled with those of the mal'ku, and the Officiant headed toward the chapel after having touched the oratory with his stick and kissing it devotedly. The alfereza and her son went to pray on the steps of the chapel, and all began the usual drinking, congratulating and greeting each other.

The alfereza had covered a small table with coca, where all came to help themselves /369/ in turn. Those who took this coca first touched the table with the hand and kissed it as a sign of respect.

*796 497 The assembly, very sparse in the beginning, became more numerous, upon which the market of the alasita took place. The Indians, both men and women, bought from each other small

Carangas – Chipaya

/369 cont./

*796 437 amounts of quinua, cañave, chuño, and sugar with potsherds, many of which were perforated and tied together with a string (Pl. XVI, F /see p. 137/). A scale of values seems to exist, so many potsherds giving the right to acquire a certain quantity of a [231] given product. Small clay llamas may also be bought; they have a magical action on the prosperity of the flocks.

*798 *796 The Festival of the Estewan, Kemperani, and Cunkirini mal'ku (February 8, 12, and 14).

To give an account in detail of the ceremonies performed in honor of the mal'ku would be equivalent to repeating the description of the festival of the samiri. The ritual practices observed, their order, and the attitude of the spectators are exactly the same as those which I have described in detail above. The only difference is that instead of being directed to the samiri, libations and sacrifices are intended for the sacred cones of earth. However, I was able to note several variants which I think are worth mentioning.

The festival of the Estewan-mal'ku (Pl. XIII, B-D /see p. 134/) had some preliminaries which were absent from the worship of the other mal'ku. The alferez of this festival had a sheep killed the day before in the court in front of the church. Two hours [182] later a superb white ram was slaughtered at his command before the wall of his hut. He had summoned Anacleto Mullu for this sacrifice.

In Conformance with the ritual a sacred stick was planted to the east in front of the sheep, whose streaming blood was mixed with flour in a bowl, poured out at the four cardinal points, offered to the demons, and finally sprinkled on the inner wall of the alferez' hut. These sprinklings finished with a libation of alcohol of which the demons were again the beneficiaries.

[532] The Officiant was then invited to help with the preparations for the festival, and he spent a good part of the evening making little bags of offerings and shaping from fat into which black and white meal had been kneaded, a llama, a sheep, and a pig, to which is added silver leaf and Parrot Plumules.

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Chipaya

/369 cont./

*708 *796 [852] which he added silver leaf and parrot plumules. The women, for their part, attached garlands of bread rings and pieces of cheese and fruit to the festive slings, while keeping watch over the vegetables and grain which they were boiling for the next day's [803] feast. To encourage his helpers the alferez was generously giving an installment of the /370/ festival to come, and, libation after libation, the alferez, Officiant, and friends finally became drunk out of their minds.

*778 *796 533 During the night I was awakened by strange melodies which sometimes seemed very close to my hut, and sometimes vanished in the silence of the desert. Intrigued by these confused noises, I went outside and saw five or six young girls holding each other by the hand; led by a guitarist they were going through the village at racing speed, circling each hut. In spite of the rain, the cold, and the darkness of the night, they did not pause an instant to catch their breath; ever sadder, ever more monotonous melodies (transcribed below) were followed by intervals of silence and then taken up again a little later in the midst of pants of fatigue. In the huts *778 *796 [892] and in the church, the Indians were offering up their libations, disfigured by their ponchos and heavy coverings. Silent and unmoving, illuminated by the dim lamps of their huts, they had the fantastic aspect of ghosts.

Carangas ♥
Chipaya

/370 cont./

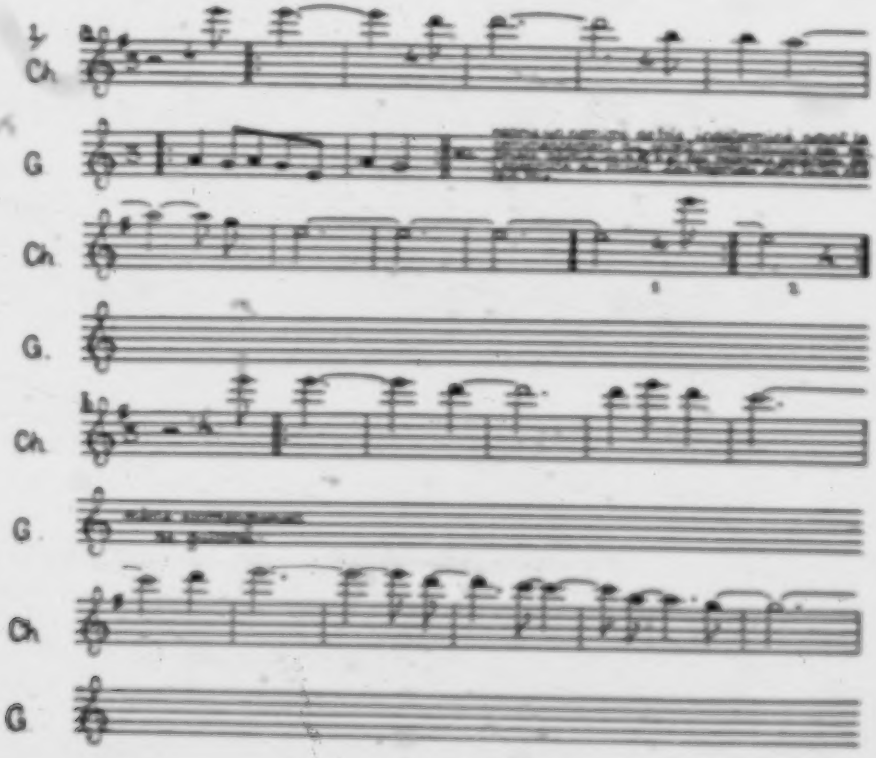
*1918
*1926
523

Translation of notes in the transcription of the first melody below are: Second staff of melody, marked G., i.e. guitars: "Repeat an indefinite number of times before the start of the singing after each of the partial refrains 1a and b and the general refrain of the whole song. The repeats are done each time."

Sixth staff "same accompaniment of guitars."

Ch. (chant, "singing") marks the bars that are sung.

Singing (young girls) with guitar accompaniment



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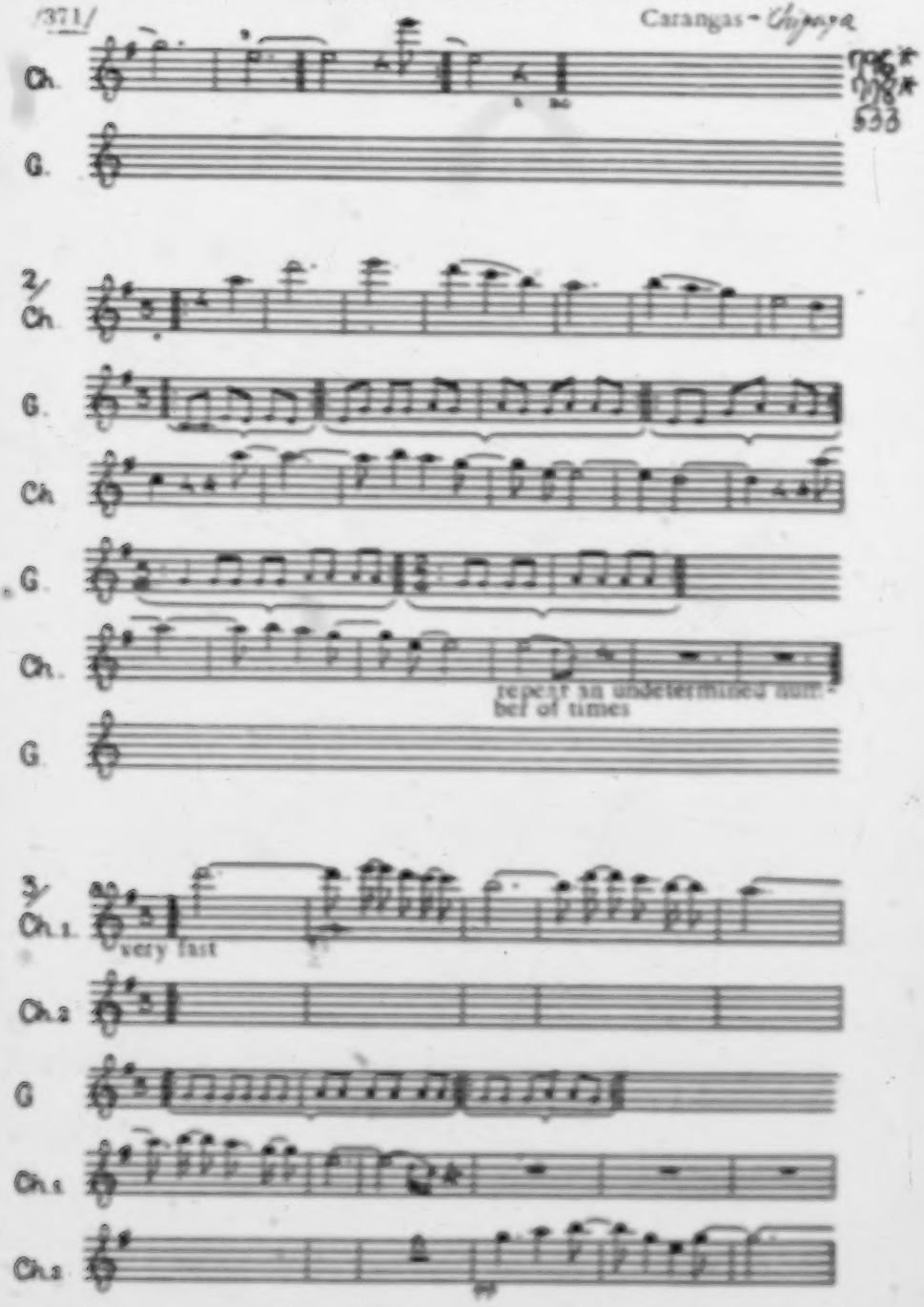
Carangas - Chiapa



2:Métraux--100 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SE24 Uru SF24

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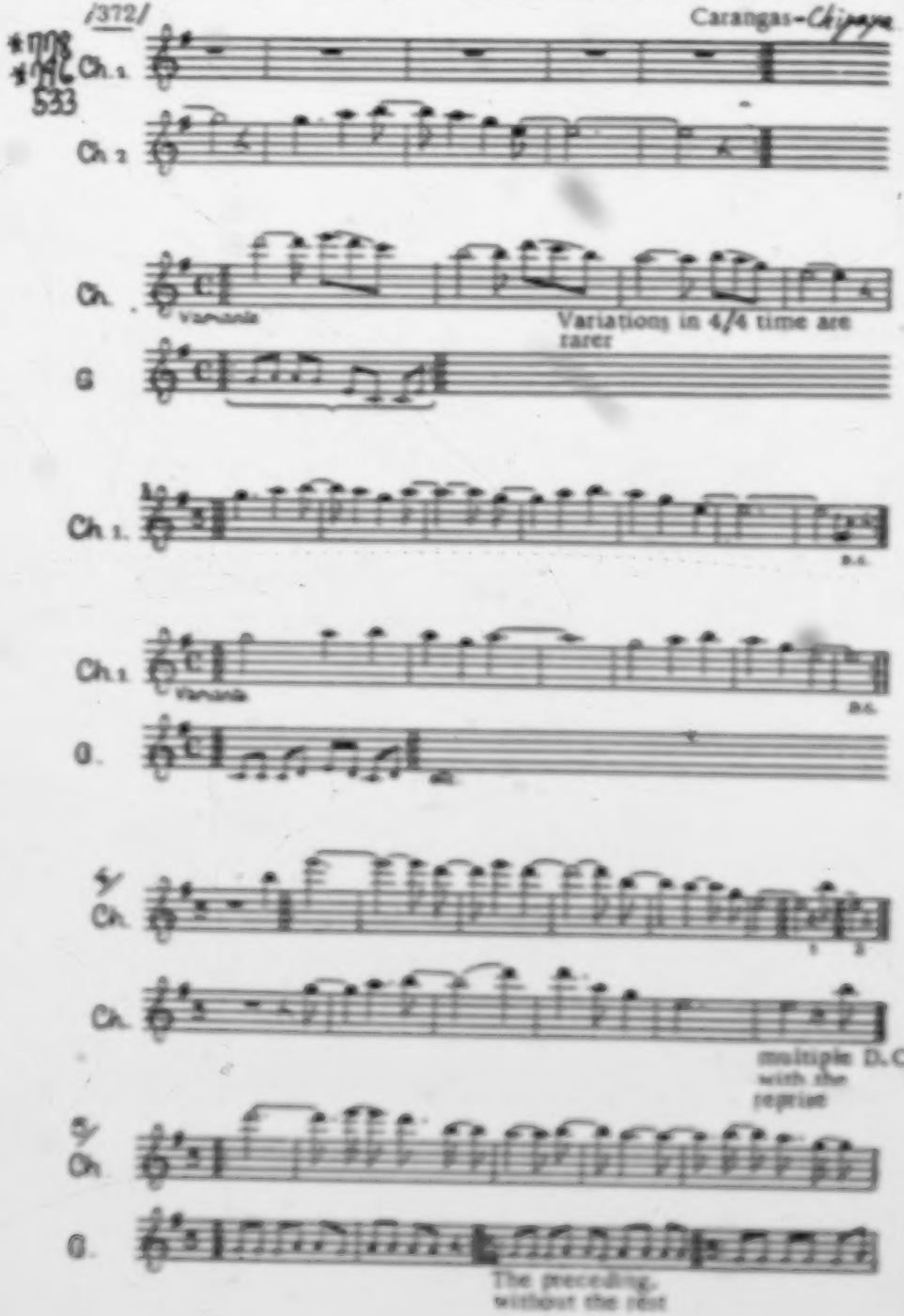
Carangas-Chiapas



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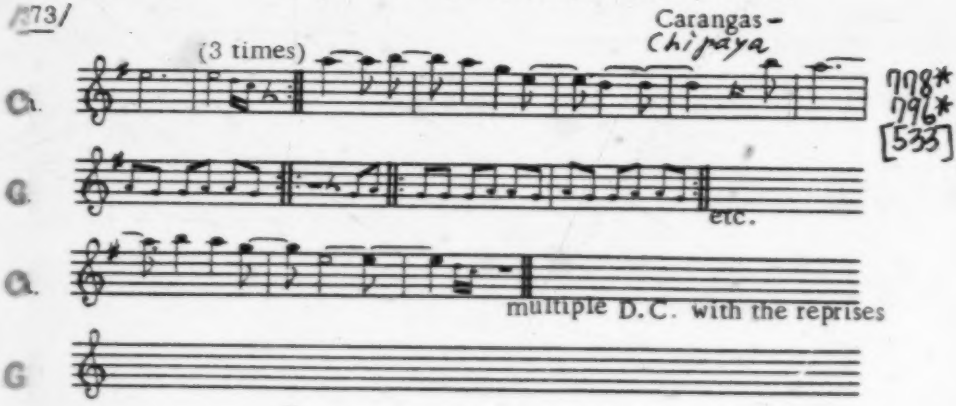

On the following day all set out early in order to reach the Estewan-mal'ku situated 15 kilometers southeast of the village in the middle of a plain submerged by several days' rain. The flooded expanses were so vast that in midcourse the alferez, in agreement with the Officiant, decided to perform the festival in honor of the Estewan-mal'ku near the Čunkirini-mal'ku. The rites would be the same but no offering would be made to the Čunkirini-mal'ku, and delegates would be sent to the Estewan-mal'ku, among them the fanatic, Espíritu Mamani, to bring it the intestines of the victims, the fetuses, the necklaces of bread and of cheese, coca, llicta, and sugar. So that there would be no doubt as to who was the object of the festival, the Officiant and the participants always took great care during the rites which they performed to turn in the direction of the Estewan-mal'ku, i.e., toward the southeast. Thus upon their arrival at the mal'ku's mound, for example, all knelt down, first toward the southeast, then toward the east, and finally in front of the cone representing the mal'ku. Likewise the Officiant, before offering up his libation thrust his sacred stick into the ground facing the same cardinal point. The blood of the victims was, nevertheless, poured upon the Čunkirini-mal'ku, which was fumigated by all new arrivals (1).

1. When one arrives in front of the cone, one must kneel before it or touch it with one's hand and then kiss the latter.

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*798 *796 539 The prayer which recurred most often on the Officiant's lips clearly indicated that the Estewan-mal'ku alone was to receive the honors apparently being paid to his colleague:

Estewan-mal'ku	hasiki	am	kumpla	tonuja
Stephen demon	in this moment	thou	to accomplish	I have

ti	pak al'istan	pak al'a	cep-laiku
come	these heads of livestock	heads of livestock	three for

kasit esposa	salut-laiku	hasiki
married-spouses	heath for	in this moment

kumplataja /374/	hasiki	t'apa	kumpaña
I have accomplished	in this moment	all	assembly

tonx-tuñi	kumpltuja	am-ki	mal'ku.
today	I accomplish	thou	demon.

"Stephen-demon, I have come to acquit myself toward thee (by offering thee) these animals on behalf of our three kinds of flocks and on behalf of married people. At this moment I have fulfilled my duty, at this moment, today, with the entire assembly I acquit myself toward thee, demon."

*798 *796 [524] [537] Aside from these insignificant details all the accessories of the festival of the samiri figured in this one but with more abundance. The sheaves of straw were more numerous and more ornate than before, and had some parina (flamingo) eggs placed at their base.

[523] [538] I observed only one new rite: the prayer that the alferez and his wife made successively to the four cardinal points. At the moment when they got up to proceed to this duty, the flutists began to play a melody backed by drumbeats. When they returned to the village in the evening, the alferez and alfereza both had a truss of straw on the back.

/374 cont./

The festival ended in general intoxication, of which the court in front of the chapel was in part a witness. The drinking continued practically without interruption until the next day, when the alferez held a feast for 120 people. In spite of the relative dearth of alcohol, the alferez, the Officiant, and his relatives found the means to finally roll on the ground, dead drunk.

Several days later on February 12 (Comadres /Gossips' Thursday, the last Thursday before Shrove-Tuesday/), it was the turn of the Kemperani-mal'ku to receive alcohol and presents. The poor idol did not seem to enjoy much favor, for there were few who came to "acquit themselves," and although the rites were faithfully observed they were carried out rapidly. Several small details that I was able to perceive in the gestures of the Officiant and in the composition of the liquids offered to the mal'ku have been mentioned in the footnote on pages 74 and 75. One fact is worth keeping in mind: when the cone was dripping with blood, those present got up and prostrated themselves in front of it. Some touched it lightly with their fingertips and brought them to their lips. The individuals who took part in this festival all belonged to the saya, with the possible exception of the Officiant. The absence of families or of a few representatives at least from taxata did not fail to surprise me, as in the prayer addressed to the Kemperani-mal'ku one is given to understand that the east (tuanta) side of the cone which stands on the border of the two saya "looks at" both of them:

Kemperani-mal'ku	porap-ikina	inkiñi	mal'ku lenta
Kemperani-demon	the two behind	who looks	demon border

towantiita	/375/	taxatiita	maitiñi	hasiki
east of		west of	who hearkens	in this moment

porap-ayl'u	kumplatuja	tonxi-ki	towanta	taxata
the two clans	acquit themselves	today	east	west

/375 cont./

kumpaña	kumpañ-ištan	ʸčep	pakᶻal-laiku
accompany	company with	three	heads of livestock in order to

kumplatuʸja	pakᶻal'a	hasiki
they acquit themselves	head of livestock	at this moment

maitišinakiʸja	para simpre	kumplitisxapa.
grant us	forever	to be acquitted.

"Demon Kemperani, thou who lookest at the two clans which are behind thee. Today the two clans have come to be acquitted before thee, that of the east and that of the west. All of these accompany me, they come in this moment to acquit themselves on behalf of the three kinds of animals. Grant us in this moment flocks, so that we may always acquit ourselves before thee."

The ʸčunkirini-mal'ku is the last of the cones of earth for which a festival is performed during the year by the saya tuanta. Also this festival is clothed with a brilliance and solemnity which make it the most perfect expression of the ceremonies and pagan rites preserved by the ʸčipaya. The alferez of the preceding festivals come to it, carrying their straw trusses hung with garlands on their backs, and they set up small improvised altars all around the ʸčunkirini-mal'ku as if they were going to exercise their former role. The cone of earth is covered with garlands of fruit, bread rings, cheeses, and emerges red with blood above the bunches of straw and the groups of Indians squatting around it. The numerous prayers which are uttered on this day are pleas for the assistance and generosity of the demons and saints of the tribe. The ʸčunkirini-mal'ku whose "anniversary" is being celebrated, is naturally the most often invoked. It is implored in the following terms:

ʸčunkirini-mal'ku	hasiki	am	kumpli
Cunkirini-demon	in this moment	thee	to acquit myself

Carangas-
Chipaya

/375 cont./

tonuʸa	pakˣxal'aʸtan	kumplataʸja	tonx-tuʸti	
I have come	heads of livestock with	I acquit myself	today	
čep	pakˣxal'a	palatansuʸa	ana	inahapa
three	heads of livestock	are planted	not	in vain
Tatal	Mamal	sirwisxapa	hasiki	maitiʸiʸlakiʸja
Father	Mother	to serve for	in this moment	grant me
t'apa	kumpaʸtan.			
all	assembly with.			

"Demon Čunkirini, I have come in this hour, to acquit myself towards thee with these animals. I acquit myself today with these three head of livestock who are placed (before thee) — that this be not in vain — /376/ to serve thee, father, mother, in this hour, hearken to me and to all those who accompany me."

In contrast to the previous festival, which took place at the foot of this same cone of earth, a sort of cellar housed at its base was opened this time, and various offerings, half-rotten, and a bottle of alcohol were taken out, the latter of which the Officiant and his helpers piously drank. It is necessary to add that the bottle was then refilled and that fresh magical substances and provisions replaced those which were thrown out.

The Indians used the occasion to go prostrate themselves in front of another cone, a real dwarf beside its congeners, for it was hardly 50 centimeters high. Perhaps this miniature mal'ku is the protector of children, for the corregidor of the tribe offered it a sheep in the name of his three-year-old son.

Prayers to the Kilimento-mal'ku and to the Kosil'awari-mal'ku. The yatiri Anacleto Mullu dictated two more prayers to me, one addressed to the Kilimento-mal'ku and the other to the Kosil'awari-mal'ku. These two cones of earth stand on tasata territory, and their worship is reserved for this saya. I was not able to attend the

/376 cont./

ceremonies of which they were the object, for they were performed at the same time as those in which I took part at tuanta in honor of the mal'ku of nat saya. It is highly unlikely that the rites in the two sectors differ; in any case, the prayers, judging from those which I am giving here, are of the same type:

Kilimento-ma'ku,	hasiki	am	kumpli	
Kilimento-demon,	in this moment	thee	to acquit myself	
tonuja	ti	čep	pakʷal'ištan	palantasuja
I have come	these	three	head of livestock	are placed
pakʷal'-laiku	ti	kasat-ispo-laiku	ana	ina-hapa-ki
herds for	these	married spouses for	not	in vain
Tatai Mamai,	serwishapa	t'apa	kumpaña.	
Father Mother,	to serve for	all	assembly.	

"Demon Kilimento, in this moment I have come to acquit myself with thee three animals who are placed in front of thee, on behalf of the herds and the married people. That this be not in vain, Father, Mother, that all those who accompany me (are come) to serve thee."

Kosil'awari-ma'ku,	tal'a	hasiki	am	
Kosil'awari-demon	female-demon	in this moment	thee	
kumpli	tonuja	tun-čis	samča	tonxiki
to acquit myself	I have come	today	anniversary	today
čep	pakʷal'ištan	tonuja	pakʷal'laiku	
three	head of livestock with	I have come	herds on behalf	
talat-laiku	t'apa	kumpaña	kumpituja	tonx-tufli.
[illegible] for	all	the assembly	acquits itself	today.

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/377/

*1708 *796 539 "Demon Kosil'awari, wife of the demon, in this moment I have come to acquit myself with these three animals, on this day, the day of thy anniversary. I have come with the whole assembly to acquit ourselves on behalf of our herds and (our) health."

[782] In conclusion I shall reproduce the prayer which is addressed to Mount Sajama and to the Lauca River when a specimen of each of the three kinds of animals which comprise the herds of the Čipaya is sacrificed to the latter:

Saxama-mal'ku	awiaturu	awitiškal'a	Maria	L'auka	ti
Sacred Sajama	shepherd	make feed	Mary	Lauca	these

čep	pakšal'a	awitiška	parwal'a	para	simpre
three	heads of livestock	make feed	grass	for	always

awitiška.
made feed.

"Sacred Sajama (thou) the shepherd, make us able to feed. Mary Lauca, (grant us) to feed these three kinds of animals, (give us grass) to feed them."

*796 231 236 Religious Practices at Sheep-shearing Time.

In the beginning of February the Indians of the saya taxata went away to shear their sheep. They came back from their "water houses" with huge packs of llama and sheep wool which they piled [532] up in their huts. This return was the occasion for a festival which chiefly consisted of offering libations of alcohol over the piles of wool and of offering coca and alcohol to the small earthen llamas (Pl. XVII, B /see p. 138/) lined up inside the hut on a table. A few llamas had been led to the village, and the Indians came from time to time to drop some coca leaves and drops of alcohol on their backs, while imploring the demons and saints to increase these animals, to protect them, and to make the grass on which they feed grow.

/377 cont./

*796 231 236 585 Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

*796 797 857 At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Čipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public [885] prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand [909] were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

509 Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Čipaya Indian is the festival par excellence *[796] 913] beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /379/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead [918] drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other saya are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only heaven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its settledness and preconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which *had been so much exalted was alone powerful enough to keep me* in Chipaya behond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Čipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, [839] and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Čipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text continues on P. 110]

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Fig. 28. — A. Čipaya Indian in ritual clothes. Notice the crown of flamingo eggs on the head. B. Čipaya Indian equipped to participate in the Carnival dances. On his back a wild duck secured by means of a festive sling and the straw bola perdida.

[524]
[525]

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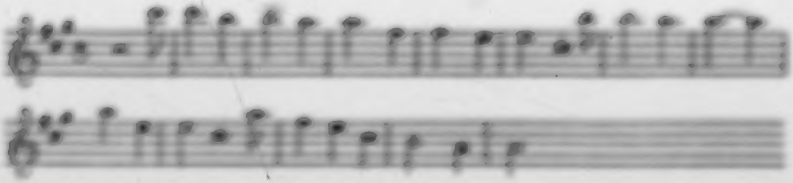
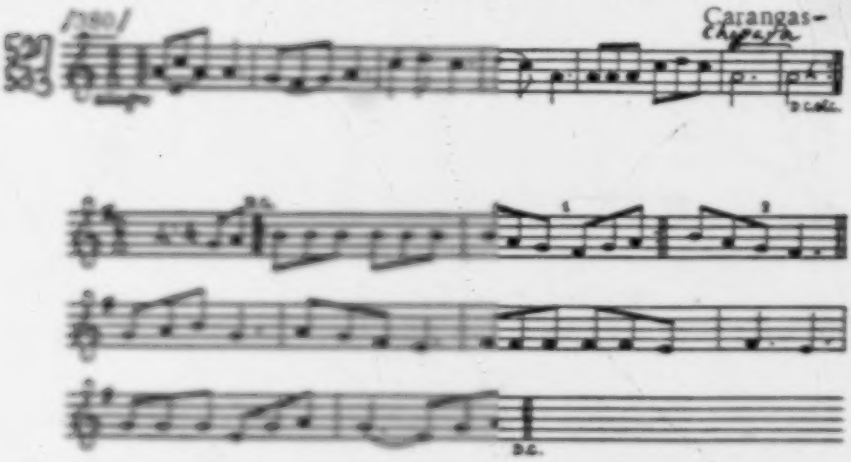
[297] [297] [301] As I said above religious or magical rites have only an insignificant place in this festival: the important survivals of paganism are displayed in the trappings of the participants (Pl. XIV, D /see p. 136/). The majority had put on around their bodies festive slings, whose fringes fashioned a motley costume for them. Some had encircled their heads with a kind of artificial hair made from horse hair (Pl. XVI, C /see p. 137/) or with crowns of flamingo feathers. The most original headdresses which I noticed were a few crowns made of flamingo eggs threaded together (Fig. 38, A /see p. 109/). A large part of the young people had water birds on their backs, attached by the straw hoja which had killed them (Fig. 3[illegible], B). The alferez's and alferezas had loaded on their backs the sheaves of straw behind which they had pressed at the festivals of the various mal'ku and samiri. The latter were decorated with garlands of fruit, cheeses, and bread. Those who had not had the honor of being alferez were no less decorated with ornaments symbolizing prosperity and abundance.

[273] [554]

[530] [533] Tunes of the Carnival Dances





Thus centered the Cipaya divided themselves to the most monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection with the festival of the samasi (p. 82). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, aproached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling, which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. Groups went there to offer libations and to dip into the pots of corn placed before the saints' images.

The whole procession is with fashion for a whole week. At night the young girls would go by through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

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/380 cont./ They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Čunkirini-mal'ku, is common to the two saya, was recited in the course of this sacrifice:

Turi-mal'ku,	Ťawk	mal'ku,	Santa Ana,	mal'ku	tuanta,
Tower-demon,	great	demon,	Saint Anne,	demon	east,

taxatištan,	maitiñi,	roktiñi	hasiki
west of	he who obtains,	who prays,	in this moment,

suma,	waino,	tiempo	ťmaitiñimal'a,	wale,	wale,
good	young	weather	hearken to me,	good,	good,

suma	wata	ťmaitiñta	t apa	serwintiñta.
good	year	grant us	all	servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuanta and Taxata saya, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol. Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred sticks. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

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[521] [601] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

[342] [896] Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Cipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment [387] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him [513] enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol [304] from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming * [978] work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamani-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[782] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

[342] * [978] [902] Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of paiso mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

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The number of spirits which rule over a household may be even more considerable. In a prayer of Aymara origin which I recorded among the Cipaya, in the course of a sacrifice made to the demons of the house, the shed and the kitchen are invoked at the same time as the court.

Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which recur uniformly throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara. There is no Cipaya hut on which one does not see to the left of the door upon entering the blackish spot of blood with which it was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the costs of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirits, that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

aPoiPai'a	aKoya	kamantaiko	suma	hallo	wata
straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

awantil'a (1)	aKoya-ki.
endure	house this.

1. From the Spanish aguantar, to endure.

/383/ A beautiful example of the frightful jargon, a mixture of Cipaya, Aymara, and Kitua /Quechua/ words, which the Indians use in their conversations with the divinities.

The titi-mai'ku is honored each time that an Indian returns home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the number of titi-mai'ku in Chipaya is limited, I would not have

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been able to be present at this intimate ceremony if my neighbors in the saya tuanta had not just made a sacrifice to their stuffed cat upon their return after a prolonged absence. They began by choosing a splendid white sheep from their flock, which they decorated with red pompoms and stretched in front of the door of their hut, its head toward the east. Next to him they placed a small tablecloth which they covered with coca leaves. They let fall several drops of alcohol and several pinches of coca on this victim and uttered the following formula:

Mal'ku patio	titi-mal'ku	ouma	katoimal'a
Spirit (of the) patio	sacred cat	well	receive very much

vila.
blood.

The Indian's two huts were sprinkled inside and out with the blood of the slaughtered sheep, and the last gush which poured from his severed artery was thrown eastward with a prayer to the demons, to the Earth-mother, and to the saints.

The titi-mal'ku occupied the place of honor inside the hut. It was decorated with a festive sling wrapped around its body; red pompoms hung from its ears and a bag had been hung from its neck. I made a list of the contents of the latter: besides coca there was a small bottle of alcohol, various magical substances [illegible] calcareous in nature, and lastly a dried pear and an orange peel.

A bowl full of blood was offered to the titi-mal'ku and near it was put a napkin covered with coca leaves which the neighbors came to renew. The owner and his wife sat near their titi-mal'ku to do homage to him with a small private ceremony in which they were the only ones to participate, but which soon attracted several interested visitors. With each libation, before drinking, they turned toward the wildcat so that he could not

/383 cont./
doubt the homage being paid him. Each offering was accompanied with this phrase:

Titi-mal'su	suma	resiba-tamal'a	hiča	xunlu
Sacred cat	good	receive very much	now	together

vila	amara.
blood	love.

/384/ "Sacred cat receive this in abundance, now at the same time as this blood which we offer thee with love."

At the moment when the drinking cup was emptied, it was proper to cry "xal'al'a" (hallelujah).

In each Čipaya hut without exception one notices several poles of palm wood with a hole for hanging fastened to the wall facing the door. I did not find out the exact nature of these pieces of wood, nor the character which the Čipaya attributed to them. They give them the half-Aymara, half-Spanish name of kamana-para (house stick). During the great public festivals the magician goes toward the place of the ceremony armed with one of these sticks and plants it infront of himself before offering either a sacrifice or a libation. Sometimes the sheaves of sacred straw are attached around these sticks. One day I saw the Indians burn incense in front of their kamana-para, and they assured me that before Carnival and the festival of the Conception they sacrifice a sheep is killed for the demon of the patio that the long prayer is recited which a Čipaya dictated to me when I questioned him on such family worship:

Tapsča	(wawanataki)	xukalañaka	kʷoka	hača
All	child for	plant	cactus	large

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*708 782 539

pakχal'a	kulumayu	pakχal'a	kon	usita	pakχal'a
herd	pig	herd	with	sheep	herd

haχa	pakχal'a	maitarapita	kamana	katoktarapita
large	herd	let me have	house	thou wilt receive

akel	mal'ku	mama	mal'ku	pati-sitio	kimsa
this	demon	mother	demon	patio place	three

pakχal'a	nasimiento	humakatoktanta.
herds	births	thou-wilt receive.

"Let me have, for us thy children, plants (?), large cacti, pigs with sheep and large livestock (llamas), let me have it, thou shed (where the mal'ku stays), thou kitchen of the house. Thou wilt receive as an offering the young of the three kinds of animals, thou spirit, thou mother spirit, thou court (demon of the court)."

782 One afternoon when I had gone to visit my friend Anacleto Mullu, I found him in the process of offering up libations in the company of his nephew and his wife. They had placed a censer in front of them and held out the two twin drinking cups to each other, part of the contents of which they poured out, reciting a prayer on the invitation of and under the direction of the yatiri. Insofar as I could understand the meaning of their mournful pleas, they must have been addressed to the sacred sticks of the hut and to the protecting spirit /385/ of the house, who were asked to make the grass of the fields grow and to make rain fall on the bare Chipaya plains.

Here are a few bits of the prayers they recited that day that I was able to snatch on the wing:

[539]

Verxina	χal'ánta	uyuwiri	Araxpaχa
Virgin	I shall offer a libation	foster mother	Sky

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782 539 karpa marka kol'u uyuwiri Virxina Mamita
rain country mountains foster mother Virgin Mama

Rosario, palta šenekina benitnis -te k'anasa kanavita.
Rosary, speak us bless. light ?

"Virgin, foster mother, I shall offer thee a libation, (give us) the rain of the Sky and you also, mountains of the country, foster mother Virgin, Mama Rosary, speak to us, blessed be thou."

782 In another hut on the same day I noticed a censer that was smoking in front of the sacred sticks (kamana-para).

Each Thursday the Čipaya burned a little khoa at the end of the little wall which separates their group of houses from the others. [100] They have borrowed this custom from the Aymara who practice it even in cities such as Oruro.

The Samiri of the sheepfold.

*708 *782 In the company of Anacleto Mullu I was invited to attend the burying of a samiri in the sheepfold of one of the families of the warta clan.

The first care of the yatiri upon arriving at the places was to dig the earth to uncover a small cellar made of limestone slabs, 20 cm. deep and 20 cm. long; which was situated approximately in the middle of the sheepfold. The Officiant took out of it four five-centavo coins, dried flowers, and a little bottle of eau-de-vie. The flowers were thrown away but the coins and the bottle of alcohol carefully put to one side. Meanwhile a black sheep [782] decorated with tufts of wool on its ears and neck had been led into the enclosure. He was as usual consecrated with libations and offerings of coca and slaughtered on the edge of the hole. The yatiri, facing east, offered a little of this blood to the demons whom he invoked and implored in a long prayer; then turning toward the hut of the man who was offering the sacrifice, he poured out the rest of the blood in honor of the protecting spirit of his

/385 cont./
house and his patio. A few pinches of maize flour were thrown in the hole.

/386/ The yatiri then walked around those present to greet them according to all the rules of Čipaya etiquette. The master of the flock and his wife offered him some alcohol and coca and invited their relatives and friends to take some of the leaves which they had spread out on the ground. They drank and chewed for half an hour without exchanging a word and with all the gloomy gravity to which these Indians are accustomed. Next a stuffed lamb decorated with wool pompoms — the samiri — was brought out of a pile of material which enveloped it; the wife of the owner of the sheepfold added several supplementary tufts of red wool to it and all approached it in turn to offer a libation on its body, to offer it coca, and to recite a long prayer for it. It was then buried in the hole along with khoa, "copal," sprigs of rosemary, and a few pinches of coca which the Officiant threw with each lump of earth, continuously murmuring his prayers. His movements were imitated by the spectators, who rivaled him in zeal.

The hole was not entirely full. At one side of it on a small tablecloth the instigator of the festival had piled up the innumerable products with magical qualities which the Čipaya customarily offer to their divinities. The yatiri, after having subjected them to a detailed review, prepared paper sacks in which he put first pink, yellow, and green lozenges, pieces of pink and white candies, and lastly sprigs of rosemary and some starch.

He then proceeded to a minute selection from the ten to 12 colored mineral powders which had been put at his disposal. He kept only four: a deep green, a light green, a violet, and a brown. He poured them into separate little paper horns, with the exception of the light green, which he mixed with the brown. These colors undoubtedly had a special significance to judge from the attention which the yatiri gave to their selection and from the explanations which he gave to the master of the place. I have every reason to suppose that these four colors correspond to the

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vegetables, the knowledge and acquisition of which mean the most to the Čipaya. The green represents the fields, the brown quinua seeds, the violet certain parts of quinua and cañave leaves.

With some mutton fat the yatiri modeled a lamb to whose neck he attached a tuft of wool. He put it in a bowl into which those present threw coca, and he offered libations to it and recited a long prayer where wishes for the prosperity of the flock were mingled with enumerations of the thaʾeu and invocations to the Paʾamama. Now taking pig fat the yatiri encrusted it with portions of gold leaf and stuck dried flowers in it. The choice of the flowers was as meticulous as that of the colored powders. When the slice of pig fat was covered with them, /387/ the wife of the master of the enclosure wrapped it with a tuft of red wool. The sheep made of fat, the flowers stuck in the pig fat, and the sacks of mineral powders were placed in a tin box and sprinkled with coca leaves. Among those present arose a real competition as to who would contribute the most coca leaves and recite his prayers with the most fervor. Then the bottle of eau-de-vie was uncorked, and all drank from it, beginning with the Officiant, without neglecting libations and the customary prayers before each bumper.

A few drops of alcohol were sprinkled on the offerings, to which the following things were added: llicta, candies, incense, khoa, copal, and sugar. The box was buried even with the ground and covered with a slab. The whole thing was carefully concealed under the ground, and the yatiri uttered a long prayer addressed, as previously, to the Paʾamama and protecting demons on the site of the samiria. The ceremony ended, like all the Čipaya ceremonies, with mutual invitations to drink and chew.

231 982 Religious practices relating to putting domestic animals to death.

When the Čipaya slaughter an animal in order to eat the meat, they perform a ritual which is in every respect analogous to the one which I have so often described in connection with sacrifices. The sheep or the pig receives an offering of coca and

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Cajapa

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alcohol, and its blood is offered to the ancestors. The animal's head is placed on a table where it remains on display for several days. It is surrounded with bunches of flowers, and under the beast's snout a napkin covered with coca leaves and small dishes containing various substances, all invested with magical qualities, is placed. The residents of the hut, who have set up this altar, worship it in summary fashion, the principal manifestations of which are gestures of respect and offerings of coca and alcohol.

Divination.

Like the Aymara the Cipaya Indians practice divination on a large scale. I had one occasion to have the future predicted to me by the most highly reputed specialist of the tribe, Asucleto Abalo. The latter used only a napkin and a certain amount of coca provided by the client as accessories. He began with a short prayer murmured in a low voice, during which he carefully spread out his leaves, patting them with the palm of his hand. He brought his right hand to his mouth /188/ forming a horn and blew gently into it. Then, putting his hand gently back on the leaves, smoothing and caressing them, he repeated the question. After a short concentration he took hold of a handful of leaves which he turned with a quick movement. He separated the significant leaves from the pile to show them to me. From what I could ascertain, a leaf must be turned with its nervures on top, have the petiole behind, and the point of the limb toward the end of the fingers to be considered a good omen. The hand is always kept open, the fingers directed toward the consultant.

To be good the leaf also must not be covered by any other. The leaves which are clearly bad are those which are presented in an inverted position. The worst have their shiny side up and the petiole directed toward the consultant. The precision of the more or less categorical reply of the diviner depends on his general appraisal and on the proportion of good and bad leaves. Folded leaves are taken out and have no significance at all.

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The fortune-teller is satisfied to chew the leaves[1] with which he has been provided for his trouble.

Magical treatment of illness.

The medical science of the Indians of the Andean altiplano is very extensive. To be convinced of this one need only go inspect the sector of any native market whatsoever occupied by the chifles, or vendors of medicinal plants. The abundance of vegetable, animal, and mineral products, carefully sorted out in small boxes, which they offer is extraordinary and deserves a long, methodical enumeration. If one considers that each of these substances, in addition to its special properties, also enters in the composition of anomalous and varied mixtures, one will have an idea of the number of medical recipes which the Indians of the altiplano have at their disposal. To tell the truth, many of the [055] treatments recommended by the yatiri are strictly magical in nature; a number of the medicaments which they prescribe, however, are recommendable for their real and effective qualities. The Institute of Ethnology at the University of Tucumán possesses a very complete collection of these products and it is hoped that a study of them will some day be carried out by a pharmacist who is also a botanist. There can be no doubt that such an investigation, already begun by Nordenskiöld (1), has more than one [113]

1. Nordenskiöld (Erland). "Recettes magiques médicales du Pérou et de la Bolivie /Magical Medical Recipes of Peru and Bolivia/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Paris, New Series, Vol. IV, 1907, pp. 153-174.

surprise in store and /389/ will open new perspectives on the medical knowledge of the Indians of Bolivia.

[1] [i.e., coca leaves--Analyst]

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The Cipaya Indians of Carangas have been so deeply impregnated with the influence of the Aymara Indians that we may presume that, in the sphere of medicine, they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbors of the altiplano. It is completely justifiable if their knowledge is more rudimentary because of their isolation and the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the medical substances, almost all of which come from the Yungas. I was able to convince myself of this by examining one day a bag of medicine which had been left by a deceased Cipaya, the father of a young Indian with whom I had a friendly relationship. In the legacy of the old man I found several pharmaceutical products which I had obtained in the Oruro market. The deceased possessed small amounts of them which he had carefully wrapped in some small rags. His son refused to sell them to me, allegedly because of their great value and the difficulty of procuring them. I doubt, however, that anyone in Chipaya could have benefited from them, for, to my knowledge at least, there is no Indian in this village who possesses sufficient skill to carry out their application.

Practically every day in the hut which I was occupying I received visits from Indians coming to ask me for remedies for various ills. The most frequent was constipation, which seems to frighten the Cipaya very much. I was also able to see a hernia and a terrible infection which the Indians treated by applying a piece of llama heart to the abscess. The Indians often called upon me to care for swellings, the result of drubbings which they had not spared themselves in their domestic quarrels. Some also came to beg me to cure them of impotence. In some not very serious cases of swellings or localized pains, the Indians content themselves with sticking a coca leaf on the skin.

At present the empirical medicine of the Cipaya seems to be limited to a certain number of insignificant recipes, frequently and easily applied. Faced with a serious case they have recourse to complicated magical processes which I had the good fortune to observe. I should not be able to say, however, if the exceptional

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997 treatment was conditioned by the nature of the disease, or if, on the contrary, similar cures are undertaken each time that an Indian becomes seriously ill.

955 [933] A habitual drunkard, of a quarrelsome and violent temperament, had been taken ill after one of the numerous festivals which the Cipaya celebrate during the rainy season, where he had drunk and excited himself more than usual. /390/ Was he suffering from terrible indigestion? Did he have an attack of epilepsy? I do not know, but the fact is that he suddenly fell to the ground where he remained for a long time in a cataleptic state. The terrified spectators thought that he was dead and were not far from intoning funeral lamentations. He himself, when he regained his senses, judged his state to be desperate. He claimed that a large ball was moving up and down in his stomach without stopping.

955 His case was given to an Indian who had nothing to show that he was a doctor or magician. He was a young man who had no particular authority and filled no office at the festivals. Besides he made only rare appearances in the village. Consulted at once, he began by conducting an inquiry on the origin of the illness, giving an attentive ear to the narratives and hypotheses of his client's relatives and friends. It was only then, with complete knowledge of the cause, that he uttered his final diagnosis: two superb topu (silver pins with flattened heads) which had been transmitted from generation to generation in the patient's family were the sole things responsible for the accident. By virtue of a malicious power inherent in their nature, they had pierced the stomach of their owner, trying to kill him. They had been assisted in this crime by a silver Peruvian coin worth a quarter of a real, which

[961] the sick man had also inherited from his father. No one could doubt that these precious topu were dangerous: the best proof of the terrible influence which emanated from them was the sickness and death of the patient's mother, which public opinion attributed to these ornaments. The magician's first duty hence was to exorcise them and to neutralize their action by putting them in contact with beneficent magical substances.

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955 952 950 Arriving at the house of the sick man, I found him with his head in a turban of rags, squatting in front of his wife. His relatives had gathered in the hut and surrounded the magician. I [951] noticed a crow carefully veiled with a handkerchief at the back of the hut and an iron spike near the door to keep the evil spirits aside. The magician had placed the offending items, the tops and the coin, on a small napkin and drawn from his bag mineral substances of very varied hues (*ochorion*), copal, incense, etc., as well as mugs and phials which he filled with water and in which he mixed the *ochorion* and a little sacred maize flour (*t'ompoke*).

While watching his actions the sick man and his relatives were *praying and drinking* and offering libations of alcohol. When [952] he had finished the magician cleared the hut and went toward a sheep tied in front of the door. He severed its carotid and caught its blood in a bowl which contained /391/ sacred maize flour and a small cupule. He then emptied it before the house to the east while invoking the *guardian demons* of the clan and the *ancestors*. Next he sprinkled the wall of the hut with this sacred blood and, throwing himself on the still *palpitating* sheep, he opened the chest with a knife thrust and with a savage and nervous gesture tore out the heart, which he ran to place on the patient's abdomen which was covered with blisters. After this he took hold of the tops and coin and carefully washed them in the water with which sacred flour had been mixed. This liquid, like the blood, was *poured out* in front of the hut.

The libations (*k'ul'a*) which took place immediately after were directed as usual to the *domestic*, the *ancestors*, and the *saints*. The magician took his cupules in pairs successively and ran to *pour* himself in front of the threshold in order to throw the contents in the *direction* of the east, murmuring a hasty prayer each time. When he had ended these offerings, he squatted before his *case* of magic ingredients and began to sort them attentively. He placed imperceptible quantities of blue, white, green, light green, red, violet, coffee, and grey mineral substances (*ochorion*) in

Zapotecos--126 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SP24 Uro SP24
Caranguo-
Calpulalpa

/791 cont./

small paper bags and added rosemary, marih, and candy to them. He then grouped these bags in threes and made small packets of them which he tied with a red string. At the same time he had one of the patient's relatives make four small "tables" of tar, two of which he covered with paper, and the other two with gold leaf. In the course of preparation these objects were watered several times by the spectators, who poured libations of alcohol over them. They were given to the sick man with the express command to keep them in a hiding-place next to the tapu for one year. The magician advised his client that during all this period he would have no misfortune to fear and that his disposition would become better: his quarrelsome temperament would give way to gentleness and peace would reign in his household. For, he added, the thrashings which he was accustomed to inflict on his wife and the upset resulting from them were also manifestations of the evil power of the tapu's. Two small flasks were next filled, one with alcohol and the other with wine, and placed with the small bags. The magician made one last libation on them and spit on top of them. The objects thus consecrated were placed in a bag with some khoa and some roots and the whole thing slid into a hiding-place concealed in the wall of the hut.

[792] The sick man began a prolonged exposition in a tearful tone of all the details of his sickness, while the magician was consulting corn leaves in order to know the result of his treatment. He moved the leaves and turned them in his hand ten or 15 times, and each time /792/ they pointed to a prompt and complete cure. A bit of copal was placed in drinking cups of alcohol, which the sick man, the magician, and the relatives poured as an offering on the malevolent tapu's. Whereupon the patient, his wife, and his sister burst into loud sobs which lasted several minutes. The first then kissed his wife's hand and congratulated the magician, making the gesture of clasping him in his arms, and all those present came to congratulate him as well as his wife and the magician.

E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangar-
Chipaya

/[illegible] cases./

These [illegible] were of the usual type, i.e., they were carried out by bending the knee before the person honored and simulating an embrace.

Two dishes of meat were then carried in, signaling the beginning of the feast which the patient offered his doctor and his relatives, doubtless to repay them for their trouble.

The magician, who up to now had preserved a serious and impenetrable expression, appeared afterward in a more cheerful mood and with a smile on his lips accepted the cups of alcohol and the dishes which his client, full of gratitude, offered him.

However great the respect of the sick man for his healer was and the impression caused by the ceremony, the patient did not consider it superfluous to question me on his case and took the laxative I administered to him with gratitude. He had great need of it, all the more so since, to celebrate his return to health and the beneficent treatment of which he had been the subject, he engorged a remarkable portion of the sacrificed sheep and washed down this feast with impressive bumpers of alcohol. I still do not know how this unfortunate man was able to endure these new excesses. He got well nevertheless, and this complicated ceremony seems at least to have had the positive result of actually transforming his department. Up to this point I had had an enemy in him who had picked quarrels with me on every occasion; each time that I met him after this, he astonished me by his friendliness and courtesy.

I only wish that this good disposition had lasted as long as the memory of his experience.

Funeral rites.

In the course of the weeks spent in Chipaya only one death occurred in the village, that of a woman who had committed suicide for obscure reasons, probably out of resentment against her husband. Learning of the [illegible] shortly after the event, I did not notice any behavior among those present which could be interpreted as ritual.

7

2:Méraux--128 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 9F24 Uru 9F24

Cayapas-
Chipaya

/193/

[124] The dead woman's husband and her sisters just barely and only at long intervals gave way to a few quickly stifled sobs.

The body was carefully done up in an urku (1), and only the

1. Cloth which the women wear around their bodies by way of a tunic.

face remained uncovered until evening, when one of the corners of the cloth which enveloped her was pulled over it and a rope was placed crosswise on it. The husband, who was not worth a sou, displayed profound anguish at the thought of not being able to hold a wake. When I gave him something to buy cigarettes, coca, and alcohol, he thanked me and seemed as if relieved of a great anxiety. He shut himself in his hut with his brother and another Indian, probably a relative. The close relatives of the woman from hereabouts (ghost against the widower, whom they continued to suspect of a crime, stayed at home. Between the threshold and the corpse an iron spike had been planted and a small yellow lamp was burning beside the body. The husband and his two companions, squatting at the dead woman's feet, chewed and drank with complete serenity of soul. The first, however, interrupted his bumpers of eau-de-vie from time to time with little attacks of tears, of short duration nonetheless. He likewise addressed the customary reproaches to the dead woman in a tone lacking in conviction. "Why hast thou left, why hast thou left me, when will we meet again?" At a particular moment he placed on his wife's feet a bowl full of alcohol, which he set fire to as well as to some coca leaves.

At dawn a large number of the women of the clan came and squatted in the house. They remained there a long time, immobile and silent. Toward ten o'clock in the morning the corpse was carried to the cemetery and buried with a little food, coca, and alcohol. The dead woman's spindle was buried with her, and the pot and bowls which she used were broken and thrown into the fire

Quaderno--139 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 9°24 Uto 9°54

Cayapas-
Cayapa

/383 cont./

with her spoon and other effects. This is the fate which the earthly goods left by the Cayapa undergo, and the charred remains of these buildings are piled up beside the enclosure where their body reposes. The husband gave out a few more wails over the tomb and returned home, escorted by a large number of individuals who came to take their share of the funerary feast. The widower's family had been occupied with it since morning and had slaughtered two sheep and put enormous kettles full of quinua pulp on the fire. Among the Cayapa as among the Aymara, mourning obligations force the survivors to make considerable sacrifices and to dissipate their meager capital.

Passing near the hut of the widower this same evening, I saw him with one of his children on his back and the other near him busy preparing his dinner. On /386/ seeing me he let out some moans, too modulated to be the expression of any sentiment. This was the last evidence of regret that the dead woman received. From the next day on she was forgotten, and the village, disturbed for a moment, sank back into silence and indifference.

Myths and tales

The stay that I made among the Cayapa was dedicated in large part to gathering as many elements as possible of their agglutinating language. In the hope of being able to make a grammar out of it, I busied myself as much as possible with enumerating expressions, phrases, and extensive narrative. Accomplishing this task was not always easy for me. The Cayapa know only Aymara outside their own language and, with the exception of the corregidor and two or three young people, do not know a word of Spanish. In order to be able to deal with them, I almost always had to have recourse to my Aymara interpreter, and the impossibility which often arose of being able to communicate

6

(Old text)

directly with my informant was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Cipaya. They offer a dual resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their scanty fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I encountered the maximum response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Cipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him resulted with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The five tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 25 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, numerous reminiscences, and a high (?) opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who should come and tell stories about them or animals to me. It will be realized that tales are very laconic and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narrations. They are certain fragments of myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

[illegible] E-4 (1930-1955) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate XI

Carangus-
Caiyana

[illegible] feeding before a [illegible]

[illegible] of a sheep.

[illegible] of a Hamu.

Zambezia--133 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SFD4 Uru SFD4

Carongas-
Chipeya

Plate XII

A. —Festival of Candlemas: libation to a heroes.

B. —Chipeya women feasting the dry for a festival.

Smithsonian--134 E-5 (1930-1951) 1935, 1936 SF2A Uru 1124

Caranga-
Chipaya

Plate XIII

A. – Festival of the uemiri: the villagers and villagers behind the carved dancers.

B. – Festival of Kuruwas mal'kus: magician offering up a libation; in back, the Kuruwas mal'ku.

C. – Festival of Kuruwas mal'kus: magician with his assistant preparing the Cal'o libation and offering; at right for the demon whose effigy dripping with blood stand; in the background.

D. – Festival of Kuruwas mal'kus: the kneeling magician receives enough from the hands of his assistant, the contents of which he offers to the demons.

Smithsonian—138 E-6 (1930-1931) 1931, 1936 SF24 Use SF24

Cayuga
Cayuga

Plate XIV

A.—Portrait of the Cayuga [illegible] Johnny Jr. Drum [illegible] and a horse.

B.—Portrait of an [illegible] Indian having a dream near the effigy of a dragon [illegible].

C.—Cayuga Indian in prayer before the captain conducting magical ceremonies.

D.—Cayuga Indian in his festival attire (wig, bustle sleeves, etc.).

[illegible]—136 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Use SF24

Plate XV

A. —Old Cayapa woman and her daughter.

B. —Cayapa woman spinning.

C. —Cayapa woman.

D. —Cayapa Indian dressed in a cumbeta.

Zimmérano--137 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XVI

A. – Coca bag covered with a sort of "velvet" and used only during festivals.
B. – Festive sling.
C. – Wig worn by the men during festivals.
D. – Sacred stick (kamana-para).
E. – Rope cross hung on the roof of the huts.
F. – Perforated potsherds used as money during the festival of the alasita.

2:Métraux--138 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XV...

415
[531]

A

C

[532]

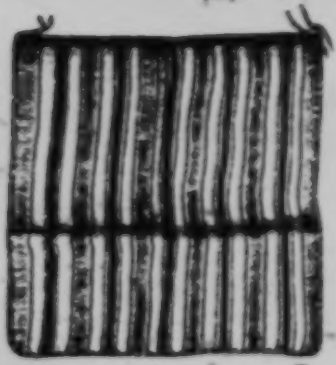
*[1196]
[782]

D

[532]

286
531
415

B



E

/See captions on next page./

2:Métraux--138a E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XVII

A. – Bowl used for making libations of chicha. The animals modeled at the bottom are a llama and its young.
B. – Small earthen llama venerated during certain festivals.
C. – Bag with red and yellow motifs (käls).
D. – Wooden mug used during certain religious ceremonies to offer up libations.
E. – Woven bag (käls).

2:Métraux--139 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga -
Chipaya

/155/

Material Culture

Habitation

342 The habitation problem is one of the hardest that the Čipaya have had to resolve. Nature has refused them any natural shelter and all that seems absolutely indispensable for the construction of a dwelling: not one tree, not the shortest candle cactus on their bare plain, not even earth for adobes. Nothing but sand, and soil that grass roots make compact. Here again, however, human ingenuity has been able to conquer all obstacles and resolve all difficulties. In the same way that the Eskimos cut blocks out of the snow from which they make their round huts, the Čipaya cut clods out of the ground, which piled up on each other create huts of beehive form strangely similar to the "snow houses" of the Arctic peoples. As huts built entirely of clods (Pl. VI, C /see p. 214/) cannot attain any great size, the Čipaya prefer to build cylindrical houses (ʷčoya), which they cover with a cupola of thatch. Aside from the roof, the principle of construction in these two types of habitation is the same.

[412] The clods (ʲčaya) are cut out of the ground by means of a hoe. As the stroke given with this instrument is oblique, the piece of detached earth, which is 70 cm. long, about 30 to 35 cm. wide, and 15 cm. thick, has the form of the trunk of a quadrangular pyramid or of the trunk of a parallelepiped rectangle. Half of the thickness is intermingled with roots which make a sort of very solid adobe of the clump. It is always used turned over, i.e., with the roots in the air.

/156/ The hut stands on a basement which protects it from floods. This platform is made of a series of clods juxtaposed flat or edgewise, which form the floor. After this the clods are simply superimposed without tying or mortar. The wall perfectly circular does not rise perpendicularly, but inclines gently from the base to

2AMNatAus--160 F-5 (1830-1831) 1935, 1936 SF24 Urs SF24
Caranga:-
Cipaya

/116 cont./

the summit. This incline need only be accentuated to create the conical hut of the second type entirely made of cloth.

The wall facings are plastered on the outside and inside with a thin layer of earth which conceals the irregularities of the surface.

The door. The opening (*tan*) of the door (*tawke*) which is always framed with a white band is generally larger below than above and its angles are rounded. It does not open at ground level but on a threshold about 30 centimeters high. The door itself is situated inside the habitation. It is made of laths of Cereus joined by leather thongs and by crampoons, and is articulated by means of two pivots, one of which, the upper one, is stuck into a piece of perforated wood (Fig. 1, C-D /see p. 142/).

Figure 1, E to G gives an idea of the ingenious peg lock of the Cipaya and its functioning. It is carved of Cereus wood and is of a type identical with that of the Aymara, who copied it from the old rural Spanish locks (1).

1. On this subject see Chervin (A., van). "Études d'ethnographie sud-américaine /Studies of South American Ethnography/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. New Series. Vol. XI, 1914, pp. 121-133.

The roof. The straw dome (*pirma*) which covers the Cipaya huts of the first type is complicated and ingenious in construction —and certainly represents the most delicate work which these natives undertake. When the walls of the hut are two meters above ground, two rows of cloth larger than the others and with perpendicular joints are placed on top. The upper ones are provided with orifices intended to receive the ends of the arches which support the straw cupola. The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots

[See pp 142-143 -- ed/sr]

Section ~143 E-3 (1860-1911) 1935, 1936 SF24 Cox SF24

Cayuga ~
Cayuga

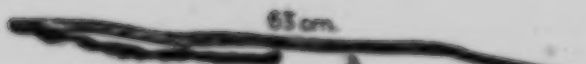
[156 cont.] The framework of the latter is actually formed by [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

28Mém nos--142 F-A (1930-1931) [illegible], 1936 5124 Uru 5124
Caranga: —
Chipaya

413 /157/

342 ←

414 →



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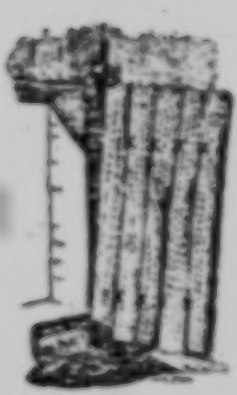

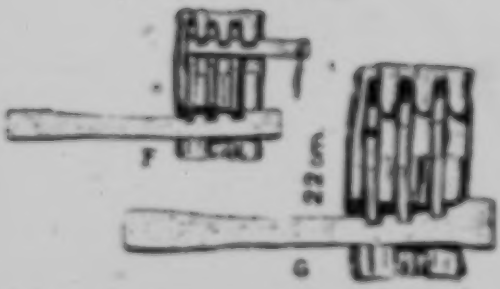

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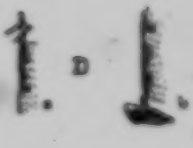
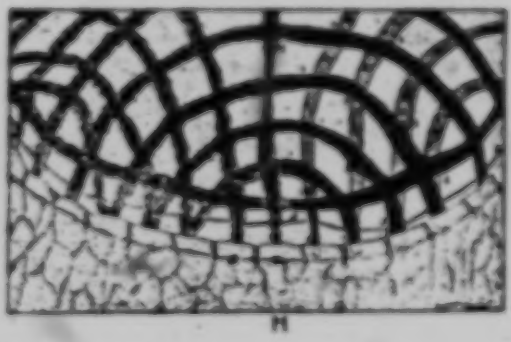
[335] →





/See captions on next page./

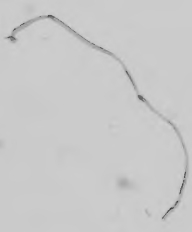
2:Métraux--162a E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Caranga; –
Chipaya

/157 cont./

Fig. 1. – Čipaya material culture. The habitation.

A: Needle with which the Čipaya sew the thatch to the frame.
B: Hovel of clods of earth.
C: Door of cactus wood.
D: Detail of the door. a: top; b: bottom.
E: Čipaya lock and key.
F, G: The same lock seen in cross section.
H: Schema showing the method of constructing the framework of the cupola which covers the roof of the huts.



Exhibition--143 F-b (1930-1931) 1935-1936 SF24 Urs SF24
Cuzco-
Chipaya

/138 cont./

reproduced here (Fig. 2, C /see p. 136/). These stoves are still customary; they are always to the right of the entry against the wall. They are provided with holes for the pots and with a compartment where the stores of taquia, i.e., of dried excrement, are kept. As this substance is the chief fuel on the altiplano and has been through out time, the use of these stoves, an equivalent of which exists in no other region of South America, is self-explanatory. This dried excrement burns with difficulty on an open fire, and like wood (fuel) it is too rare to allow the least heat which emanates from it to be lost. It is hence because of the material and from considerations of economy that the Indians of the altiplano arrived at the idea of constructing these stoves, which are certainly very old since Cobo (1)

[113]

1. Cobo (Bernabé), Historia del nuevo mundo /History of the New World/, for... of the Society of Jesus, published for the first time with notes and other illustrations by D. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. Seville, 1893. "In all the houses, however small they may be, there is its cook stove behind the door, which is made of a small clay stove no higher than a handbreadth, closed on all sides, with a small mouth through which they feed the fire, and in the upper part, two or three round holes, where they set the pots. With this they use very little fuel, because they never put in more than two small sticks by the ends, and as they are being burned they are fed in, so that there is more fuel used in one of our cook stoves than in 20 stoves of the Indians."

/[116 cont. /

who mentions them seems to consider them as /[116/ analogous. The smoke escapes through the door, but in some huts, not very many it is true, a hole in the wall facilitates ventilation.

Enormous wool blankets (*[illegible]*), extremely heavy, take the place of beds. They are warm enough for one to suffice to cover for the night two or three people, who roll themselves in them. At the beginning of the seventeenth century these blankets were in general use on the altiplano. "The bed which the people of the Sierra and the cold lands use," Cobo tells us, "is a large blanket called a *chui*, which is spread on the ground. One half serves as a mattress and the other, which they pull up from the foot end, as a blanket or sheet. All the inhabitants of one house, fathers and sons, sleep in one blanket, although now under the influence of civilization they are beginning to have separate beds." The present-day Andean Indians sleep on earth benches which are altogether lacking in Cayapa. One might conclude from this that they were unknown in pre-Columbian times and that they are only a crude imitation of European beds.

In some Cayapa huts one can find a wobbly table made of laid boards. The Cayapa use them only as an altar on which to place the heads of sacrificed animals or cups that they offer their guests when they celebrate a festival at home. Outside of these occasions the tables have no use.

Several wooden pegs thrust into the wall serve as pegs for clothes. The few articles to be worn are arranged in niches contrived in the wall or on small shelves of earth shaped like swallows' nests (Fig. 2, P /see p. 130/).

To illuminate the always very dark interior of their huts, the Cayapa have tallow candles or, more frequently, very primitive small lamps: bowls (*[illegible]*), full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns. This apparatus, which gives them only feeble light, has the Spanish name *mecha*, a practically certain indication that the idea came to them from the Creoles.

Dahlgren--140 E-5 (1890-1910) 1895, 1896 MPDA Lns MPDA
Carnegie--
Ch. proper

Stores of Subsistence

Stock raising. The Cipaya now practically all have extensive herds of stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in describing the environment [140] where they live, the pastures which serve their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lagoa Rica, which flows two kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the place into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 1½ m. in height. All along these rivers and lagoons are small huts [hayes] like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the second type (Fig. I, 8 *bis* p. 142[/]). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for men at lambing time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many scorched huts that border them which manage enlarge and darkens often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large industrial city.

The entire zone of pastures is covered with enclosures (cercados) in which the sheep are penned at night. The shelters are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Cipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to wait their sheep to grass in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are mass of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Cipaya have their "water houses" (^Aa-ã^Apyi), or estancias. (Pl. IV, A *bis* p. 213[/]) of which I have already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

[illegible] 66 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF26 Uru SF26

Cayanga: -
Chipaya

[illegible]

These who prefer to reside in the village go to their [illegible] at more or less close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their harvests. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the children from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous progeny.

Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20 sheep (ulla), an indefinite number of pigs (kuṛi), and several llamas (wanku). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut in the ear.

Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on [illegible] the pastures belonging to his saya (moiety). No markers mark the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the members of the other saya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

The shepherds have dogs /paku/, middling in size, with rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals, which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye without its astounded owner having time to intervene.

Sheep shearing (ʒipla) takes place at the same time for the whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

Like all pastoral people the ʒipaya are loath to consume the meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied by a certain religious ceremony.

[i.e., to their "water houses" or estancias -- Analyst]

/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone
injured by the herds of sheep, but where the ever poorer pastures are
gradually lost in the arid puna (Fl. II. A /see p. 211a/). The young
llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under
blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk
with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watch-
ing a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231 It is rather strange that the Cipaya do not raise guinea pigs,
as practically all the Indians of the hacienda do. It is true that the
Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not
[235] know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of
the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them be-
[242] cause I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few
cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic ani-
mals that the Cipaya have.

241 Agriculture. To the meager income which their flocks bring
[238] them the Cipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They
cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinua) (in the
Cipaya: kwala) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañahua).

The cultivated plots (akalla), which are common to the
whole tribe and not only to each of the ayus, are situated to the
southeast of the village /162/ and to the east of the flooded region
called the lakes. Their area is about 300 meters wide and one kilo-
meter long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet,
is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked
out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries.
Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten
meters wide and 300 meters long.

[203] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots
are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the chief
and under the responsibility of the alcaldes. If what they say is
accurate, the Cipaya practice crop rotation.

[212] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To till the
soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bent handles, a specimen

Bibliography 140 E-1 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 NYPL Lib NYPL
Carvajal

(Cont. from f

of which I was still able to observe (Fig. 2, p. [illegible]). Today they use long-handled hoes (azuna, taksa) of European make. The seeds are sown from corner to corner as holes they make with the instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Cipaya with an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The quinua which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequently of no account as a consequence of excessive drought or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

1. The Cipaya while traveling dig up a tuberosum (ullu) which they say is the root of the tola and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tuberosum (wakkapuna) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

Trade. The Cipaya make cheeses, which constitute their chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk. They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, quinua, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region of the Salinas, from Garcimendoza. The Cipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

[illegible]

[illegible]
neighboring Ayman villages to dispose of their small cheeses directly and especially to sell pig fat [illegible] which, after cheese, is their most important export. They undoubtedly trade wool, although I was not able to obtain any precise information on this matter. I only [illegible] that pieces of cloth [illegible] in a neighboring village were given to Tupuri women to be [illegible]. Formerly some Tupuri would go to have their wives cut [illegible] by women in the "[illegible]" [illegible] [illegible] They returned with some knowledge of Spanish and new names. [illegible] may vary from home but the Tupuri have all of amazing their eyes, to their poor condition and to make them disappointed. Since the sources have been abandoned, nothing remains to draw the Tupuri outside their "home grove."

The [illegible] of overproduction which rages over the whole world upset the economic life of the Tupuri. The low exchange, up to six the black exchange, on the New York exchange, led to the closing of the mines, the depression of the laborers, and the sale of cheese to a low. The [illegible] no longer came to Tupuri to [illegible] on cheese, and the tribe [illegible] to the canal from [illegible] and there is no chance or need for [illegible]. By virtue of the economic collapse of all territory the Tupuri themselves are the overpowering, and their peoples directly the lines of the one which constructs the basis of the great proportion of which field.

These particulars have as that be one of their apparent contrasts, their Indian material contrast relations with the outside world, and that the [illegible] of the tribe is not to [illegible] one might conclude from their material culture.

Hunting. Hunting and fishing play only an insignificant role in the life of the Tupuri. It is, for game they have a few kinds of [illegible] which make their appearance in the neighborhood of the village, [illegible] which abound in the numerous [illegible] which cut their pasture, and [illegible], a kind of small rodent a little bigger than a rat. Formerly it [illegible] that the latter constituted the principal food of the Tupuri.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P 151]

/See captions on next page./

Smithsonian—Chile E-6 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

Fig. 1.—Chipaya material culture. Utensils and tools.

a: Baked clay oven of the Aymara Indians.
b: Wooden spoon (*wara'a*).
c: Chipaya stove (from a sketch).
d: Adze with T-shaped blade.
e: One-hand cane weight used by the Aymara of Carangas to weigh the potatoes and salt they sell in Chipaya.
f: Chipaya ember.
g: Mortar (*wilki*) (from a sketch).
h: Stone hammer.
i: Axe with T-shaped tool and old hafting.
j: Stone vat (*takana*) for treading on quinua seeds (from a sketch).
k: Aymara bee from the village of Belen (Oruro Department).

Smithsonian--151 C-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF26 Uru M24

Carangas -
Chipaya
Aymara 95

/164 cont./

1. Posnansky (Ing. Arthur).
Los Chipayas de Carangas
/The Chipaya of Carangas/.
La Paz, Bolivia, 1918, p. 6;
La lengua "Chipaya" (Carangas, Bolivia) /The "Chipaya" Language (Carangas, Bolivia)/. La Paz, 1918, p. 2; "Nuevas investigaciones en Carangas (Bolivia) /New investigations in Carangas (Bolivia)/." Congrès international des Américanistes, Record of the XXI Session, Part II, held at Göteborg in 1924. Göteborg, 1925, p. 91.

the principal food of the Chipaya. In reality, during my entire stay I never saw a Chipaya catch one and when I asked them to get a few specimen for me, they demanded an exorbitant price from me, claiming the difficulty of this hunt. Toxo are rare in the territory properly called Chipaya; they are found only at a certain distance from the grassy zone behind the dunes. It is there that the Aymara come /165/ to capture them. Their method, as far as I can understand it from the explanations which have been given to me, is the following: they try to dislodge the toxo from the underground corridors where it stays by opening them with a blow from a shovel; then when it comes out they pursue it and beat it to death. In the plains undermined by the toxo, one can see the earth completely worked over by the hunters.

The Chipaya easily get hold of vicuñas by setting their dogs, swift and bloodthirsty beasts, on them. They themselves succeed in knocking down these animals with bolas, or throwing stones. This same weapon permits them to bring down water birds.

The fish to be found in the small ponds of the Chipaya plain are too miniscule for the word fishing to be used in connection with them. It is more as a pastime than for food that the Chipaya amuse

[i.e., The Toxo -- Analyst]

Smithsonian--182 E-5 (1930-1931) 1931. 1936 M'26 Uru M'26
Carangas--
Ch. paya.

/16b cont./ [illegible] themselves trapping them with small reed baskets, which are sold to them by the Indian peddlers who come from Andamarca or Orinoca. These openwork baskets are, it appears, real fish traps which the shore-dwellers on Poopó use. The Čipaya use them to hold small objects (Fig. 3, 9 /see p. 151/).

Preparation of Food

It is more to relieve my conscience than in the hope of presenting new facts that I shall devote a few lines to Čipaya cooking. Their food and the preparation of their dishes are exactly those which have so often been described in connection with the Aymara and Quichua.

The quinua cuticle has, as is known, a bitter and disagreeable taste. To free the seeds from it they are grilled in a dish, then soaked in a stone vat (taksira) (Fig. 2, *1* /see p. 150/) which the Čipaya buy from the people at Huachacalla who make them (1).

1. The vats are sometimes of baked clay.

When the seeds have been softened, a woman takes a standing position in this vat and leaning against a wall, she husks them by turning the lower part of her body (Pl. V, A /see p. 214/). To see them execute this strange gymnastic is a picturesque spectacle. The seeds submitted to this treatment are then spread on a blanket and winnowed by hand.

The quinua is used to prepare a soup or, reduced to meal (akxal'ipe), a pap. Leaves (čaffi) of this plant or of cañagua are cooked in water like spinach greens. Maize (tara) is eaten roasted (tuars-tara) or boiled the same as beans. The Čipaya eat /166/ potatoes (čxuta), as everywhere on the altiplano, in the form of čuño.

/166 cont./

252 Too many authors have spoken of the preparation of these potatoes exposed to frost and dried for it to be necessary for me to linger on
[439] it. This effort would be all the more superfluous since the čuño which the Čipaya consume is bought from the Aymara. Several times I saw the Čipaya make a paste of čuño by crushing them in
[412] their mortar. The latter is a flat stone (tʷax), slightly sloping, on which the grinding is done with the help of another flat stone (muruku) which goes and comes (Fig. 2, G /see p. 150/).

Meat is always boiled, probably because of the fuel, which burns without a flame or gives off, in the case of tola, an acrid smoke.

264 The food is served in bowls (čua) (Fig. 3, D /see p. 155/);
312 liquids are taken with a spoon (wisi'a) (Fig. 2, B) and solids with the hand. At feasts the host spreads out the dishes he is offering to his guests on a blanket, and the latter take them in a flap of their clothes.

273 Preparation of chicha from quinua. After being husked, quinua seeds are roasted again. They are then reduced to flour, from which a bowlful is taken out and conscientiously chewed by a woman. The portion soaked with saliva is mixed with the rest of the flour which has been spread on a skin. The whole is boiled and then poured into a large vat to which more hot water is added. The liquid is left to ferment for four days. The drink (kˇesi) thus obtained resembles muddy water and is very slightly alcoholic.

234 Production of cheeses. Although the cheese industry is in the foreground of the economic activity of the Čipaya, the technique used is one of the most rudimentary. The rennet is prepared with a piece of fetus tripe of a llama or vicuña which is soaked in water. It is enough to pour a little of this liquid into sheep's milk to turn it into cheese. The casein, after having been pressed between the
[439] hands, is put into small straw rings which are superimposed and separated each time by a fragment of palm-tree bark, a material which is used to wrap the small packs of coca which the Aymara sell to the Čipaya. When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is

/166 cont./ When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is firmly bound with a wool rope and left to drip for a certain number of days. These cheeses, white and tasteless, are seasoned with salt which the Čipaya get from the great salt deposits which spread out about 30 kilometers from their village. /167/ /Figure 3 appears here./

/168/ Weapons

The small number of weapons that the Čipaya have is a direct consequence of the insignificance of hunting in their economy. As for war, it is an unknown phenomenon for them. Who would dream of coming to pick a fight with them for possession of the sand dunes or stunted pastures? The only occasions for giving free rein to their bellicose instincts are the festivals. The alcohol they absorb then accentuates the underhand rivalry of the sayas among themselves, and, awakening passions, leads them to often bloody fights. I do not know if any weapons other than sticks and fists enter into play in this case.

The sling (kxorawa) (Fig. 4, A /see p. 157/), which is the weapon par excellence of the Indians of the altiplano, has only a peacable use in Chipaya: it is used to hurl lumps of earth at llamas or sheep to prevent them from straying from the flock or from the route being followed. It is possible that the Čipaya might have recourse to the sling when they have some quarrels with the people of the other saya, but I was never able to get particulars on this subject. Another circumstance contributes to making the sling of the Čipaya a harmless instrument: the lack of stones able to serve as projectiles.

The bolas of the Čipaya play a role close to that of the sling: they permit them to catch the sheep. The most common type is the ordinary bola. The stones instead of being caught in a leather sheath, as is the case with the archaeological specimens (Fig. 4, D-B), are furnished with a groove which prevents the rope from slipping (Fig. 4, J).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 156]

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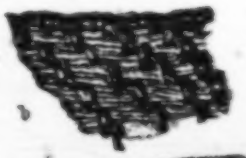

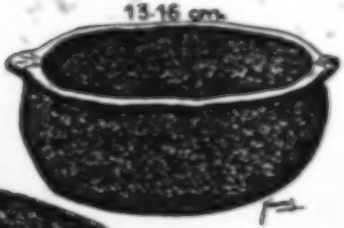

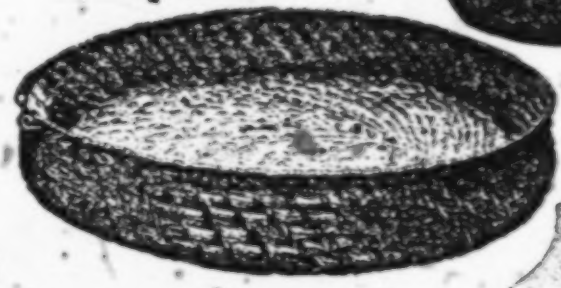

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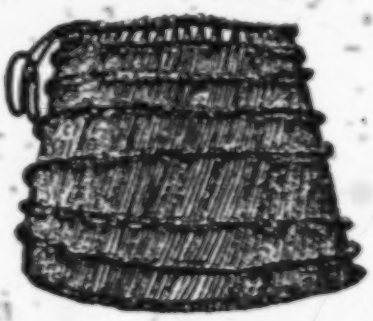

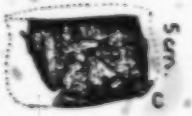

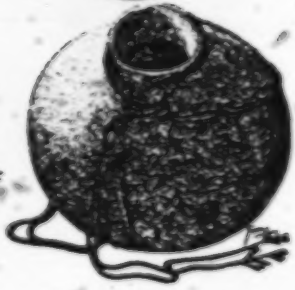

/See captions on next page./

/167 cont./

Fig. 3. – Čipaya material culture. Basketry and pottery.

285 A: Basket with spiral basketwork used as a winnowing basket by the Čipaya; b: detail of the technique.

224 B: Fish-trap basket of the shore-dwellers of the Poopó marshes, used by the Čipaya to hold small objects.

415 C: Fragments of a broken bowl sewn together.

D: Čipaya bowl (čun).

E: Jug (lüĭ) reminiscent of the old aryballus, bought in Chipaya but of Aymara manufacture.

F: Jug (lüĭ) of old type (from a sketch).

/168 cont./

In hunting water birds the Čipaya use a straw rope ending with a knot the size of a fist (Fig. 4, C /see p. 157/). This weapon corresponds exactly to the bola perdida of the ancient Patagonians, with the difference that among the latter the terminal ball was of stone. Aside from this the principle of these two weapons is the same. This is the first time that the bola perdida has been found elsewhere than at the southern end of South America. Its presence among the Čipaya is one more argument in favor of the archaic character of this culture trait.

The Uro Indians of the Desaguadero hunt the water birds which swarm in the totorales with bolas, two weights of which are wooden, and the third a small pyriform stone. The rope of this projectile is rolled up in very tough black thread. If the weapon does not reach its goal it floats on the water, and the Indians have only to pick it up with their balsas. /169/ /Figure 4 appears here./

/170/ Clothing

Men's wear. The essential piece of men's wear is a square shirt (ira) made of thick, stiff woolen cloth. It is a kind of sack with openings for the head and arms (Fig. 5, G /see p. 163/). As a result of its width the upper part of this shirt falls on the shoulders practically down to the elbow. The ira was formerly the only garment of the Čipaya, as it still is for young boys up to the age of ten. At a doubtlessly recent date, the Čipaya adopted the pants that they wear under their tunic. By making the latter bunch at the waist on a cord which takes the place of a belt for them, they have transformed it into a blouse, while keeping its original length which was enough to cover them down to mid-leg. The ira is the best product of Čipaya textile art. The decoration of this article of clothing invariably consists of a blue border and small brown and white strips separated by black lines. None of these dyes is aniline.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 158]

Caraqgas -
Chipaya

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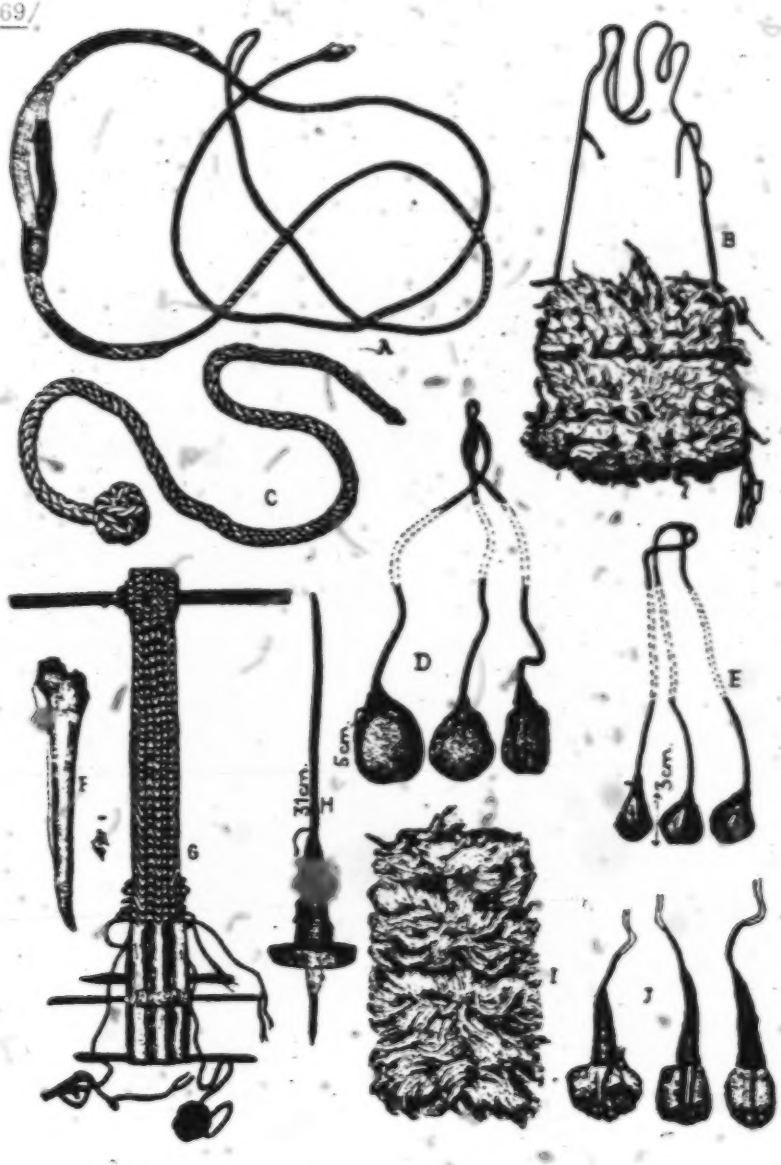

/See captions on next page./

Carangas-
Chipaya

/169 cont./

283
286
293
411
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102

Fig. 4.—Čipaya material culture. Weapons and technology.

A: Čipaya sling.

B: Bag (kāls) covered with white, black, and red tufts forming a sort of velvet.

C: Čipaya bola perdida.

D-E: Pre-Columbian bolas.

F: Weaver's dagger (wiña), of bone.

G: Čipaya loom for weaving women's belts (tsai).

H: Spindle with wooden weight /whorl/ (t'eri).

I: Bag (kāls) made from the skin of a llama's neck.

J: Weights of a modern Čipaya bola.

/170 cont./

294 286 These shirts[3] are woven on old native looms according to a process which I would not be able to describe in a better way than through the words of the old Spanish chronicler. Cobo (1): "Over the

1. Historia del nuevo mundo.
Vol. IV. p. 160.

guaras (loincloth) the Indians put on an article of clothing without sleeve or collar, which they call uncu and we camiseta because of its resemblance to our shirts. Each of these garments is separately woven, for they do not know about making long strips of cloth as we do and then cutting them. The fabric from which they make this shirt is like a piece of ticking. It is three palmes /handbreadths/ wide and two varas (about 1.65 meters) long. They make the neck opening on the loom itself so that they will not have to cut it; when they take it off the loom they have nothing to do but fold it and sew the sides with the same thread they used for weaving, exactly as if it were a sack. They are careful to leave a space open on the sewn-up sides for the arms. This garment falls down to three or four fingers more or less above the knees." Cobo would have been able to complete his description, otherwise so exact, by adding that from the neck opening (ir(a)-k'ora), the thread of the weft, which has ended up in the middle of the cloth, is made to come back on itself. Proceeding thus on both sides for a certain length, the desired slit is obtained. Among the Chipaya the edges are crudely embroidered with yellow thread, the same moreover as the one which is used to sew the two sides of the shirt. The sewing stitches are treated as ornamentation.

291 [105] /171/ Early travelers often mention the cloak when they describe the attire of the highlanders of Peru and Bolivia. This garment has completely disappeared from this region, vanquished by the poncho which, in contrast, is not in evidence either in the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries. In Chipaya the cloak (1)

3 [i.e., The men's shirts made of stiff woolen cloth - Analyst]

2:Métraux--159 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga:-
Cajamarca

291 /171 cont./

1. The specimen at the University of Tucumán is 1 meter long and 87 cm. wide.

(yakol'a) of pre-Columbian times still competes with the poncho. This fact thus comes to the support of Montell's thesis (2), which

[113] 2. Montell, Gösta. "Le vrai poncho, son origine post-colombienne /The True Poncho, Its Post-Columbian Origin/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Vol. XVII. 1925; Dress and Ornaments in Ancient Peru. Göteborg. 1929. pp. 237-246.

sees the poncho as a practically modern culture trait, at least for
[394] Peru. The Cipaya cloak is made of two strips of material sewn to-
291 gether and bound with piping. It is point for point the ancient
191 Aymara llacolla of which Cobo (3) has left us a description. In the

[113] 3. Cobo (Bernabé). Historia del nuevo mundo (Published for the first time with notes and commentaries by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada). Sevilla. 1893. Vol. IV. p. 160: "The cloak takes less work: they make it from two pieces, with a seam in the middle, two varas and a cuarta long, and a vara and three cuarta wide; it ends with four points or corners, like a woolen blanket /manta/ or coverlet, and because of

Carangas — Chipaya

this we call it manta, although the name the Indians give it is yacolla." /Cited in Spanish./

In the Museum of Ethnography in Göteborg there is a magnificent piece of cloth from the coast of Peru which presents the same characteristics as the modern Čipaya cloaks and which was certainly used in the same way. The Čipaya ponchos are very short and display no peculiarities. Their only decoration is the strips of colors.

The men's outfit is completed by a knitted wool helmet with two flaps which cover the ears (Fig. 5, C /see p. 163/). This is the famous Aymara chullo. The famous felt hats (skara) worn by both sexes in the entire Andean region has become more and more widespread in Chipaya as well as the pants. They have not yet succeeded in destroying the picturesque archaism of the area. The material for the pants is made in the village of Chipaya on a treadle loom of the European type.

Bags (kāls) are a part of Čipaya clothing because they are never separated from it. These bags, which are worn thrust through the belt, are of various kinds. There are small ones with vivid colors and geometric ornamentation, others which are simpler with black lines on a grey background, and finally large ones covered with a kind of velvet, i.e., with tufts of fine wool slipped into the weave (Fig. 4, B /see p. 157/). The last are the most expensive. I also bought in Chipaya small leather pouches /172/ made of the skin of a young llama's neck pulled off without a side incision and with the fur (Fig. 4, I).

Women's dress. The costume of the women has remained as it was several centuries ago, and it is the main factor which contributes to giving Chipaya its so clearly pre-Columbian look. Here also the general law which will have it that women, as soon as we abandon our urban centers, remain attached to tradition and to old ways more faithfully than men is verified.

Caranga:-
Chipaya

/172 cont./

291 Next to the skin the women wear a square shirt (almil'a), which is identical in form to the masculine shirt (ira), although narrower (Fig. 5, B /see p. 163/). It is wide enough to make the shoulder line fall on the arm. Blue sleeves are sewn to the shirt. This accessory is modern as is proved by the name mankasa (from the Spanish: manga, sleeve) by which the Indians call it.

The Čipaya women wrap their bodies in a large piece of cloth (urku) which they pass under the arms and the ends of which, lifted to the shoulders, are held together with a cactus spine or a silver pin (kits, pãz-kits). This tunic is held at the waist by a large belt invariably decorated with brown and black chevrons (Pl. III, C /see p. 212/). Most of the women sew the lower part of this garment from the waist down on the side so as to make a skirt. This [179] innovation, post-Columbian in origin, dates from the beginning of [347] the Conquest and was imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities to safeguard the decency of their flock.

The urku is made of material woven with great care, brown or black in color and ribbed. It is always adorned above and below with a beige strip with white stripes. A specimen at the Museum of Ethnography at the University of Tucumán measures 1.58 meters by 1.36 meters. Over this tunic is thrown a long brown or black mantle (talu) which falls down the back to the knees and which is pinned at the breast. This garment is still worn by all the women of [191] the Andean region (lliclla), but whereas the Aymara and Quichua [53] Indians like to make it with varied motifs and bright colors alternating, the Čipaya are satisfied to decorate it with a white strip crossed with fine dark stripes (Pl. I, A,B,C /see p. 210/). The mantle of the Čipaya women is, in addition, much longer than that of the other [171] Indian women of the altiplano. It is only on the banks of the Titicaca that I met some women whose lliclla were as long as in Chipaya. These Indian women no doubt came from some distant village in the interior.

Cuzanga
Chipaya

/172 cont./

291 To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Cipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here/ /174/ a folded cloth (unkuña) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric [53] identical to the mantle like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip.

Style of Wearing the Hair

302 The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (ikuru) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each other by small strings. On these strings are hung small bronze 301 pendants (laurake), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/).

The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kits, pĩz-kits, ĸxola), the round flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 163/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass [71] beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two culture traits which are completely typical of Andean culture.

302 The women know no other toilette other than the care given their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity [312] [324] [339] of redoing their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few friend, who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kᵋara) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig bristle (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

Smithsonian -- 163 F-5 (1930-1931) 1955, 1956 NPM Uno NPM
Cerámica -
Calpapa

/173/

/See captions on next page./

Zürich-Jos-1978 E-5 (1970-1971) 1855, 1858 NFGs Uns NFGs
Cayapo-
C.A. Jay-2

P[illegible]'s cont./

Fig. 3. – Ĉipaya material culture. Clothing and accessories.

A: Dukkeh sprayed with glue brush.
B: Woman's shirt of white wool (ámsi'ɛ).
C: Cap of knitted wool (ʔɔ̀ɔ̀'ɛ).
D: Pin (pɛ̀ɛ-kpɔ) which the Ĉipaya women stick in their hair.
E: Hairbrush (kʷɛ̀ɛ or ʔɛ̀ɛnɛ̀ɛ) of resin.
F: Hairbrush of pig bristle.
G: Man's tunic (ɛ̀ɛ).

Bandelier—Ida 0-6 (1892-931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

/To room./

urous urine. This liquid, which smells horribly of ammonia, is an excellent cream of grease, the only thing which can give some appearance to their greasy mop. This peculiar washing made me understand the reason why there is a receptacle in a corner of all the Čipaya huts which the master of the house used as a chamber pot and whose contents he guards with care. When I assert that this violente is the only one which the Čipaya women practice, I exaggerate nothing. Throughout their lives they never wash and their skin is covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Their clothes are equally unclean and tattered and only during festivals do they put on a new aksu or mantle. /5/ /Figure 6 appears here./

/Tech/ Technology

Ceramics. The pottery of the Čipaya Indians is not indigenous. It comes to them from the Aymara who trade it (Fig. 6 /see p. 165/). The center of this industry is situated near Parinacota in Carangas province where banks of clayey earth are found. I shall always regret not having been able to visit this locality to observe the making of ceramics on the spot. Without any doubt I should have discovered there the survival of ancient pre-Columbian techniques since the form of the vessels and jugs coming from this place is exactly that with which we are familiar from Andean archaeology. Aryballus (/5/) are still shaped there as in the times of the Inca empire, and other receptacles which reproduce ancient types characteristic of this part of the altipano (Fig. 3, E-F /see p. 155/). It is not only in the style of these ceramics that we ascertain the influence of pre-Columbian models, but in the very manner in which the aryballus is carried on the back is a continuation of old Inca traditions. By means of a rope of llama wool ingeniously interlaced, the women bear the large aryballoid jugs on the back, exactly like the Indian depicted on a Chimu vase.

[Text continues on P. 166]

2/Métraux--165 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas -
Chipaya
Machaca SF5

/See captions on next page./

2:Mirsus--Mile E-5 (1930-1931) 1930, 1931 1/2e Ure 1/2e
Cavagna
Cupeyo
Aymara 1/2

/175 cont./

Fig. 6.—Cupeyo material culture. Ceramics

A: Small jug of Aymara origin used by the Cupeyo.
B: Aryballoid jug (III) imported from Parinacota (Carangas Province) (from a sketch).
C: Small pot (III) imported from Parinacota.
D: Jar imported from Parinacota (from a sketch made from life).
E: Larger, slightly asymmetrical jar imported from Parinacota;
b: detail of one of the ornaments on the neck.
F: Small jar made without a potter's wheel (Chipaya).

/178 cont./

Besides these vessels of molten form which have not been shaped with the help of a potter's wheel, the Cipaya also typically produced receptacles, the technique of which is more advanced and influenced by European civilization. These vessels are produced in quantity in various regions of the altiplano and bear trademarks.

The Cipaya take good care of their receptacles, each piece of which represents a pecuniary sacrifice for them; hence many pots for daily use are wrapped in a protective sheath of embossed leather (Fig. 6, C /see p. 146/).

The names (maska, ñiñ, ñiñ yuru, ñiñ, yakuna) that the Cipaya give the different pieces of pottery they use are always Aymara. One can deduce from this that the Uro did not know this industry or that they have been dependent on the Aymara for a long time in this respect.

Spinning. The raw sheep's wool (ñiñ-lu ta) or llama wool (awal-lluma) is rolled around the left arm and spun by means of a spindle (t'ant'i) (Fig. 6, H /see p. 157/). The spindle stick is not surmounted by any enlargement. The weight /whorl/ (wallu) is now of turned wood, but I was still able to obtain two specimens crudely carved with a knife.

To spin, a bit of wool is pulled out and attached to the spindle by a /177/ shipment. The movement communicated to the spindle is made by holding the thumb against the index and middle finger of the left hand, from right to left. When the spindle has begun to turn, the male or female spinner rapidly brings the right hand toward the left, following the thread (kaxni) being formed. This movement is to even the thread. Once the hands are together, he draws out the wool and repeats the twisting movement. The spindle is suspended at the end of the thread, or, when the spinner is seated, it turns in a bowl (Pl. V, B /see p. 214/). When a certain length of thread has been obtained it is unrolled from the top part of the spindle and rolled on below. A new loop is made and the spindle is placed in action again in the way indicated. The threads obtained by this method are generally very thin. For weaving

[illegible]

[illegible] is a more satisfactory to have thicker ones. With this aim two are twisted together during all operations which is analogous but consists of different movements. The rotation movement corresponding to the spindle is carried out with the fist of the hand. The spinner, threatening the spindle to start, follows the thread with her right hand until it comes up to the spindle when she stops it to make it turn again.

Weaving. The loom (Fig. 4, C *[illegible]*) is essentially composed of two sticks between which the warp threads run. The latter are not directly fastened to the sticks, but to a cord stretched along the latter. To weave, the Indian women begins by tying the forepart of the loom to two short sticks (*[illegible]*) stuck in the ground in front of which the sits down (Fig. 3, C *[illegible]*). Then she holds out the warp while tying the other end to her own body by means of a small cord (*[illegible]*) passed around her waist. The alternate raising of the warp threads (*[illegible]*) is done, as usual, with the help of small loops of thread placed between two wooden sticks (*[illegible]*). These crossing is maintained thanks to a stick (*[illegible]*) placed behind this network. The motions of the Indian during the weaving operation can be broken down as follows: with the thumb of the right hand she passes on the warp threads behind the network of small loops to make the upper threads pass under. This motion ended she slides a wooden knife (*[illegible]*) pointed at both ends, behind the network, between the warp threads. She put it edgewise and with a beat-slugger (Fig. 4, f) she packs and presses together the threads which have just crossed. She then darts through her shuttle (*[illegible]*), which is nothing but a cloth stick around which she has rolled the weft thread (*[illegible]*). To cross the warp threads again, with the beat slugger (*[illegible]*) she lift the lower threads over the network, passes her wooden knife through again, and makes /176/ her shuttle again pass through the half-opening between the warp threads and begins again the operation described. The material is begun at the two end of the loom and ends in the middle of the piece.

Fig. 7. — Weaving with two weft threads going in contrary directions.

/178 cont./

286
294
[113]

1. Rosen (Eric von), Archaeological researches on the frontier of Argentina and Bolivia in 1901-1902. Stockholm, 1904, Pl. III, Fig. 1.

[197] Like the latter, it is a rather crude imitation of old Spanish models. In Chipaya it was always a man who used this loom, while those of the native type were strictly reserved for the women. The designs of the cloth produced on these treadle looms very much recall those of our mills:: those with stripes, chevrons, and squares and of a dark color oscillating between grey, black, or brown. These materials are only used for cut garments, or European in origin, such as pants and jackets.

286
531 /179/ The textile art of the Čipaya is fairly poor, inferior even to that of the Uro of Ancoaqui. We have already seen that the ornamentation of the different pieces of their national costume is limited to white borders or stripes of two or three colors. Most of
[197] their coca bags are hardly more varied in their decoration with the exception of a few rather small ones in bright colors which are a faithful imitation of the coca sacks which are widespread among the
286 Aymara. The few rare Čipaya fabrics which have designs are them-
197 selves also nothing but bad copies of current Aymara models. The lack of initiative and experience of the Čipaya women is so great in this respect that they will hardly weave pieces of material with such a decoration however uncomplicated unless the latter have been begun in a neighboring Aymara village. They continue them exactly as a little girl who has been made a part of the work. These lessons in weaving given to the Čipaya women by their neighbors of a different race is a peculiar example of the way in which cultural exchanges between tribes can come about. I must add that the fabrics,
[464] the weaving of which the Aymara entrust to the Čipaya women do not remain the property of the latter, who work on them only as laborers and badly paid ones at that.

/179 cont./

283 Rope-making. Ropes (koč, koms) are made of llama wool or straw, the former twisted or braided. To make them, the Čipaya take a bundle of raw wool in the right hand and twist it by hand and gradually roll around a ring held in the left hand. The ropes and cords of wool (kxiya, tuanda) serve as belts for the men or are used to fasten loads on the backs of llamas.

Straw ropes are used practically exclusively in the construction of houses, where they tie the different pieces of the framework of the roof and fasten down the straw which covers it.

[462] These ropes are made by the women: they hammer each handful of straw on the back of their overturned grindstones with a round rock provided with depressions which facilitate handling it. The stalks once softened are moistened. The woman twists some of them to make a strand (pʰit-čekta). She does the same with another pinch, then applies a rotating motion between her palms to these two strands. So that the straw will not dry out during the process, she holds it sheltered under a blanket and herself dampens her hands frequently.

285 Basket-making. Basket-making is a local industry in Chipaya. /180/ Their circular baskets (pats patz) with a small perpendicular rim are all of one type although of different sizes (Fig. 3, A /see p. 155/). They are composed of small coils of straw turned upon themselves in a spiral and held together by leather ties (Fig. 3, A, B). This technique is the one that ethnographers in the English language call "coiled."

287 439 The small openwork baskets (čiñi šepa) are, it appears, fish traps which the Čipaya buy from the people of Orinoca or Andamarca (villages situated near the banks of the Poopó).

2:Métraux--171 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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Chipaya

/180 cont./

Musical Instruments

[534] [14] The musical instruments that I got among the Čipaya have been the subject of a detailed monograph by Mr. Izikowitz, assistant at the Museum of Göteborg and an outstanding specialist in that field. I am allowing myself to refer the reader to this work (1), as

[113]

1. Izikowitz (K.G.). "Les instruments de musique des Indiens Chipaya /The musical instruments of the Čipaya Indians/." Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

he will find only a brief summary of it here.

Membranophones. There is not one family in Chipaya which [171] does not have at least one drum. This instrument, very common on the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, in Chipaya presents the peculiarity of having a square shape (Fig. 8, A /see p. 173/). It is made up of a wooden frame whose sides, made of small boards brought together with tenons, are about 20 centimeters long and six [239] to seven centimeters high. This skeleton is covered on its two faces with sheep or llama skin stretched by means of ligatures passed in a zigzag across the holes in the membrane. Along the latter there has been fastened a drum cord, or a string holding a splinter of wood which hits the membrane. They play the drum by holding its handle in the left hand and beating it with a single drumstick, the enlargement at the end of which is covered with rags.

[126] I was able to acquire a round drum in Čipaya (Fig. 8, E). The mounting is formed by a piece of flexible wood bent into a ring, with the ends sewn together by means of leather thongs. This specimen measures 37 cm. in diameter and nine cm. in height.

/180 cont./

[534 616] The saya taxata (west) owns a very old, very large drum, the only one of its kind in the village; unfortunately, the Indians did not want to sell it to me at any price, alleging that it was the property of the whole community. Its construction was, from what I could see, similar to that of the round tambourine which I have just described. A very special importance devolved on this drum during the festival /181/ /Figure 8 appears here/ /182/ of the Comadres. [198] During the whole day it remained hanging from a flagstaff and was the object, at the same time as the standard, of real worship.

The drum bears in Čipaya the Spanish name caja. We should not conclude from this that the instrument is of Spanish origin among them. Some details at the most are of post-Columbian origin, but they are not numerous. The "drum cord," for example, is certainly an element added to it in the course of the centuries which followed [194] the conquest. It is possible that for lack of flexible wood to make round drums, the Čipaya were obliged to make them with boards from old boxes and consequently to modify the original type.

Wind instruments.

[237] Trumpets. Čipaya trumpets are of the most rudimentary kind: they are made up of a cow's horn sawed off near the point and of a bell formed of the dried tail of the same quadruped.

Only very rarely did I see the Čipaya make use of this instrument, which makes a hollow sound resembling the lowing of one in [196] the state of having breath of exceptional power. The trumpets which figure in all the festivals play the role of ritual or decorative accessories in them. They are placed in front of the sacred sheaves or on the table in front of the heads of the sacrificed animals. They bear the name t^{h}oti in Čipaya.

Clarinets (Fig. 8, F /see p. 173/), which like trumpets have a cow horn for a bell, also have a reed mouthpiece from which a small tongue has been cut out and smoothed to make it more flexible. So that it would be easier to play on, it has been raised by means of a string passing under its lower part. It is made to vibrate by

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 174]

Canangas—
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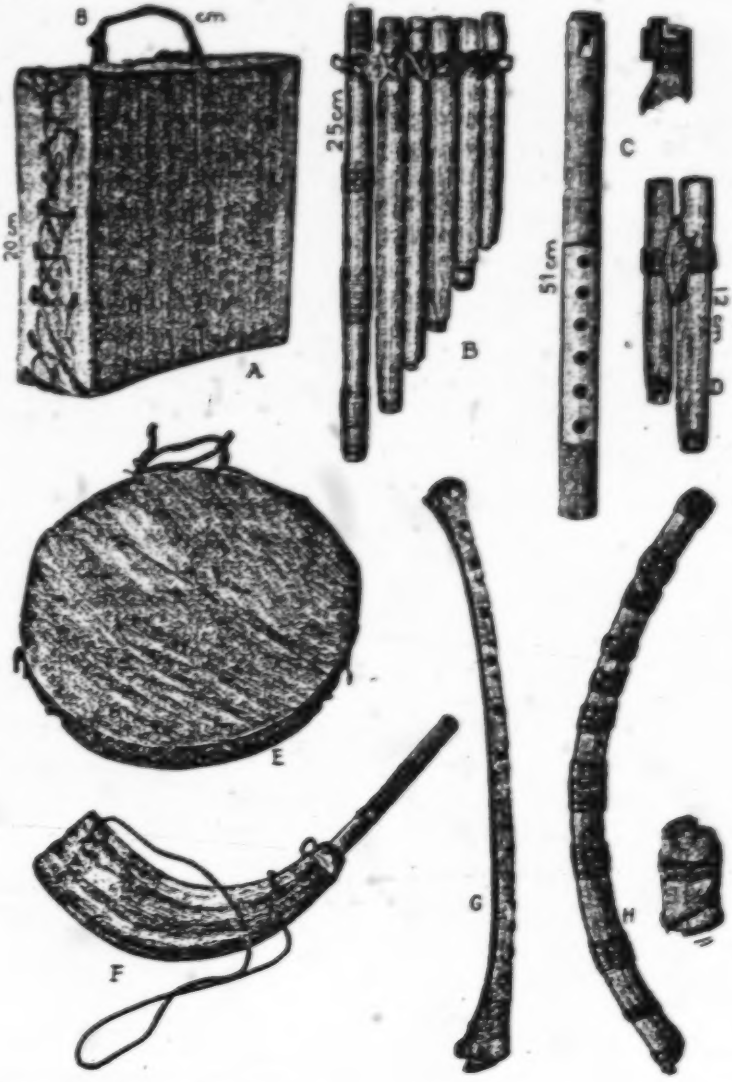

[237] →

/See captions on next page./

/181 cont./

534 Fig. 8.—Cipaya material culture. Musical instruments.

A: Square drum.
B: Syrinx.
C: Pinkul'u, flute with mouthpiece of the Indians of the altiplano and section of the mouthpiece.
D: Syrinx with two pipes.
E: Circular drum.
F: Clarinet (t^{h}oti).
[239] G: Flute with mouthpiece made from the wing bone of a condor.
H: Bent flute with mouthpiece.

/182 cont./

534 inserting practically the whole tube in the mouth. This instrument, clearly post-Columbian, is rather rare in Chipaya. The Indians part with it willingly, attributing to it only minimal value. They play it for the pleasure of making noise without any musical pretension.

[171] The quena. The abundance of different kinds of flutes may be considered typical of the Indian music of South America. This variety is displayed even among the Čipaya. One finds here the quena, different sorts of flutes with mouthpieces, and lastly Panpipes, or the syrinx.

Quena is the old Quichua word for the ancient long flute of

[171] Peru. As the quena of the Čipaya are exactly the same as those of the /183/ Aymara or the Quichua, we have only to reproduce here what d'Harcourt says on the subject of the latter: "This flute is open at both /Figure 9 and 10 appear here/ /184/ ends. A square opening has been carved in a portion of the upper end of the instrument. The edge of the opening is very thin, and it is blown against while the lower lip practically closes the opening. One must place the lips in such a way as to allow a stream of air to meet the edge of the opening. Before one is used to playing this instrument, it is very difficult to adjust one's breath and find the suitable position, all the more so as it changes according to the tones."

As bamboos and reeds split easily in these basically dry regions and, on the other hand, the raw material for these instruments comes from faraway places, it is easy to understand the care with which the Indians take care of them and the value which they attach to them. The quena I collected are carefully strengthened with undressed leather thongs and the interstices have been glued with so much care that no breath of air can escape and render the flute unusable.

The quena (Fig. 9 /see p. 175/) has six holes and a hole for the thumb at the bottom. All are on the lower part of the instrument. If we start from the mouthpiece and begin with the upper hole, the respective distance of the holes, calculated in centimeters, is the following (Fig. 10, b /see p. 175/):

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 176]

/183 cont./

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[284]

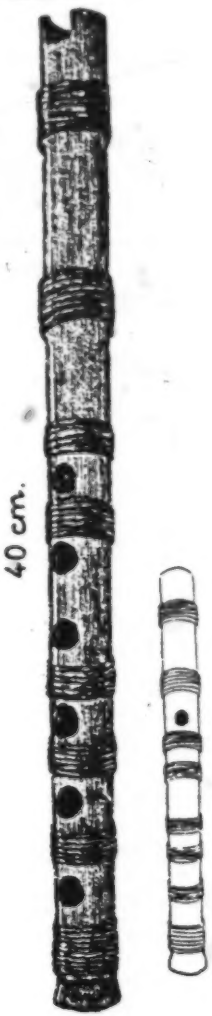

Fig. 9. – Quena.

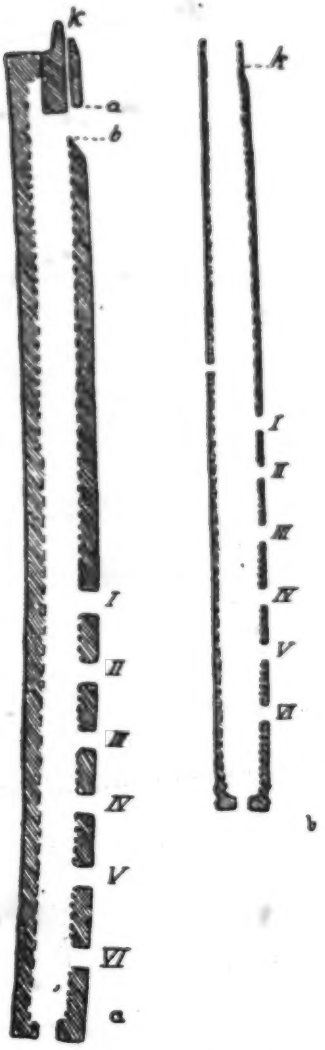

Fig. 10. – a: Cross section of a flute with mouthpiece;
b: Cross section of a quena.

/184 cont./

534

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Thumb
19.8	22.6	25.7	28.9	31.8	35.0	1.65

The total length of the flute is 39.8 cm.

[177] We do not find the same disposition of the holes on pre-Spanish quena; according to all probability European influence has played a part here.

Flutes with mouthpieces. When the quena is played the current of air is shaped and directed with the lips and must be conducted against the beveled edge of the mouth to break up there and set the column of air in the pipe vibrating. For flutes with mouthpieces (Fig. 11) the formation of the current of air and the direction given to it are produced automatically; it is sufficient to blow and to control the strength of the air current. The air is led through a "vent" (see Figure 10, a /see p. 175/, which shows us a flute with mouthpiece in section) composed of the space between the walls of the pipe and a block of some material inserted in the opening of the flute. The air passes through this channel and strikes against the lower brim (lip).

[824] Čipaya flutes with mouthpieces are made of tola (Baccharis tola). These Indians /185/ make them themselves, taking an old one as a model to give them the distance between the holes. These flutes are made of a branch which is split along its entire length. The two halves are hollowed out and then joined again in such a way that the air cannot escape. Where a perfect joint could not be made, the chinks have been sealed with resin. Since it is difficult with the bushes at the disposal of the Čipaya to come across straight branches, most of the flutes are not straight. Some even have the shape of a segment of a circle, a form which is perhaps intentional (Fig. 8, H /see p. 173/).

Fig. 11. Flute with mouthpiece.

/185 cont./

534 In La Musique des Incas /The Music of the Incas/,
[113] R. d'Harcourt reproduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

While examining the contents of one of the huts that the
[237] Chipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 8, G /see p. 173/). The block inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to here are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkul'u, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pinkul'u, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The
[191] [839] Chipaya pinkul'u are identical and without doubt come from some Bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The tola flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these perfected instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-
[192] Chipaya dialect, täks, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used for /186/ secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

533 While there are very few Chipaya who know how to play the
535 quena, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The dancers accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may also play a little melody from time to time while seated.

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Chipaya

/186 cont./

534 Panpipes. The Čipaya Indians have two types of Panpipes. The first (maio) is extremely simple. It is composed of two tubes of unequal length, closed at one end and tied together with a wool cord (Fig. 8, D /see p. 173/). One of the tubes is 10 cm. long and the other 12.1 cm. This instrument was a particularly difficult [199] acquisition for me. There was only one specimen in the whole village, and it was moreover the property of the mayordomo, the official entrusted with maintaining places and objects of worship. He only resigned himself to giving it to me after much hesitation. Even before I had acquired this object it had been mentioned to me as a venerable piece. I had only one occasion to see it in use: this was at the Carniva, a particularly solemn and clearly pagan festival.

[126] One Čipaya had the happy idea of selling me a whole series of syrinxes which present several very interesting peculiarities. They are composed of a single row of bamboo tubes (five or seven) closed by a natural node and held inserted between two sticks themselves joined by a crossed string. Each of these pipes is provided on one side with a splinter of bamboo cut obliquely on its lower part (Fig. 8, B).

What is the purpose of this arrangement, which has not been found on any other Panpipes in the Old or New World? Mr. Izikowitz conjectures that it is a question of accessories of no practical value which have been substituted for a second series of tubes. This [114] hypothesis appears very far-fetched to me, and I ask myself if it is not a matter here of the fantasy of a flute-maker who thought of rein- [191] forcing the ligature by this means. The latter, in contrast, merits our attention: it is actually a type which has only been found at Arica in the Andean region, but which still has a wide distribution in the west of the Amazon basin. Let us add that this ligature is always used for flutes with a single series of tubes.

The syrinxes which I have just described are apparently very [191] old specimens. I have seen newer ones among the Čipaya of the type common among the Aymara and among all the Indians of the altiplano in general.

534 the altiplano in general. The ligature in this case is made of a reed rolled around the two rows of pipes.

When the Indian who sold me the old syrinxes wanted to show me how to use them, he was careful to take two of them and to play them by placing one on the other so as to have actually a Panpipe with two series of pipes.

[177] Few Čipaya play the syrinx, the few who were capable of it having learned it from the Aymara, and I noticed that during festivals it was almost always some Indians of this race who made the slightly hoarse sounds of this instrument resound. The Čipaya give it the name taks or use the Aymara term phusa.

[439] String instruments. The only string instruments of the Čipaya are manufactured guitars which come to them through the intermediary of Aymara traders.

The conclusion which Mr. Izikowitz draws from his study on Čipaya instruments are the following:

1) These Indians lack idiophones and original string instruments.

[177] 2) They have adopted flutes with mouthpieces and clarinets from the Europeans.

3) In the post-Columbian period they changed the shape of their drums which have become square and are also provided with a drum cord.

4) The trumpets are probably old but the material is entirely modern.

[179] 5) The Čipaya received from the Aymara the quena, an old, pre-Columbian instrument whose system of holes has, however, been modified under the influence of European flutes.

6) They have two kinds of syrinxes which appear of a type more archaic than the modern Andean Panpipes and even than the archaeological flutes with two series of tubes. The Čipaya syrinx, however, seems to have been modified in one way or another under the influence of the syrinx with a double series of tubes; only in this way can one explain its peculiar form. With the exception of the

/187 cont./ With the exception of the
534 bamboo splinters placed against each tube, these syrinxes are very
[191] like the rather similar ones which have been discovered at Arica and also like the Panpipes used by the Indians of the area northeast of the Andes in our day.

As for the small syrinx with two tubes, it is too simple an instrument to be considered at great length. In any case, up to the present its equivalent has been found nowhere.

[197] /188/ Aymara influence and through its medium that of Europeans have been strongly exerted on their musical instruments, just as on the rest of their culture. This penetration can be very simply explained when one thinks that aside from tola, they have no other material out of which they could make a musical instrument, and that they are obliged to import those that they use for their festivals.

Objects for purely ceremonial use

796 There are a certain number of objects which I acquired among the Čipaya, whose use is purely ceremonial and which should be
[126] examined in a special chapter. These are, in the first place, the festive slings, several specimens of which I was able to get (1).

1. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, B.

These slings are passed over the wrist or carried crossed on the chest of individuals participating in the dances during great clan or tribal
[301] festivals. Another accessory of the Indians on these occasions is the
[237] wig made of horsehair (2).

2. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, C.

4 /188 cont./
796
415 Some families still have kʷeru, i.e., large wooden mugs (3),

3. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII, Pl. XVII, D.

beautiful specimens of which have been recovered in Peru. These vessels come out of their hiding-places only at festival time and are used only for libations of chicha. According with the ancient Inca way, they are always presented in pairs in the same way as the drinking cups of alcohol. The kʷeru which I saw in the hands of the Čipaya lack decoration, but the greyish substance which adheres to them is without doubt all that remains of the lacquer which covered the outside surface of it. These pieces are not easy to get, for the Indians consider them of great value and are very attached to them. They assert, perhaps rightly, that they date from the Inca period.

4
[782] The bowl (umaña) in the bottom of which allama with its young has been modeled (4) is destined to hold the chicha which the

4. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII, Pl. XVII, A.

Indians pour out as a libation in honor of the Pachamama when they request fecundity of the herds from her.

4
778
[824] No Čipaya hut lacks one or two palm-wood sticks with a rope for suspension (5). These sticks (kamana-para) which are the /189/

M
554
824

5. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII, Pl. XVI, D.—Among the Quichua of Acomayo, to become mandón or campo it is indispensable to have made "the voyage to the valleys to bring back palms /palmes/ for certain religious ceremonies, such as the promenades after mass on Palm Sunday."

/189 cont./

after mass on Palm Sunday."
It is not impossible that the
palm /palmier/ wood of the
Čipaya corresponds to these "palms"
of the Quichua. Cf. Ordóñez
(Dr. Pastor), "Los Varayocc."
Revista Universitaria. Cuzco,
eighth year, No. 29, September,
1919, p. 43.

guardians of the house are worshiped with libations and fumigations. They are also indispensable accessories for the magicians who always plant them before themselves when they are going to make a prayer or a sacrifice to the demons. One must also not forget among the objects used in worship the baked clay censers which are shaped like a footed cup, and the small cupules for libations.

462

Division of Labor

	Men	Women	
House-building	+	-	
Straw rope	-	-	
Spinning	+	+	
Weaving	-	-	
Weaving with treadle loom	+	-	
Cooking	-	+	
Livestock care	+	+	(preferably the children)
Cheese	-	+	
Milking of the sheep	-	+	
Shearing of the sheep	+	-	
Rope-making	+	-	

2:Métraux--183 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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/189 cont./

	Men	Women
Transport	+	+
Irrigation	+	-
Cultivation	+	-
Instrumental music	+	-
Basket-making	+	-
Crochet	+	-
Trade	+	+
Fishing	+	-
Bird hunting	+	-

Comparative Study

The comparative study which I am going to make of Uro-Čipaya objects and industries and those of ancient and modern Andean populations could not be exhaustive. I lack too many books to indicate the complete bibliography of the subjects with which I propose to deal, and I fear /190/ that for lack of material many parallels between certain forms of the material life of the Čipaya today and of the old Andean tribes may have escaped me.

Village and huts. I have already indicated the strange similarities which the ordering of the village of these Indians presents to that of an Inca city, Cuzco for example. The taxata and tuanta sayas have an exact equivalent in the Inca suyu, particularly in the two sectors or districts of Cuzco, hanan-suyu and hurin-suyu; as for the alignments of chapels or oratories, they are nothing more than Christianized zeques.

At the time of the Conquest and for a century afterward the Aymara lived in huts similar in every respect to those of the Čipaya with the exception of the chiefs who, like the present-day corregidor of the "canton" of Chipaya, lived in quadrangular houses. It is under Spanish influence that the Aymara hut evolved into its present aspect, which differs little from Creole houses. But even in our day

/190 cont./

U
*197 the circular hut is not exclusively peculiar to Chipaya. Near Toledo
342 at Kxulliri an agglomeration exists formed of perfectly round huts
A which from a distance recall those of the Čipaya although much
342 larger. I stopped for a night in this village to study them, but unfortunately having used up my store of film I could not take photographs of them. These huts were architecturally much more perfected than those of Chipaya. The dome which surmounted them although covered with straw did not rest on a frame of tola but on a cupola made of 22 tiers of clods whose perfection I could admire. The clods that composed it were smaller than in Chipaya and fitted with more care. Given the width, the diameter of the hut, and its height, the erection of this roof must have demanded much time and not a little precision. When going through this village so like that of the Čipaya which I had just left, I though that I had discovered a new
U Uro tribe. My hypothesis was legitimate because the region which I
[101] was traversing had formerly been occupied by numerous ethnic islands of this race. I inquired among the inhabitants for the reasons which made them prefer the circular form of the huts to the rectangular plan adopted everywhere else in Aymara territory. They replied that they were obliged to build houses on this model because of lack of wood. The plain where the village of Kxulliri was standing does, in fact, very much recall in its bareness that of Chipaya. This is, I believe, the reason why the Čipaya also have kept the circular
U hut of their ancestors. To construct a house on a rectangular plan
A with a double-pitched roof, wood is necessary, /191/ at the very
[824] least laths of Cereus, and this cactus does not grow everywhere. The Aymara who have been fortunate enough to have this plant close to them have been able to change the type of their primitive habitation. The others, less favored by nature or too poor to buy the necessary wood, have remained, like it or not, more conservative. Midway between Oruro and La Paz when traveling by train, one sees some villages on the right where the huts are round and of an identical construction with those of Kxulliri. Besides this Forbes (1)

2:Métraux--185 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas - Chipaya Ayoara SF5

/191 cont./

U 171 342 A 342 [113]

1. Forbes (David), "On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru," The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, London, New Series, Vol. II, 1870, p. 255.

in his classic monograph on the Aymara has left us an excellent description of the conical huts made entirely of stone which he encountered in his wanderings in Bolivia. The lines he devotes to them could be applied word for word to the "water houses" of the second type of the Čipaya Indians. "In the out-of-the-way places I observed circular or oval stone huts; such have been called beehive houses, the stones forming the roof and sides not being arched, but approaching one another little by little until they meet in the form of a dome; I found an excellent example of this construction, well and neatly put together, on the slope of the mountain of Illampu. This measured, internally, 9.5 feet long by 5 feet broad, and 5 feet in height; the door which was on the longer side of the oval was straight, 3 feet high and 18 inches broad; no chimney or other opening for smoke was visible." /Cited in English./ (2)

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2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), "The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia," Comparative ethnographical studies, 3, Göteborg, 1924, p. 19. He describes this form of hut among the Aymara of the region of Tunari near Cochabamba.

U 342 554

In the entire village of Chipaya there are only five rectangular huts; they all belong to rich men who have traveled and have brought the cactus joists which support the roof from far away. The rectangular form is naturally considered chic, exactly as after the

/191 cont./

342 [554] Conquest it was perfectly natural that the chiefs should be the first to adopt it. In my opinion it would be a mistake to see in the round hut of the Čipaya a culture trait which is characteristic of this ethnic group and capable of furnishing a clue to their origin. The modern Čipaya have retained the round hut solely because it was more practical and the only type which they could erect easily and without too much expense on the wretched plain where they are cantoned. If in place of tola they had had some other tougher shrub, their picturesque hovels would have given way to the dull sheds of the Aymara long ago.

*171 342 /192/ The Uro Indians of Ancoaqui build their huts on the model of those of the Aymara. Up to recent times they must have had to retain the circular hut, for I noticed two or three houses in their village which, without exactly being round, had at least considerably rounded corners. The wretched abodes to be seen among the Uro have exactly the same form as those of the Čipaya and, consequently, the second type of huts, i.e., those which are dispersed in the pastures. In contrast to the Aymara or Čipaya, the Uro cover their huts with totora mats, which they fasten with wooden pegs stuck in the walls.

Facing Ancoaqui on the other bank of the Desaguadero I saw several huts of a type new to me, one which I think has not yet been described. These are cubes with thick walls covered with a masonry dome, a middle term between pyramid and cupola. These huts were grouped exactly like the estancias of the Čipaya. They were, moreover, as it seemed to me, the dwellings of shepherds who certainly had a house in the village. The huts on the Desaguadero recall chullpas much more than do the Čipaya huts which have been compared with these funerary buildings.

*171 172 342 764 Whoever has traveled by mule on the altiplano and ascertained the fabulous number of chullpas left by the pre-Columbian inhabitants must have asked himself what befell the actual habitations where the Indians who are incarcerated in these strange sepulchers lived. It

2:Métraux--187 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya
Eastern Quechua SE24

/192 cont./

*171 342 seems inexplicable that precisely the funerary houses would have survived, whereas the houses themselves have disappeared without leaving a trace. How could it happen that a people capable of building such remarkable and lasting buildings as the chullpas would not have left a single village behind? Chipaya gives us the key to the problem: the ancient Aymara huts were undoubtedly made of clods, a perishable substance which time has made disappear down to the last vestige. Although the Cipaya have occupied their present habitat since remote times, one cannot find any ancient ruin among them. It is enough that a hut be abandoned for there to be nothing left of it at the end of a few years.

*171 342 One word more on the distribution of the round huts: this form was formerly much more widespread in the western part of South America than it is in our day. The Relaciones geográficas (1)

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1. Xauxa Province, Vol. I, p. 89; Huamanga Province (San Juan de la Frontera), Vol. I, p. 97; Repartimiento /fief/ of Atunsora, Vol. I, p. 176; Collao, Vol. II, p. 62; Corregimiento /district/ of Otavalo (Equator), Vol. III, p. 116; District of Cuenca (Equator), Vol. III, pp. 164 and 176; Region of Quito, Vol. III, p. 94; Region of Chuquimayo, Vol. IV, p. LI; etc., etc.

makes allusions all the time to round houses in regions where they no longer exist.

*171 342 /193/ The Quichua Indians of Cochabamba in the middle of the last century still had round huts made entirely of earth and stone with dome-shaped roofing. One of them has been reproduced and described by Herndon and Gibbon (1): "The ancient habitations

2:Méraux--188 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Cayanga--
Chipaya
Aymara SF5
Quechua SF24
Kanta 5910

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H 1971 M 342 [113]

1. Herndon (Wm. Lewis) and Gibbon (Lardner), Exploration of the valley of the Amazon made under direction of the navy department, Washington, 1854, Part II, p. 152.

of the Indians of this valley are rotund, built entirely of moistened clay and stone, with but one entrance. These houses are going out of fashion, though many of them are used at the present day. There are a number of ruins about the valley, supposed to be of the style of ancient times. The art of building archways was an accomplishment of the Aymara tribe, of which we found no signs near the Inca capital." /Cited in English./

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Godet (2) also mentions this type of hut among the Huancavelica

2. Godet (Ernest), "Monographie de la région de Huancavelica (Département de Junin au Pérou) /Monograph on the Region of Huancavelica (Department of Junín in Peru)," Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie, Neuchâtel, Vol. XXVII, 1918, p. 150.

/Huancavilca/ Indians in Peru. They have there a temporary character and are built by the poor Indians who live in the mountains. "Of a circular or quadrangular form, (their hut) is constructed of champa mixed with large stones and sometimes with clay. The Indian chooses the higher, not rotted part of the peat which covers the marsh of the entire region. He detaches it from the ground in pieces 15 to 20 cm. thick, 40 to 60 cm. long, and 20 to 30 cm. wide. These pieces are piled more or less methodically in such a

Ma [314]

Carangas-
Chipaya
Manta SD10
Peruvian Indians SE3
Modern Quechua SE24

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way as to form a wall 1.40 to 1.80 meters high, circular in form, confining a space with a three to six meter diameter inside. On this wall 60 to 80 cm. thick a thatched roof rests, shaped into a more or less pointed cone. A small door 60 cm. wide and 80 cm. to 1.20 meters high allows one, stooping, to enter the hut."

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The round hut seems formerly to have alternated with that of a quadrangular pattern in northern Peru. I am reproducing a passage from Olson's article (3), which lets us understand that the method

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3. Olson (Ronald I.), "Old empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, pp. 10-11.

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[341]

of constructing these habitations was not very different from that which I described for Chipaya: "Certain villages are composed entirely of circular stone structures some ten to thirty feet in diameter with stone roofs of a corbelled dome type. Other villages show both round and square houses with similarly domed roofs. Since a domed stone roof is more in keeping with a circular than a square house, we may assume the former to be the earlier type." /Cited in English./

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Mr. Otto Braun in a letter to Baron E. Nordenskiöld (3-VII-/194/ 1931) remarks that "although the huts of the Quichua of southeastern Bolivia have a square design, their barns or their granaries are always round in form."

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For distribution of the round hut in South America I refer the reader to Nordenskiöld's map (1), while making the observation that

1. The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia, Chapter 1.

it is incomplete.

* U 171 A 342

/194 cont./

The descriptions of the Aymara house of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries proves to us that aside from its form, the Aymara hut had the cupola roof in common with the hut of the present-day Čipaya; the frame made of thin, incurved branches was covered with a thick bed of straw; the door was always oriented toward the east (2).

2. Cobo, Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, pp. 166-167: "The houses are sometimes round and sometimes of two slopes; the round ones are more used and common in the cold regions, such as in the province of Collao, because they provide good shelter. The usual houses of the common people have walls no higher than one estado, and some much less, set up in the shape of a perfect circle from 14 to 20 pies in diameter, more or less, according to their capacity and size; and many of them are so small and low that if the roof is removed, their circle looks like the wall of a well. The covering of these round houses has the shape of a funnel or vault, because the beams with which they cover them are sometimes straight slender poles which, propped one against the other at the top, assume the first-mentioned shape, while others are twisted and curved to give the roof the shape of a vault. It is true that we see today in some places these round houses which were ancient abodes of caciques,

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/194 cont./

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of outlandish size, high and very capacious, with a big straight smooth mast like that of a ship stuck in the middle of the floor, on top of which sits the entire cover of wood. Such is a large Buhio which is in the pueblo of Juli, and some other similar ones which I have seen in other pueblos of Collao. This habitation is very well suited to the way of life or, better said, the way of drinking, of the Indians; because, seated in a circle in one of those round houses and leaning against the wall, they are accustomed to drink for days and nights...." "Nails are not used in the cover of wood and roofing, just as none are used in the other types, for over the beams or poles they weave and tile with cords and thin strands of rope a wattle of reeds or small sticks and branches over which, instead of a roof, they put a quantity of Hicho, that I have seen some of these old houses with a covering more than two codos thick." /Cited in Spanish./ Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 62: "These houses are round in form and style, made of adobes of stone and clay, small, 15 pies around, covered with quinoa wood and mageyes (sic) and straw, and a small door toward

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the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and inns were long and square and the wood was brought from the Yungas." /Cited in Spanish./

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On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

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The estancias of the Čipaya explain the formation of the small social units also called estancias, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayl'u, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

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Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Čipaya to fertilize their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

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Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

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Near Iscara, in the chullpares, I found bolas rolled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 157/).

Carangas-
Chipaya

/195 cont./

#171 291 Clothing. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian character of the shirt (ira) worn by the Čipaya. This garment was to some extent the national costume of all the Andean Indians, and their neighbors in warmer regions adopted it under their influence. On the altiplano the Uro of Ancoaqui (Desaguadero) are, with the Čipaya, the last Indians who still wear this tunic, whose Spanish name (camiseta) constantly recurs in the accounts of the first conquerors. Among the Uro the ira has been more and more supplanted by a simple jacket, and most of the men of this tribe do not have one any more or if they do, no longer think of wearing it. Within the confines of the Peruvian empire the camiseta is still in use among the Campa of Peru and, for a short time longer, among the Čiriguano. The Museum of Ethnography of the Trocadéro in Paris has a splendid blue cotton tunic which comes from the latter tribe (1).

1. On the subject of the tunic, cf. Montell, Dress and ornaments, pp. 193-200; for the cape, ibid., pp. 200-202.

I have already had occasion to speak of the pre-Columbian origin of the cape and of its progressive disappearance provoked by the introduction of the poncho in the post-Columbian period. The wearing of the cape has been retained up to our day in certain remote regions of the Peruvian Sierra (2).

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2. Alvarez (Angélica), "Ankococoahua," Revista Universitaria, Cuzco, 15th year, No. 47, 1925, p. 19. — Yabar Palacio (Luis), "El Ayllu de Oqueros (Paucartambo), Revista de la Universidad del Cuzco, Cuzco, 11th year, No. 38, 1922, p. 91.

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chipaya
Aymara SF5

/196/

The chuco, or helmet, of the Aymara and Čipaya is in my opinion of post-Columbian origin. From the heads of a good number of mummies in the chullpares in the neighborhood of Iscara and Huachacalla I have recovered string caps, the technique of which has no connection with the knitting stitches of modern caps but many analogies with that of spiral basket-work (coiled basketry /ref. in English/). The authors who make allusion to the Aymara caps of the sixteenth and seventeenth century never speak of the flaps that protect the ears, which is an argument more in favor of a recent date for this type of headgear. Here are the oldest descriptions which we have of the Aymara cap: "They wore on the head what they called in their tongue chucos, a kind of very tall sombrero without a brim, and in order that they could hold the head, they compressed and attenuated it /the head/ as high as they could, in memory, so that they had heads having the tall form of the volcano whence they departed" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 40). /Cited in Spanish./ "...the headdress, which till now has been chucos shaped like the crowns of sombreros without a brim, and for some years in this region all have relinquished them and wear sombreros" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 69). /Cited in Spanish./ (1)

1. On the Aymara cap, cf. Montell, Dress and ornaments, pp. 204-205.

The Uro Indians of Ancoaqui up to recent years spun the feathers of water birds from which they then created caps (2). One

2. Forbes, On the Aymara Indians, p. 262: "Around the lake of Titicaca I have seen socks and gloves for children made of the down of the waterfowl, which had apparently

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Chipaya

/196 cont./

*171 294 been first spun into yarn and then knitted." /Cited in English./

of these has been preserved at the Museum of Ethnography in Berlin. [197] Dr. Krickeberg, who was kind enough to examine it with care upon my request and to study its technique, has assured me that although the idea of spinning feathers is certainly old, the crochet stitch itself is typically European. This circumstance does not authorize us to place the feather fabrics of the Uro in the category of culture traits common to the north and south of the New World.

*171 291 Minus the sleeves attached to the shirt and the sewing of the lower part of the tunic (urku), the female costume of the Čipaya is entirely pre-Columbian and identical to that which the women of the Sierra were wearing in the sixteenth century. For evidence I wish to cite the following passages from Cobo (3):

3. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, pp. 161-163.

"The women's clothing, which serves as skirt and cloak, are two mantles: one they wear as a sleeveless cassock, as wide above /197/ as below, which covers them from the neck to the feet; they do not make a neck for the head to go through, and the way they put it on is by wrapping it around the body under the arms, and drawing the ends over the shoulders, they make them meet and fasten them with their pins. From the waist down they bind and constrict the belly with many turns of a wide, thick, and elegant band called chumpi. This skirt, or cassock, is called Anacu; it leaves the arms free and bare and remains open on one side; and thus, although one edge is folded a bit over the other, on walking the edges are turned aside and opened from the chumpi, or band, downward, revealing part of the leg and thigh. Because of this now that they practice greater modesty as being Christians, they sew and close up the side to avoid such indecorousness. The other mantle is called Lliclla;

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Chipaya

/197 cont./

*[17] 29] they wear it over the shoulders, and joining the ends over the breast fasten them with a pin. These are their mantles, or cloaklets, which reach down to mid-leg, and they remove them to work and while they are at home." ..... "They encircle it (the head) with a ribbon the width of a finger, more or less, painted and odd, which they call Vincha, which hangs down the forehead. As a headdress they wear a piece of rich Cumbi called Pampacona, and they do not wear it stretched out but folded three or four times, so that it gets to be half a tercia in width; they put one end over the forehead, and giving a turn over the middle of the head, leaving the hair uncovered on the sides, the other end falls down the upper back." /Cited in Spanish./ (1)

1. On the clothing of the women of the Sierra during the Inca period, cf. Montell, Dress and ornaments, pp. 226-236.

[532] An aryballus from the Berlin Museum (V.A. 7896) is decorated at the base of the neck with a series of paintings depicting slightly stylized women. One could imagine oneself in the presence of the silhouette of a group of Čipaya women: without difficulty one distinguishes the tunic held at the waist by a large belt, the mantle falling on the back, and the folded napkin on the head in the style of a Neapolitan coif. This coif is also seen in the rather naive drawings of Huaman Poma de Ayala (2) and in some portraits of Inca

2. In Montell, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 83, p. 178; Fig. 97, p. 224; Fig. 98, p. 230.

princesses, wives of conquistadores, who are depicted on a scene in the church of the Jesuits in Cuzco, if I am not mistaken. The felt hat which is never absent from the head of Quichua or Aymara

/197 cont./

291 women caused the disappearance of the folded napkin with which
up to a short time ago they covered their heads exactly as the present-
day Čipaya women (3).

3. Montell, Dress and ornaments,
p. 232.

291 Even in cases where historical documents may have remained
172 silent on this /198/ subject, archaeology brings us proof that Čipaya
female clothing has remained, even in the smallest details, just
as it was before the Conquest. /Figure 12 appears here./

The excavations I made in the chullpas near Iscara some 20 kilometers from Chipaya gave me a large number of fabrics identical to those of the present-day Čipaya. The resemblance is such that the Indians themselves thought when they saw my collection that I was amusing myself by collecting rags they had thrown away. They did not hesitate once in identifying the clothing from which each fragment of archaeological fabric came by simply comparing it with their own material. A woman's belt (Fig. 12 /see p. 198/) which I extracted from one of these sepulchers is so completely similar in technique, design, and color to the belts in fashion today in Chipaya (Fig. 13 /see p. 198/) that I defy the most expert ethnographer to indicate the least difference between a modern specimen and an ancient one. Some fragments of urku which I was able to withdraw from the charnel houses which the chullpas are also bear witness themselves to the fact that the principal garment of Čipaya women has not varied since pre-Columbian days from the point of view of color as well as of the nature of the cloth. /Figure 13 appears here./

291 Are the picturesque little braids of the Čipaya women also
172 a reminiscence of the past? The chullpas of Iscara and Huachacalla
302 gave me a large number of female skulls to which the scalp still adhered. The disposition of the plaits and their number corresponded exactly to the fashion still in existence among our Indians. The small

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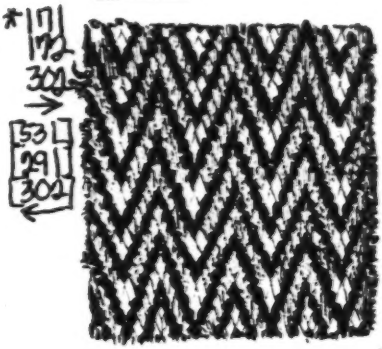

Fig. 12. –Fragment of pre-Spanish belt found in a chullpa near Iscara (Carangas Province).

pendants depicting a female personnage, or laurake, found in Tiahuanaco bring us proof /199/ that in remote ages of the Aymara civilization women already had their hair parted into an infinite number of small braids. This hair style was also that of the pre-Spanish populations in the Atacama Desert: Boman has in fact published the skull of a woman from Calama, which he describes in these terms: "The black, stiff hair is divided on top of the head and forms numerous plaits on each side, the ends of which /Figure 14 appears here/ are tied with a woolen string. In each of these knots a strong cactus spine has been placed which serves as a hairpin. Certain Indians of the Bolivian Altiplano still arrange their hair in several plaits on each side, in the same manner as the ancient inhabitants of Calama." The women of the Ankcoccahua (Espinar Province) clan in Peru have kept up to recent years the custom "of dressing the hair in the back and of dividing the hair into a group of small, thin plaits joined together by strings of cotton or woolen thread which end in fringes, which gives them the appearance of a thick material. /200/ This hair style is called sakcapa, without doubt

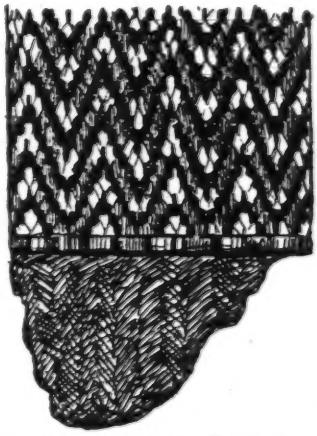

Fig. 13. – Detail of a belt worn by Chipaya women.

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*171 because of the tripartite division of the hair on the skull (1)."
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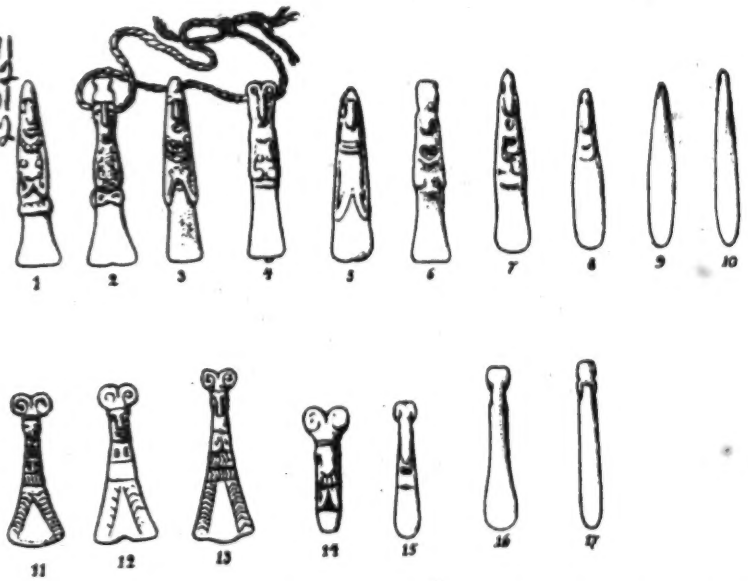

Fig. 14. — Evolution of the laurake from the original, entirely anthropomorphic prototype up to the modern, stylized forms. Each row represents a particular evolution. The laurake Nos. 8 to 10 and 15 to 17 are modern and come from Chipaya; the others were found in the excavations made in Tiahuanaco.

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1. Alvarez (Angélica), "Ankcoccahua," Revista Universitaria, Cuzco, 15th year, No. 47, 1925, p. 18.

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Pendants identical to the Čipaya laurake have been found in great number on the shores of Lake Titicaca in the Tiahuanaco [i.e., a small pendant depicting a female personage --Anahist]

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Chipaya

/200 cont./

*171 region. Most of the specimens coming from here are rather similar
172 to those of the Čipaya but more perfect in their workmanship. The
301 features and the costume of the female figure are more easily dis-
[532] tinguishable, and one can even observe that the hair style is made up of small plaits. These strange figurines have long been an enigma to the archaeologists: their use was revealed the day the Čipaya were discovered. Taking as a point of departure two slightly different types of old laurake, I have endeavored to indicate their morphological evolution and progressive degeneration (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/). Among the Čipaya the latter has been extended so far that in some cases small, simple metal plaques have been substituted for real laurake.

*171 The Čipaya are the only Indians of the altiplano who have
172 kept this archaic ornament. As they do not practice metallurgy I
126 thought at first that the laurake worn by their wives were not only
301 very old pieces but dated from pre-Columbian times. To verify
305 this hypothesis I had a qualitative analysis made of two of these pendants and some examples coming from Tiahuanaco. The archaeological laurake are of copper alloyed with tin; one of the Čipaya specimens contains zinc as well. This composition is a certain indication of its post-Columbian origin. Unless we assume that the Čipaya formerly practiced metallurgy, which is highly improbable considering their habitat and way of life, we are forced to admit that they received these ornaments from the Aymara. But, as the use of these figurines must have disappeared very early among the latter Indians since no chronicler, not even Cobo, makes illusion to them, the Čipaya examples which were cast during the post-Columbian epoque must be very old nonetheless and have been passed down in the same family for many centuries.

*171 The headband for the forehead, one last specimen of which
301 I was able to obtain, was itself also an integral part of the ancient pre-Columbian costume. Among the Čipaya its wearing must have been reserved for festival days, for the manner in which the Čipaya women dress their hair renders this ornament useless; in contrast,

/200 cont./

*171 301 it was indispensable to the Quichua women to hold back their flowing hair.

*171 301 531 /201/ The spangling was a method of ornamentation which must formerly have been widely diffused on the altiplano, as the following passage from Cobo bears witness (1): "The cloth that they

1. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, p. 206.

embroidered with Chaquira was held to be the most precious of all. This Chaquira were very fine little beads of gold and silver, and it was a wondrous thing to see how it was made; for the whole piece was decorated with these little beads, without the thread showing, in the manner of a very close netting." /Cited in Spanish./ Archaeology amply confirms the assertion of the chronicler.

*171 412 The distribution of the root brush has been made by Nordenskiöld (2).

[113]

2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), "Analyse ethno-géographique de la culture matérielle de deux tribus du Gran Chaco /Ethno-geographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Tribes of the Gran Chaco/," Études d'ethnographie comparée, I, Paris, 1929, pp. 144-146.

This is one of the numerous South American culture traits which have equivalents in the north of this continent. "I have," he said, "hairbrushes from the Mataco, the Choroti, the Ashluslay, and the Tapieté in my collection. These objects are also known among the Araukans /the Araucanians/, the Patagons /Patagonians/, the Peguenche /Pehuenche/, and the Yaghans /Yahgan/. Lehmann

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/201 cont./

*171 412 Nitsche gives a drawing of an object from an excavation in the Jujuy puna which probably represents a hairbrush. The hairbrushes of the Choroti, the Ashluslay, and the Mataco are made from the hair of anteaters. The Tapiete Indians use brushes made either of hair or of roots. They are also rather frequently made with branches or roots. It is interesting to ascertain that Uhle has found some of these hairbrushes in the excavations of very ancient tombs in Arica. He has also discovered some in the excavations, still older, of Pisagua, while in the more recent beds which he attributes to the Tiahuanaco period he has come across combs. The hairbrush is evidently one of the oldest signs of civilization in South America; it is presently more widespread in the southern part of this continent."

I shall complete Nordenskiöld's list by adding the Quichua and Aymara Indians of the altiplano who use both the brush and comb. There is not one stall in Peru or Bolivia where one cannot acquire both of these objects. The Quichua name for brush is saxrama.

*171 301 [172] The wig is a culture trait which, as archaeology reveals to us, has existed in Peru from remotest times. The Museum of Göteborg has several specimens which come from the Peruvian coast. This false hair is arranged in small plaits and hang from a /202/ string exactly as does the hair in the modern wigs of the Čipaya. Aside from Peru the wig has been discovered among the Jivaro, who perhaps borrowed it from the Andean civilizations, from that of Nazca in particular, with which they have so many features in common. In North America the wig is also no rare culture trait. The Handbook of American Indians assigns the following distribution to it: Crow, Assiniboin, Mandan, Mohave, Yuma, and Pueblo (1).

[113]

1. Izikowitz (K. G.), "Une coiffure d'apparat d'Ica /A Festive Headdress from Ica/," Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

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/202 cont./

*171 412 Tools. I found near the Corque chullpas a stone hammer exactly like that which the Čipaya use to crush straw for making rope. The Uro of Ancoaqui use for the same purpose a stone hammer *171 114 412 which they fasten to a handle with raw leather. This instrument has a North American look, which struck Professor Nordenskiöld; he considered it a new culture trait which should be added to the list of those which were common to these two parts of the New World. In this respect I do not share my teacher's opinion: I consider the handle of the Uro hammers a recent innovation introduced under the influence of the European hammer. My opinion is based on a very interesting passage from Cobo (2), who relates that the Aymara

2. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. I, p. 251.

Indians employed by the Spanish in the quarries proved entirely incapable of using a hammer with a handle and preferred to return to the simple, round stones which they held in the palm of the hand. It is thus unlikely that the Uro, with a civilization so close to that of the Aymara, would have diverged on this point. In addition, if this culture trait had been really old, I would certainly have found one or two specimens among the Čipaya, who have remained much more primitive than their racial brothers, the Uro of the Desaguadero.

*171 415 [532] The ethnography of the Čipaya perhaps explains the original function of the "circular mortars," so many specimens of which have been found in the Peruvian Sierra (3). These are stone basins with

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3. On the distribution of these basins cf. Rivet (Paul) and Verneau (René), Ethnographie ancienne de l'Équateur /Ancient ethnography of the Equator/, Paris, 1912, p. 185, Pl. 9, Nos. 1, 2, 4, and Lehman (Walter)

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/202 cont./

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and Doering (Heinrich),
Kunstgeschichte des alten Peru
/Art History of Old Peru/,
Berlin, 1924, Pls. 99-101.

[532] perpendicular rims, whose external circumference is often decorated with carving in relief. The shape and the stone in which they were often carved (serpentine) seems to exclude the possibility that they could have been used to grind any substance therein. In dimension and appearance they greatly recall the small vessels, also of stone, /203/ in which the Čipaya women husk quinua by treading on it. I am inclined to think that this was also the way in which these so-called circular mortars were also used.

*[17] 286 [53] Weaving. The Čipaya method which consists of attaching the loom to the belt instead of fastening it to two stakes as is customary elsewhere on the altiplano is also a survival of pre-Columbian times (1). On a lecythus of Trujillo, often reproduced,

[113]

1. This custom is not, however, general. Ronald L. Olson, "Old Empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, p. 11, publishes the photograph of a woman of Marcamachay whose loom is fastened to the waist, and he informs us that the weavers of the equatorial altiplano still follow the same method.

where one sees some women in the act of weaving, one notices that they have their loom attached to the waist, passed around the body by means of a band covered with geometric designs (2). This

/203 cont./

*171 286

2. Montell, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 85, p. 185.

method of stretching the warp is certainly an old process antecedent to that which is used today in Peru and Bolivia. Was it general in the pre-Columbian period? This is what I am inclined to believe without daring to assert it. It is very possible that the idea of planting two stakes to receive the posterior part of the material might be an innovation introduced during the centuries which followed the Conquest.

[415] The coca bags which the Čipaya Indians carry during certain festivals are covered with long hairs slipped between the threads of the material. This technique recalls that of the velvet which was known in ancient Peru, where it appeared on caps or headbands coming from the Ica region. In Santiago, Chile I had the occasion to see several headdresses found in the Atacama zone, the material of which was halfway between plush and velvet.

*171 285 Basketry. I do not know any basket of ancient Peru which resembles those of the Čipaya, yet their coiling technique is not only typical for the whole Andean zone but is certainly very old there. This technique, with different modalities, is still observable in Aymara and Uro baskets and, curiously enough, has survived in Tucumán Province in Argentina.

*171 415 Mugs. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian origin of the mugs known under the name kxeru (3). The Indians

[113]

3. On the pre-Columbian kxeru, cf. A. Posnansky, "Leyendas prehispánicas sobre dos 'kerus' /Pre-Spanish Inscriptions on Two 'kerus'/," Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 1a, 1931, pp. 93-180, and

/203 cont./

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Erland Nordenskiöld, "Origin of the Indian Civilizations in South America," Comparative Ethnographical Studies, 9, Göteborg, 1931.

of Cuzco Department /204/ still preserve several specimens which have been passed from father to son since the Inca period. Like the Čipaya the Quichua surround these pieces with superstitious respect and only use them to make libations of chicha on the occasion of some solemn festival. They believe that chicha drunk from one of these mugs has the virtue of making one drunk more quickly than that which is contained in another vessel (1).

[203]

1. Herrera, p. 1.

Conclusion

178 The review we have just made of all the Čipaya culture traits leads us to the following conclusion: there is no object in the present-day industry of these Indians which could be considered as belonging to them alone or as representing a survival of their distant original culture. All their material goods are those which we know from the modern or ancient Aymara, or in a general way from the Indians of the Andean altiplano. In their way of life, that of sedentary shepherds, the Čipaya do not differ from the primitive populations of "las regiones frias /the cold regions/," whom the Spanish chroniclers sometimes distinguish from the "serranos /highlanders/." The interest in the Čipaya tribe does not lie then in the originality of their material culture but rather in the fact that their relative isolation has permitted them to keep many an object and many a technique which have disappeared elsewhere. They concern us insofar as they bear witness to rural Inca life, and not as representatives of an isolated ethnic group.

/204 cont./

Intelligence, character, and morality

123 Every consideration of the character of a human group, no matter how small, demands closer contact with the individuals than that which I was able to maintain with the Čipaya. The impossibility which I experienced in most cases of being able to communicate directly with them especially was an obstacle to my observations. The judgment that I make of the Čipaya is hence necessarily summary and without scientific grounds. The Čipaya inspired in me more disgust and antipathy than pity. Neither by their physique nor by their disposition did they draw the affection which the ethnographer /205/ from professional bent would be prone to offer them. Their
142 features are heavy and thick, and only a few individuals, products of mixtures with their neighbors the Aymara, present the handsome profile with the curved nose characteristic of the conquering race of the Bolivian Altiplano. Their short and thick-set body is made even heavier by the thick woolen clothing with which they cover themselves. Only their slender, well-formed legs are pretty to see when crossing
[515] a river. Their complexion would not be so dark if they would consent at least once in their lives to wash. The filth and the rags which cover them accentuate even more the wretched and miserable appearance of this group of human beings.

157 Intellectually the Čipaya are on a rather low level: they have a dull and narrow mind and visibly feel an aversion to any coherent
[538] mental effort. Without fantasy and without imagination, they have for their total literature only a few insipid and short tales, which anyway seem to be Aymara in origin. Some women are an exception to this rule and struck me by a certain vivacity in their character and intelligence. Two or three young people also appeared better endowed than the average member of the tribe.

157 The Čipaya nourishes no ambition, and the desire for any
46 worldly gain cannot draw him out of his apathy. His movements are slow and measured, his ability to remain motionless is without limits. He seems to pursue constantly an internal dream which is always the

/205 cont./

157 same. Boredom and silence overwhelm the village. The children
461 themselves share in this general sullenness: they never have fun, so
[859] to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a vague eye or stay squatting in their huts chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material or occupy their leisure time by looking for fleas on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

157 The Čipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant
171 than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mis-
[609] trust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of
123 strangers. They know how to appear well-wishing, and my relations
157 with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /206/ liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they never forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a
[431] result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several
152 small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya
578 is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent
[123] devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for
[126] my collections in broad daylight: all feared the unkind comments of those near them.

/206 cont./

152 of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and
578 impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts
[154] of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

593 Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the
578 characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic
[162] conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to drama: a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

836 Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me, bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of free-
848 dom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them
837 from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery
593 provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They speak to their husbands in firm and decisive tones, and no decision can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never
159 mistreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya com-
171 pare very favorably with the Uro of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race, who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence.
609 The last 30 Uro of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust
161 of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to stay with them.

Plate I

142
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A. Young Čipaya girl

B. Čipaya couple in Sunday best

[312]
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C. Čipaya woman come to draw water from a canal and fleeing under a storm.

D. Little Indian girl holding a piglet.

2:Métraux--211 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate II

Chipaya/Carangas
Aymara SF5
H
133

A. Landscape of the puna in the neighborhood of Chipaya.

A
361
342

B. The Aymara village of Iscara seen from the church tower.

Carangas-
Čipaya

142
291
302

[115]

Plate III

A. Little boy 13 or 14 years old, an excellent informant.

B. Young Čipaya woman.

C-D. Čipaya women.

2:Métraux--213 F-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

133
342
361

Plate IV

A. One of the estancias of Chipaya.

[346]

B. The little church of Chipaya, between the two "moieties."

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Chipaya

Plate V

291
[252]
[243]

[192]
[283]

A. Čipaya woman leaning against a wall and treading quinua seeds to husk them.

B. Čipaya woman spinning.

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[302]

C. Čipaya woman weaving.

D. Treadle loom for weaving made of cactus wood.

2:Métraux--215 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

U
392

Plate VI

U
[824]

A. Construction of a hut.

B. Construction of a hut: the faggots of tola are arranged in arches.

A
[346]

C. Čipaya hut made entirely of clods.

D. The Aymara church in Iscara (Carangas Province).

2:Métraux--216 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

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The Uro Language

(Chipaya Dialect) (2)

2. Gathered by the author during January-February 1931.

Introduction

My trip to Chipaya had as its basic goal saving the Uro language. Nothing was closer to my heart during my entire stay than collecting as complete documentation as possible on this dying language. My zeal was sustained by the conviction that I was certainly the last ethnographer who would have the chance to gather the last sounds of an undoubtedly very old speech. I must admit that the results did not come up to my efforts and that I am far from having obtained the documents which I hoped to collect. Nevertheless, if my dictionary and texts give only a partial ideal of Uro-Chipaya, this is because in 1931 it was already too late to collect the elements of this language which would have permitted an exhaustive study of it. If the fatidic twelfth hour of which the German ethnographers love to speak has not already sounded for the Uro language, I can assure you that its days are numbered. Its disappearance is a matter of only a few years. Nothing is more disappointing than being present at the death of a language. Every instant one is confronted by gaps, by holes filled by foreign elements which give the language the appearance of a patched cloth. One would like to reconstruct the missing pieces, one hunts for words and expressions, but this pursuit is for the most part in vain: the word has disappeared from the consciousness of all the individuals composing the group. However painful an investigation conducted under these /338/ conditions may be, it does not lessen the possibility of making some interesting observations on the way in which one language is substituted for another. Uro, as much in Chipaya as

Carangas - Chipaya

/338 cont./ Uro, as much in Chipaya as

192 in Ancoaqui, has been absorbed by Aymara. I have indicated in my
197 dictionary the words or roots of Aymara origin with one asterisk, those of Spanish provenance with two, and Kičua /Quechua/ roots with three. If one counts up all the words of foreign origin, one will see that they constitute an impressive percentage in comparison with the purely Uro words. The latter, moreover, such as they may be,
[193] always have an Aymara doublet to which an Uro ending is simply added. According to the individual, the number of Aymara roots which recur in their speech varies: the young people who have traveled are naturally more inclined than the old to stuff Uro phrases with Aymara words and terms. They know the corresponding Uro word but forget to use it; little by little they will leave them aside
191 and the latter will disappear. The infiltration of Aymara is already
197 so acknowledged that even children eight to ten years old speak it fluently. Čipaya who, for one reason or another, have been absent from their villages for several years, are subsequently reluctant to use their old language; even the women, who hardly ever leave their village, all express themselves in Aymara. This influence of Aymara on Uro dates from a long time ago. Naturally, the battle between the two languages will end with the elimination of that of the
197 weaker and more backward people. In the Čipaya dialect words as
192 common as "brother" and "sister" have already disappeared before their Aymara equivalents. This example alone says much on the
[193] state of decomposition of Uro. This disintegration has not only affected the vocabulary but also the grammar: the negations, adverbs, adverbial locutions are purely Aymara.

One will be struck on casting an eye on this vocabulary by the large number of Spanish words adopted by the Uro-Čipaya. I myself was surprised to ascertain this penetration of Spanish in the language of a people who live so isolated and find themselves in direct contact with no city or even village where Spanish is spoken. I would have attributed this phenomenon to the sojourns and trips which the Čipaya made a few years ago to Chile. If one examines the Spanish elements that Uro contains, however, one cannot consider them as recent

/338 cont./

190 borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by
192 the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One /339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speaking Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

124 The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete
191 disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which
197 float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version. This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my
[128] speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten his expressions.

126 The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with a few phrases which effectively summarized their monotonous
115 activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering, obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

/339 cont./

115 with particular intensity during my last expedition when I was dealing with the Chaco tribes. There the stories and narratives spurt out, and the poor ethnographer is generally forced to stop the enthusiasm
124 of his interpreter in order not to be flooded. In Chipaya the obstacles that were set before me by the strangely narrow mentality of the Indians were augmented by the necessity in which I found myself of almost always having to use an Aymara interpreter. There is no
[197] Čipaya who speaks enough Spanish to act as drogman. I was almost always obliged to state my questions in Spanish and to have them translated into Aymara. As one can imagine, this system compli-
115 cated my task and increased the chances of error. However, I was well pleased with my Aymara interpreter, a young, very intelligent Indian who very quickly understood the nature of my work and was
126 an /340/ excellent assistant. I tried to avoid wrong constructions by
128 proceeding with constant rechecks. Practically all the words in this dictionary were noted down four or five times by me and obtained from different individuals after more or less long intervals. I had all the lists of words dictated by a native verified by submitting them to others, and almost always I had the Čipaya words that I had just transcribed retranslated into Aymara. Moreover, I always tried to make sure of the exact meaning of a word by having my informant use it in a phrase. The exactitude of my dictionary will be confirmed by a simple comparison with the Uro vocabulary collected in Ancoaqui six months later, when I did not have any of my notes taken in Chipaya before my eyes.

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Phonetics

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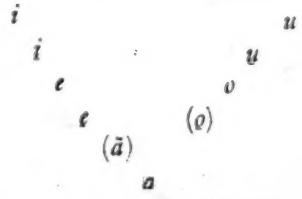
It is my duty to acknowledge at the head of this dictionary that for lack of a musical ear, I am not always sure of the accuracy of my phonetic transcriptions. I have done my best and I am convinced that on the whole my notations are correct. I fear, however, that I have created some confusion in the quality of the vowels, and it is probable that certain fine points or shadings of pronunciation have escaped me. The difficulties I experienced in gathering and reproducing Čipaya and Uro sounds made me neglect the question of accent. I insist on pointing out this serious gap myself in my linguistic documentation.

194. The vowels which I believe to have recognized in Čipaya can be classified in the following manner:



a, e, i, o, u are "grosso modo" identical to the corresponding sounds in Spanish

i is a phoneme whose quality is midway between a very open i and a closed e.

ɛ is a more open e than the French è in "père." It is almost a very closed front a.

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194 I think that I have ascertained in some cases the existence of
[128] an o (o) whose articulation would be close to a gutteral (back) a.
[114] Not being sure of this sound, and having ascertained it only in a few very rare cases, I have not indicated it in my transcriptions.

u is a phoneme midway between an open u and a closed o.

The dipthongs are the following: au̯, eu̯, ua̯, (wa), ue̯ (we).

The sign ˘ put under the first or second vowel indicates that the latter is asyllabic and is only a semivowel. When the second part of the diphtong precedes another vowel, it is replaced by the corresponding fricative.

Table of Consonants

	Occlusives		Affricates		Constringents		Liquids		
Aspirated	*h*								
Guttural (medio gut.)	*k*	*g*	*k*		*x*				
Palatal			*č*	*j*	*š*	*ž*		*l'*	*ñ*
Dental	*t* (*tʰ*)		*ts*		*s*	(*z*)	*r*	*l*	*n*
Labial	*p* (*pʰ*)					*w*			

The sound transcribed by h is strongly aspirated; it tends toward x.

g, k, l, m, n, ñ, l, p, r, s, t are identical with the corresponding sounds in Spanish or French.

č = "ch" in Spanish.

š = "ch" in French.

ž = French "j" in "jeter."

/341 cont./

194 ǰ = English "j," dj in French.

t^{s} = an affricate generally transcribed ts.

w = "w" in English ("water").

l' = a liquid "l" as in Spanish. It is possible that I may have sometimes mixed it up with y.

p^{h} = a p, followed by a light breath. /342/

k^{x} = (I do not think I am in error) a medio-guttural affricate, a very frequent sound in Čipaya.

Grammar

193 The few rules of grammar which can be deduced from the texts I collected will appear in the reading itself of this dictionary. I must point out, however, the existence of a sort of suffixed article, ki, frequently added to substantives: kerka: armadillo; kerkaki: the armadillo; k^{x}oya: house; k^{x}oyaki: the house, etc.

Gender exists in Cipaya; it manifests itself in some words, in the first place in the demonstrative adjective ti for the masculine and ta for the feminine, and in the ordinal adjective "a" tsi, tsa.

The masculine gender is indicated in certain cases by the presence of an a: usa (male child, boy); us (female child, little girl); sewa: widower; seu: widow, etc.

Vocabulary

Preliminary remarks

128 192 I have indicated the root for each verb, which I tried to disengage from the different forms which were given me by my informants. In doubtful cases I have left the burden of decision to the reader. The verbs for which I had only one example have been written down such as they are.

/342 cont./

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192 As I have already had the occasion to say, words of foreign origin are marked with an asterisk: * for Aymara, ** for Spanish, and *** for Kičua.

Words common to both Aymara and Kičua have been considered as borrowings from the former language. Words of hybrid composition have been separated by a hyphen mark. Asterisks indicate the provenance of the foreign element.

When words with different roots correspond to a single idea, they are enumerated one after another if the number of instances is limited, and separated in paragraphs if they are numerous.

Every word the translation of which is doubtful has been followed by a question mark. /The word list, pp. 342-387, the texts, pp. 387-393, and the bibliography, pp. 393-394, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

alcalde -- a functionary who is in charge of a saya and excercises the powers of a justice of the peace. He also intervenes in disputes, makes arrests and imprisonments, and receives accusations.

alferez ("banner-carrier")--the president and organizer of a religious festival

corregidor--a person with judiciary functions who represents the tribe before the government

demandas--complaints brought to the corregidor for injuries or alleged injuries

kaman-para--the sacred sticks, used in religious ceremonies

kɣeru--large wooden mugs used at festival times for libations of chicha

mal'ku--sacred objects endowed with supernatural powers

samiri--usually flat calcareous stones, worshipped as being sacred by the Chipaya.

[For additional, scattered information about acts of propitiation performed in the course of rituals or extended religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-129.]

[For additional information about sacred objects and places, and associated rituals, see category 116, pp. 35-42, 51-54, 72-92, 96-107, 113-120.]

[For additional, scattered information about the use of colored items, the role of color, and possible color symbolism associated with rituals or organized religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-120.]

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[For additional, scattered information about the consumption and other uses of food, alcoholic beverages, narcotics and stimulants associated with rituals or organized religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-129.]

[For additional comparative data on material culture from other Andean groups, see category 116, pp. 183-206.]

[For an extended French-Uru (Chipaya dialect) word list, and fuller Uru texts, see 2: Métraux, this file, category 116, foreign text, pp. 188-239.]

[For information about specific rituals performed in the course of extended religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-120.]

[For additional information about religious ceremonies, especially in association with sacred objects and places, see category 116, pp. 54-58, 60-108, 118-120, 132-135, and 137-138a.]

2: Métraux SF24 Uru

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[title page]

LES INDIENS URO-ČIPAYA[1] DE CARANGAS,

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(*Planche VI*).

Avant-propos.

Dans les pages suivantes je me propose d'exposer les observations que j'ai pu faire sur l'organisation sociale, la religion et la vie matérielle des Indiens Uro-Čipaya parmi lesquels j'ai vécu au cours d'une expédition réalisée sur le haut-plateau bolivien pendant l'été 1930-1931. La chance m'a singulièrement favorisé tout au long de mon séjour. Je me suis trouvé là au moment même où ces Indiens célébraient la plupart de leurs fêtes, et, un heureux hasard m'ayant permis d'assister à la première, les Čipaya, convaincus de mes sentiments respectueux et enchantés de mes distributions de coca et d'alcool, ne craignirent pas de me convier

1. On trouvera dans Cnéqui Montoya (G. de) et Rivet (P.), *La langue uro ou pukina* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, nouvelle série, t. XVII, 1925, pp. 211-264 ; t. XVIII, 1926, pp. 111-199 ; t. XIX, 1927, pp. 57-116) la bibliographie complète et des extraits de toutes les publications concernant les Uro-Čipaya parues jusqu'en 1927. Je ne signalerai ici que les articles postérieurs à cette date où l'on peut obtenir quelques renseignements sur cette curieuse tribu. Bech (Fritz), *Ein wenig bekannter Indianerstamm des bolivianischen Hochlandes* (« Cosmos », 26 Jahrgang, 1929, pp. 12-13 et 34-36) ; Tessa (Karl), *An expedition to the central Andes 1926 to 1928* (Geographical Review, published by the American Geographical Society of New-York, april 1929, pp. 236-257). J'ai fait connaître quelques-uns des résultats de mon expédition dans divers articles de vulgarisation dont voici la liste : Métraux (Alfred), *Los Chipaya, constituyen un pueblo de antiguo data único en una de las regiones más desoladas del altiplano*, (« La Patria », Oruro, 13 et 14 mars, 1931) ; Id. : *Un mundo perdido. La tribu de los Chipayas de Carangas* (« Sur », Año 1, n° 3, Buenos Aires, 1931, pp. 98-131) ; Id. : *Un viaje de la América prehistórica en el altiplano boliviano* (« La Prensa », Buenos-Aires, 9 août 1931) ; Id. : *Från en Försvunnen Värld, Chipayaindianerna på Bolivias högplatå* (Göteborgs Handels- Och Sjöfarts-Tidning, samedi, 3 octobre, 1931, pp. 3 et 7) ; Id. : *El Instituto de etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán* (« La Nación », Buenos-Aires, 12 août, 9 juillet 1932, p. 9) ; Id. : *Chipayaindianerna. En folkspillra från en försvunnen Kultur* (Ymer, Stockholm, årg. 1932, H. 2 o. 3, pp. 233-271).

[p. 1]
[illegible]

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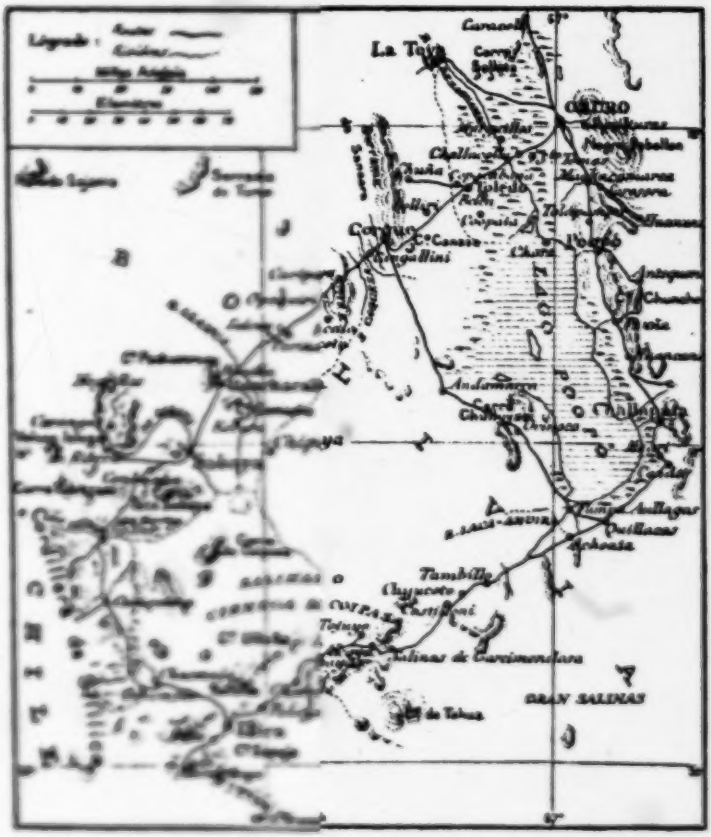
aux suivantes. Je fus secondé dans mon enquête par un interprète aymara que j'avais amené avec moi d'Oruro et qui déploya un zèle que j'étais loin d'attendre d'un représentant de sa race. Il me servit cons-



Carte 1. — Provenance des Carangas, d'après J.-B. Minchin.

tamment d'intermédiaire auprès des Čipaya et il lui arrivait de mener pour moi presque toute des recherches dont il me communiquait les résultats. Sans lui, l'intelligence des gènes et des formules sacrées que je recueillis m'eût été très difficile. Les Čipaya, s'ils parlent tous couramment l'aymara, connaissent aussi l'espagnol. Ceux qui le baragouinent

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ne sont ni les plus doués ni les plus instruits des choses du passé et je n'aurais eu en eux que de piètres informateurs.

Un contact encore plus prolongé avec les Čipaya ne m'eût guère apporté, je le crains, de faits nouveaux. Lorsque je quittai ces Indiens, ils avaient célébré en ma présence presque tout le cycle de leurs grandes fêtes et pour participer à la prochaine il m'eût fallu attendre près de six mois. Leur rituel est d'ailleurs fort pauvre : toutes les cérémonies, quel qu'en soit l'objet, se déroulent toujours suivant un schème identique. Quant aux croyances religieuses proprement dites, je doute fort qu'une intimité plus étroite avec ces Indiens m'en eût fait découvrir de nouvelles. N'oublions pas que les Čipaya ne sont plus qu'une poignée, que depuis trois cents ans au moins ils sont chrétiens et qu'ils se trouvent aujourd'hui dans un état d'infériorité intellectuelle réellement affligeant. Les individus que j'ai traités de près m'ont toujours donné l'impression de m'avoir communiqué tout ce qu'ils savaient sur les points que je désirais connaître. C'était généralement peu de chose. Je crois n'avoir pas été victime de leur réserve ou de leur dissimulation, car mes informateurs n'ont jamais nourri de sentiments hostiles à mon endroit, en apparence du moins. J'ai aussi la conviction qu'ils ont fait effort pour me donner satisfaction. Ils y étaient poussés par leur propre intérêt, puisque j'ai toujours cherché à récompenser généreusement chaque renseignement. Ici comme en beaucoup d'autres endroits, l'ossature de l'ancienne religion s'est maintenue presque intacte, mais les représentations dont cet ensemble de rites était l'expression ont disparu à jamais. Les mythes que j'ai pu recueillir ne sont eux-mêmes que de vagues réminiscences de traditions plus complexes. Mes documents n'en offrent pas moins un certain intérêt en ce qu'ils nous donnent sous une forme complète la description d'un grand nombre de fêtes et de rites *caractéristiques* de la religion populaire dans l'empire des Incas et qui, jusqu'ici, n'étaient connus que fragmentairement. Ils permettent d'établir l'existence de certains cultes, comme ceux des animaux ou des plantes *mal'ka*, sur lesquels nous n'avions que des indications imparfaites.

La transcription phonétique des sons indigènes adoptée au cours de cet article est la même que celle qu'emploie le Dr. Paul Rivet dans l'article cité ci-dessus (note 1, p. 111) *č* correspond au « ch » espagnol : *š* au « ch » français, *ǰ* est une affriquée qui en français serait transcrite par « dj » ; x est le « j » espagnol et *l'*, le « ll » de la même langue. Le signe combiné *k'* est une mi-occlusive dont la détente produit un son voisin du « j » espagnol. L'occlusion gutturale est indiquée par l'esprit rude. La voyelle *ɛ* est un e très ouvert voisin du *a* fermé.

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La tribu et le milieu.

Situation des Čipaya. — Les Indiens Čipaya forment aujourd'hui encore une petite tribu semi-indépendante, située dans le sud de la province de Carangas, dans le département d'Oruro (Bolivie) (Carte 1). La superficie de leur territoire est approximativement de 100 km².[1]

Le village de Chipaya proprement dit se trouve à une trentaine de kilomètres au nord des marais salants de Coipasa et à une vingtaine de kilomètres du Cerro Camacha, premier éperon de la Cordillère à l'ouest. A l'est, Chipaya est éloigné de plus d'une centaine de kilomètres des bords marécageux du Poopó. Le village ne s'élève pas sur les rives du rio Barras ou Chipaya comme l'indique la carte de la Mission de Créqui-Montfort, la meilleure que nous possédions du haut-plateau bolivien. Le rio Llauca qui coule à l'ouest, en est distant de 10 à 12 kilomètres. Comme toutes les cartes que j'ai eues sous les yeux font passer le rio Barras entre le Llauca et le village de Chipaya, j'ai entrepris quelques excursions de différents côtés pour vérifier la chose. Au nord-est de Chipaya, à environ 7 kilomètres, j'ai rencontré le lit d'une rivière à sec qui correspond peut-être au cours du rio Barras tel qu'il est tracé sur quelques cartes. Cette rivière doit avoir pris aujourd'hui une autre direction, car l'ayant franchie à la même époque à la hauteur du village de Kala, à deux jours de voyage au nord, j'ai pu constater qu'elle charriait passablement d'eau. Pour autant que nous puissions nous fier à la carte de Minchin, sans doute la plus précise du département d'Oruro, Chipaya se trouve presque à l'intersection du 68° de longitude ouest et du 19° de latitude sud.

Il n'est pas superflu de donner la distance qui sépare Chipaya des villages aymara les plus rapprochés. Ces indications contribueront à expliquer la force avec laquelle l'influence aymara s'est fait sentir sur ces Indiens. Le hameau aymara le plus voisin est Isaura que l'on gagne en une demi-journée de marche. Sabaya au sud-est est à peine plus éloigné.

1. Pour déterminer la situation exacte des Čipaya et pour me guider au cours de mes voyages dans la province de Carangas, je me suis servi des cartes suivantes : *Mapa topográfico de la Altiplanicie central de Bolivia, trabajado en los años 1903 para el proyecto de ferrocarril a la costa del Océano Pacífico*, par Hugo Boux ; *Part of the Bolivian Table Land from a Trigonometrical Survey executed for the National Government in 1892 by A. B. Minchin* ; *Régions des hauts-plateaux de l'Amérique du Sud (Bolivie, Argentine, Chili, Pérou) parcourues par la mission française (Lt.-Col. de Créqui Montfort et E. Senéchal de la Grange, 1903)*. Carte dressée par V. Hutt, d'après les travaux des membres de la mission, les cartes anciennes existantes et les documents les plus récents à l'échelle de 1/750.000 ; *Mapa de la red de caminos del departamento de Oruro*, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Néstor Crespo Díaz (1926) ; *Mapa integrativo de la totalidad del departamento de Oruro*, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Néstor Crespo Díaz (1930).

[p. 5]

Quant à Huachacalla dont le « canton » de Chipaya dépend administrativement, mes observations et les dires des indigènes me font estimer à 40 km. la longueur de la route qui y conduit. De Chipaya on se rend à pied en trois jours à Andamarca, près du Poopó et en deux jours et demi à Orinoco, sur les bords mêmes de ce vaste marais.

Prenant pour base les données de la carte de la Mission Créqui Montfort, j'estime l'altitude du village de Chipaya à 3.700 m. environ au-dessus du niveau de la mer.

Statistique. — J'ai pu recueillir le nom de 320 Çipaya environ actuellement vivants. Ce chiffre est certainement quelque peu en-dessous de la réalité, car je n'ai pu enregistrer dans ma liste un certain nombre d'individus absents ou résidant dans leurs « maisons d'eau ». Zenon Barrenèche[1], dans un rapport officiel présenté au gouvernement bolivien en 1910, évalue la population de Chipaya à 385 individus formant 77 familles. Si le premier de ces deux chiffres me paraît quelque peu fort, le second semble exact. Il peut même être considéré comme officiel puisqu'il a été établi d'après le nombre des « comunarios », c'est-à-dire des chefs de famille payant un tribut annuel de 3 bolivianos (les Çipaya me disent de 3,40 bolivianos). D'après mon propre recensement, il y aurait à Chipaya une centaine de ménages. Comme j'ignore le principe qui a guidé les autorités dans leur répartition des charges fiscales, je ne puis décider de l'exactitude d'aucun de ces deux derniers chiffres. Ulde, qui fut le premier homme de science à signaler l'existence des Çipaya, estimait leur nombre, en 1894, à 500 individus. Comme cet archéologue n'est pas allé au village même de Chipaya, son assertion est certainement très approximative et ne saurait être invoquée comme preuve de l'extinction rapide de cette tribu. Si l'on songe à l'ingratitude du milieu, on est en droit de se demander si jamais ce groupe Uro, exilé dans le désert de Carangas, a été plus dense.

La population de Chipaya se répartit de la façon suivante : *Tuasta* avec ses subdivisions *Warta-ayl'o* compte 169 habitants (58 à *Warta ayl'o* et 111 à *Tuasta* proprement dit) et *Tasata* 151. Je doute que dans aux

1. Barrenèche (Zenón), *Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor ... comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro* (Boletín de la Oficina Nacional de estadística, núm. 61, 62, 63, 2ème trimestre 1910, La Paz, 1910, pp. 571-600). Bosse (*Ein wenig bekannter Indianerstamm des bolivianischen Hochlands*, p. 50) estime la population de Chipaya en 1908, à 600 individus ! Ce chiffre est certainement de la plus haute fantaisie.

2. Ulde (Max), *Ueber seine Reise in Bolivia* (Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, t. XXI, 1894, pp. 309-322).

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ensemble la tribu se compose de plus de 350 membres. Le rapport numérique entre les deux sexes est de 32 hommes pour 26 femmes à *M'orio ayo* et de 88 hommes pour 82 femmes à *Tuanta*. A *Tuanta* la disproportion entre le nombre des hommes et celui des femmes (87 hommes pour 63 femmes) est telle que je ne puis l'expliquer que par des erreurs dans mon recensement. L'indigène qui me donna la liste des gens de cette « maison » le fit à contre-cœur et avec beaucoup de négligence. Sa répugnance s'explique par la crainte que cette opération inspirait à tous les Cipoya. Ils y voyaient une mesure mettant en péril leurs maisons divines ou la survenue de quelque impôt extraordinaire [1].

Les Cipoya sont peu prolifiques. Les ménages de plus de deux enfants sont rares. Je n'en connais qu'un seul de cinq enfants, deux de quatre et cinq de trois. La mortalité enfantine est très grande comme dans toutes les tribus indiennes. Les couples sans enfants sont assez nombreux et les Cipoya considèrent souvent à cet état de choses qu'ils considèrent, comme un malheur, par l'adoption d'un orphelin. Pour un peuple pasteur comme les Cipoya, les enfants représentent un capital et contribuent à décharger leurs parents d'une partie du travail exigé par la garde des troupeaux. D'où leur désespoir si leur unique reste stérile.

Il faut ranger au nombre des habitants temporaires du village de Chipoya les gens de Sakuse qui viennent acheter du fromage. Ces individus, pour la plupart de négociants métis ou des Indiens assimilés, y séjournent parfois assez longtemps. Quelques Ayoreo de Sakuya ou d'Ucuru semblent être établis à demeure dans le village. Ces étrangers tiennent presque toujours boutique et vendent aux Cipoya de la corne, de l'alcool et quelques menus objets de première nécessité.

La langue. — Les Cipoya sont tous bilingues. Entre eux ils emploient encore un dialecte zaro et dans leurs relations avec les étrangers, l'ayoreo. Cette dernière langue tend de plus en plus à supplanter l'uro et a déjà éliminé un nombre considérable des mots les plus courts. Cette infériorité de l'ayoreo est déjà si avancée qu'il n'est pas d'enfant, au-dessus de dix ans qui ne le parle et toutes les femmes, quoique la plupart en soient

1. Peu de temps avant l'expédition, un métis au service du gouvernement était allé à Chipoya pour y recenser la population et obliger les Indiens à acquitter une certaine (illisible), prétendu impôt institué par le Gobierno pour entretenir de l'argent aux missionnaires protestants anglais. Les Cipoya prirent très mal l'affaire et le métis menacé de mort n'eut que le temps de s'enfuir. Les Indiens me racontèrent l'incident avant même de me faire savoir de la terreur qu'ils inspiraient à un fonctionnaire. L'histoire de cette entreprise est même l'objet d'une chanson à la composition de laquelle [illegible].

LES INDIENS URO-ÇIPAYA DE CARANGAS

jamais sorties de leur village, s'expriment couramment en cette langue. Les Çipaya ont subi également une influence quichua, comme le prouvent les éléments quichuas de leur vocabulaire. L'espagnol n'a pas été non plus sans exercer une forte emprise sur leur parler primitif. Son action a été se manifester par l'intermédiaire de l'aymara. Le dialecte uro des Çipaya est donc une langue malade, en voie de disparition prochaine que je crois avoir sauvée, sinon intégralement, du moins dans une très large mesure, de l'oubli.

Le territoire. — Le milieu physique est celui de la *puna* (*Pl. VI, A*) modifié artificiellement par l'homme. Si l'on arrive à Chipaya en venant du nord, on traverse pendant près d'une journée une succession ininterrompue de dunes de sable où s'entrechoit quelques touffes de graminées longues et dures (*ex.*, *Stipa ichu* (*Jarava*) ou les tiges noires et tordues des *tolas* (*Baccharis Lepidophylla* et autres Composées). Une fois la zone des dunes franchie, le terrain devient parfaitement plat et les *tolas* plus rares alternent avec les croûtelettes mousses des *yaretas* (*Azorella*). Par endroits la végétation disparaît complètement, mais les parages les plus stériles eux-mêmes se parent de quelques petites fleurs éparses qui font sur la grisaille du sol d'imperceptibles taches de couleur. Les Indiens ne les dédaignent pas. Je me souviens de les avoir vus pendant une fête en cueillir des bouquets pour les piquer dans leurs cheveux ou en orner l'image des saints. L'aridité de ce sol sablonneux se manifeste avec une intensité toujours plus poignante à mesure que l'on s'approche du territoire de Chipaya. La limite en est marquée par la disparition complète des plantes mentionnées plus haut et par l'apparition d'une herbe rabougrie, fort clairsemée, qui n'atteint guère que quelques centimètres de hauteur. Ces misérables pâturages sont un produit de l'industrie humaine. Les Çipaya les entretiennent grâce à un système d'irrigation qui leur fait honneur à leur esprit d'entreprise et à l'ingéniosité native de leur existence en ce milieu. Au moyen de canaux, dont quelques-uns ont près de 2 mètres de profondeur et 3 mètres de largeur, ils ont détourné une partie des eaux du rio Lauca et les ont conduites par des ramifications secondaires en travers de toute l'étendue de leur territoire. A l'époque des pluies et des grandes crues, ils provoquent des inondations en donnant çà et là quelques barrages. Les eaux fertilisent les sables de la *puna* qui se couvrent de maigres herbages. En certaines places on a formé des lagunes propices au développement de plantes aquatiques qui servent de pâture à des paires noirs et volent comme des sangliers. Les Çipaya prétendent que sur leur sol poussent douze espèces d'herbes dont ils connaissent complètement le nom dans les prières à leurs divinités. N'étant pas botaniste,

je n'ai pu vérifier l'exactitude de cette assertion. Elle n'en révèle pas moins chez les Čipaya un certain souci de la précision, peut-être superflu, si l'on considère la pauvreté de cette flore qu'un peu d'humidité a fait surgir au milieu des sables. En janvier et en février, le territoire de Chipaya présente l'aspect d'un vaste marécage. Ce pays monotone et désolé est alors transfiguré et comme animé par la magie de la réfraction d'une vie surnaturelle : quelques petits édifices religieux enduits de terre blanche se transforment en mosquées étincelantes, les « maisons d'eau » et les porcheries agrandies et multipliées donnent naissance à des villes étranges qui bordent d'immenses lacs où se reflètent des montagnes bizarrement découpées. Dans le ciel, les nuages ébauchent des groupements singuliers et prennent un relief inconnu ailleurs. C'est aussi l'époque des grands orages. Il est des jours où la moitié de l'horizon est illuminée par le soleil alors que l'autre, dans la nuit, est ravagée par la tempête et sillonnée d'éclairs.

Sans ces inondations périodiques, le territoire de Chipaya ne serait qu'une plaine sablonneuse identique à ces étendues dénudées qui le séparent des salines de Coipasa. Aussi l'existence des Čipaya dépend-elle des crues du rio Llauca, qui, presque à sec en hiver, charrie en été une masse considérable d'eau. Il arrive parfois que la sécheresse caractéristique de l'hiver se prolonge pendant les mois d'été, menaçant de faire périr avec la misérable végétation herbeuse du « canton », les troupeaux qui s'en nourrissent. C'est alors le moment le plus critique de l'année, celui qui met en jeu la fortune de la tribu. Aussi rien d'étonnant si toutes les grandes fêtes des Čipaya sont célébrées à cette époque et si toutes ont pour but de demander aux démons et aux saints de leur envoyer, avec la pluie, la prospérité. Le début de l'année 1931 fut marqué par une longue période de sécheresse [1] et je fus témoin de l'angoisse des Čipaya ; cette inquiétude se manifesta peut-être dans l'éclat et le sérieux avec lesquels ils célébrèrent les fêtes que je décrirai plus loin.

L'hiver est pour les Čipaya un temps d'épreuve. Ils me parlèrent en termes éloquents de ses rigueurs ; des pâturages desséchés et jaunis, des animaux maigres et affamés, des vents glacés qui les pénètrent jusqu'aux

1. Pendant les mois de janvier et de février j'ai fait un certain nombre d'observations météorologiques malheureusement incomplètes en raison de mes fréquents déplacements. Pour janvier la moyenne de la température maximum a été de 19° à 20° et celle de la température minimum de 0°. En février nous avons eu en moyenne une température maximum de 19° et une température minimum de 3°. En janvier j'ai noté la température maximum de 24° et le minimum 1°. Pour février le maximum a été de 23° et le minimum de — 1°. Février a été plus pluvieux que janvier, quoique la fin de ce mois ait été marquée par de violents orages et de la grêle.

os. Toute cette saison est dépourvue de fêtes, du moins de fêtes païennes et cet arrêt de la vie religieuse atteste bien l'étroite corrélation existant entre les cérémonies païennes des Çipaya et les problèmes de leur subsistance.

On ignore encore jusqu'à quel point le milieu peut influer sur les conceptions religieuses d'un groupe humain, mais si l'ambiance a exercé sur l'imagination l'action que l'on s'est plu à lui attribuer jadis, il ne fait aucun doute que la mythologie çipaya ait dû abonder en éléments âpres et cruels. La vie dans les déserts de Carangas est rude. Les Indiens sont les premiers à s'en rendre compte et ils ne parlent de leur territoire qu'avec une sourde amertume : « ces plaines pelées où nous vivons », telle est l'expression qui revient le plus souvent sur leurs lèvres. Peu de régions m'ont donné autant que Chipaya l'impression du vide. Les montagnes de l'horizon se dressent sur les plaines comme si elles émergeaient de la mer. La teinte de ce territoire est d'un vert uniforme tirant sur le gris que les dunes coupent d'un trait blafard.

Ce paysage serait de la plus désespérante monotonie sans une échappée sur les Kimsa chata, les trois sommets neigeux que l'on entrevoit au nord. Le Sajama, l'un des plus beaux pics des Andes et auquel les Çipaya rendent un culte, n'est pas visible du village même, le cerro Camacha le dérobant à la vue.

Les petits lacs artificiels des environs de Chipaya attirent un nombre considérable d'oiseaux aquatiques d'espèces variées. Les flamants (*parina*) (*Phoenicopterus andinus, Phil.*) dont les Indiens dédaignent avec raison la chair insipide et qui abondent à Chipaya, apportent la seule note vive dans la monotonie du paysage. Rien n'est plus impressionnant qu'un vol de ces merveilleux oiseaux se profilant en rouge sur le bleu éclatant du ciel de la *puna*. Les Indiens utilisent leurs plumes pour en garnir leurs chapeaux lors des grandes fêtes. Les œufs de ces phénicoptères doivent être associés à des représentations d'ordre religieux ou magique car les Indiens ne manquent jamais d'en déposer un ou deux au pied des gerbes sacrées qui sont un des principaux accessoires de leurs cultes païens. J'ai même vu des individus qui arboraient de curieux diadèmes faits d'œufs de flamants enfilés.

Les mammifères sont peu nombreux. A l'exception de quelques vigognes, je n'ai pas le souvenir d'en avoir vu sur toute l'étendue du « canton ». Les contes çipaya ont pour principaux protagonistes un petit rongeur, le *taxo* (*Citenomys sp.* ou *Octodon sp.*) et le renard (*Canis Azarae, Wied*). On trouvera plus loin la description d'un sacrifice sanglant offert à un chat tigre empaillé (*titi-mal'ha*), promu au rang de fétiche protecteur d'un groupe de huttes. Ce félin est peut-être le *Felis Colocolo, Molina* que l'on rencontre à

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cette altitude. Un autre animal protecteur des huttes est un oiseau de proie, rappelant nos éperviers, dont j'ai également vu un spécimen empaillé. Comme, au dire de mon interprète, ces *mal'ku* ou génies domestiques sont communs dans tout le pays aymara, il est fort possible que les exemplaires conservés à Chipaya aient été vendus à nos Indiens par des colporteurs aymara qui font commerce de substances et d'objets magiques.

Le village. — Le village (Carte 2) est divisé en deux parties séparées par une zone entièrement dégagée de 230 mètres de largeur environ au milieu de laquelle s'élève l'église avec ses chapelles annexes, le cimetière et la prison. Chacun de ces quartiers correspond à une *suya* (mot aymara), ancienne subdivision territoriale que nous trouvons déjà dans l'empire inca sique sous le nom apparenté de *suyu* [1]. Cette division bipartite de toutes les com-

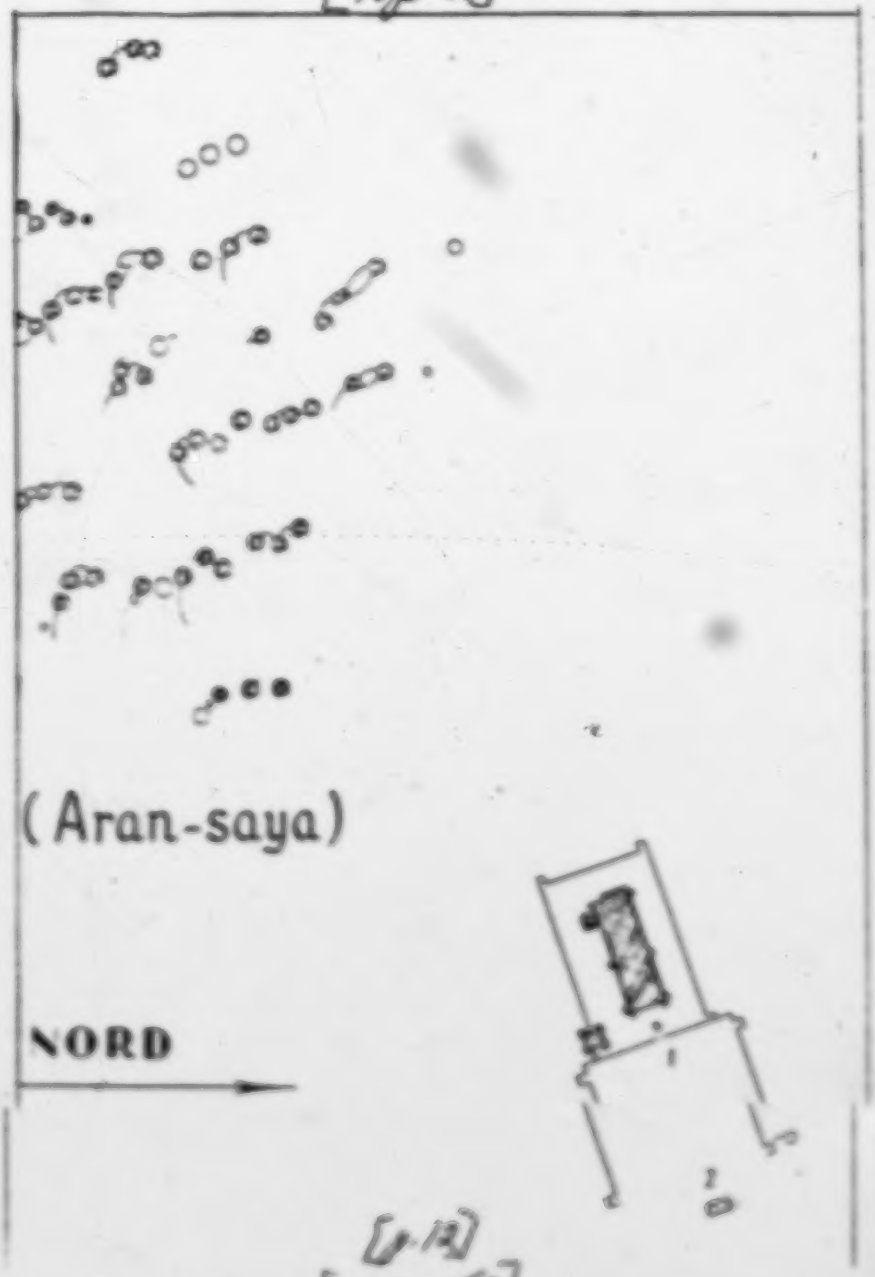
1. La division des communautés aymara en deux sections est déjà mentionnée au XVIe siècle. Cf. *Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes* (Relaciones geográficas de Indias publiées par M. Jiménez de la Espada ; Madrid, t. II, 1885, p. 58-64), p. 59 : « Y la primera que hizo el dicho Topa Yupangui fué nombrarles caciques y principales á beinte (*sic*), y dividió los dichos indios en dos parcialidades ó bandos ; á los unos llamó del bando de *Hanansaya*, quiere decir : « cosa del bando de lo alto » ; y la otra parcialidad llamó de *Urinsaya* quiere decir : « cosa que sirve » lo bajo ». A. F. Bandelier (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New-York, 1910, p. 62) signale ce type de groupement chez les Aymara modernes : « The ayllus remained as before, as well as two larger groups, each of which embraced several ayllus. These groups existed at Cacon as geographical divisions, called, respectively, Upper and Lower Cacon - Hanan » and « Huria-Cacon ». Under the names of « Arun-Suya » and « Ma-Suya », analogous divisions are met with the ayllu, by the Spaniards. At the present day the village of Tiahuanaco is divided into Arun-Suya and Ma-Suya, the former embracing what lies north, the latter what lies south, of the central square. In the older church books of Tiahuanaco the two « suyus » are entered occasionally, the ayllu always ». G. Mc Cracken M. Bruce (*The Aymaras Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia*. American Geographical Society Research Series, n° 3, New-York, 1931, p. 3) commet une grave erreur lorsqu'il déclare que chaque ayllu ou clan aymara comporte deux parties : « A peculiar feature of the ancient community organization, surviving in many places to-day was the division of each clan into two groups, the anansaya and the urinsaya. This division of the people is said to have originated at the time of the founding of Cuzco as the capital of the ancient Inca Empire ».

Les communautés indigènes du département de Carangas sont toutes divisées en *aran-saya* et en *manra-saya*. A Corque la « moitié » *aran-saya* comprend 6 ayllus et *manra-saya* en a 5. Les habitants de ce village me traduisirent ces deux termes par : « partie d'en haut » et « partie d'en bas ». Ailleurs on établit la distinction entre Orient et Occident, Septentrion et Midi. On trouvait dans la région de Carangas, comme à Chipaya « moitié de l'ouest » et « moitié de l'est ». Il en est de même à Huachacalla. L'observation de Bandelier au sujet des *suya* de Tiahuanaco semble indiquer que la répartition des clans en *suya* ne dépend pas toujours de leur situation respective par rapport au couchant ou au levant.

[Pl. 1]

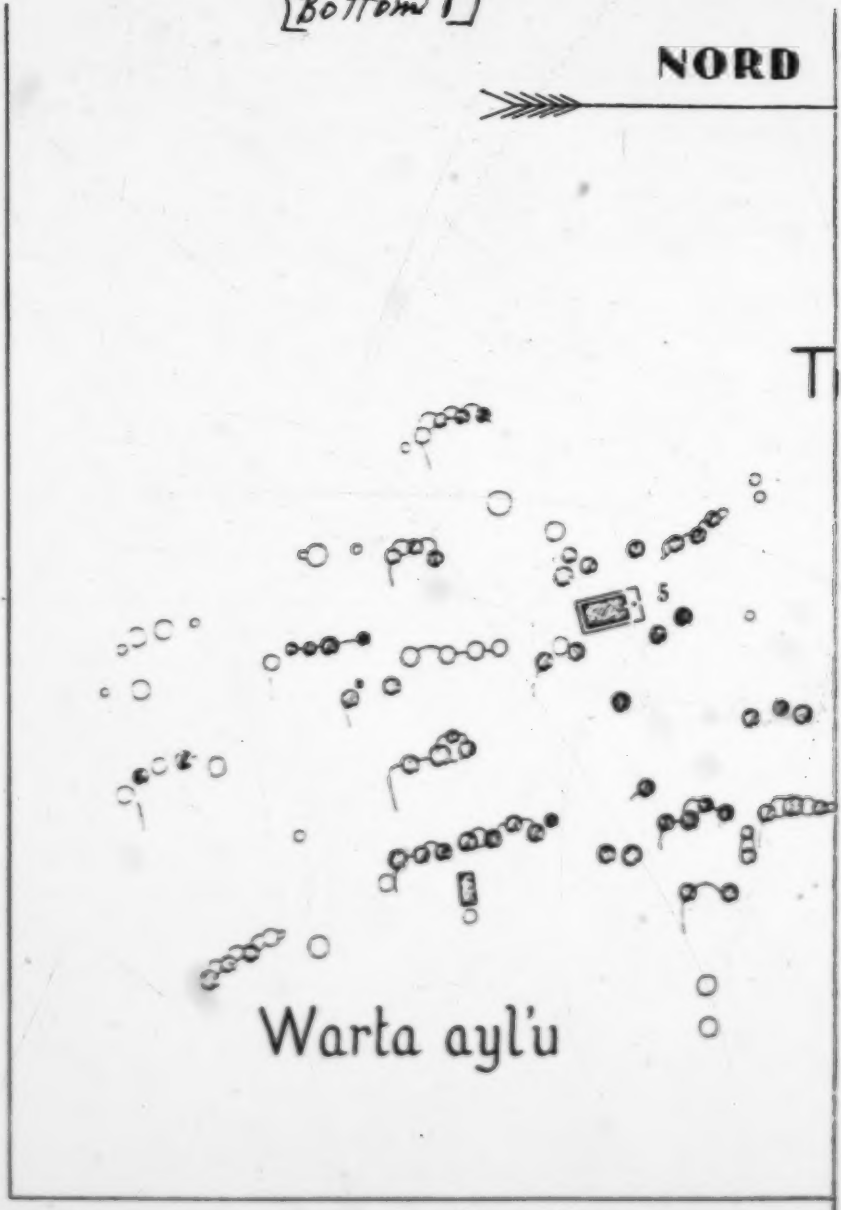
[p. 11]
[p. 120-A]

[Top 2]



[p.12]
[p.120 B]

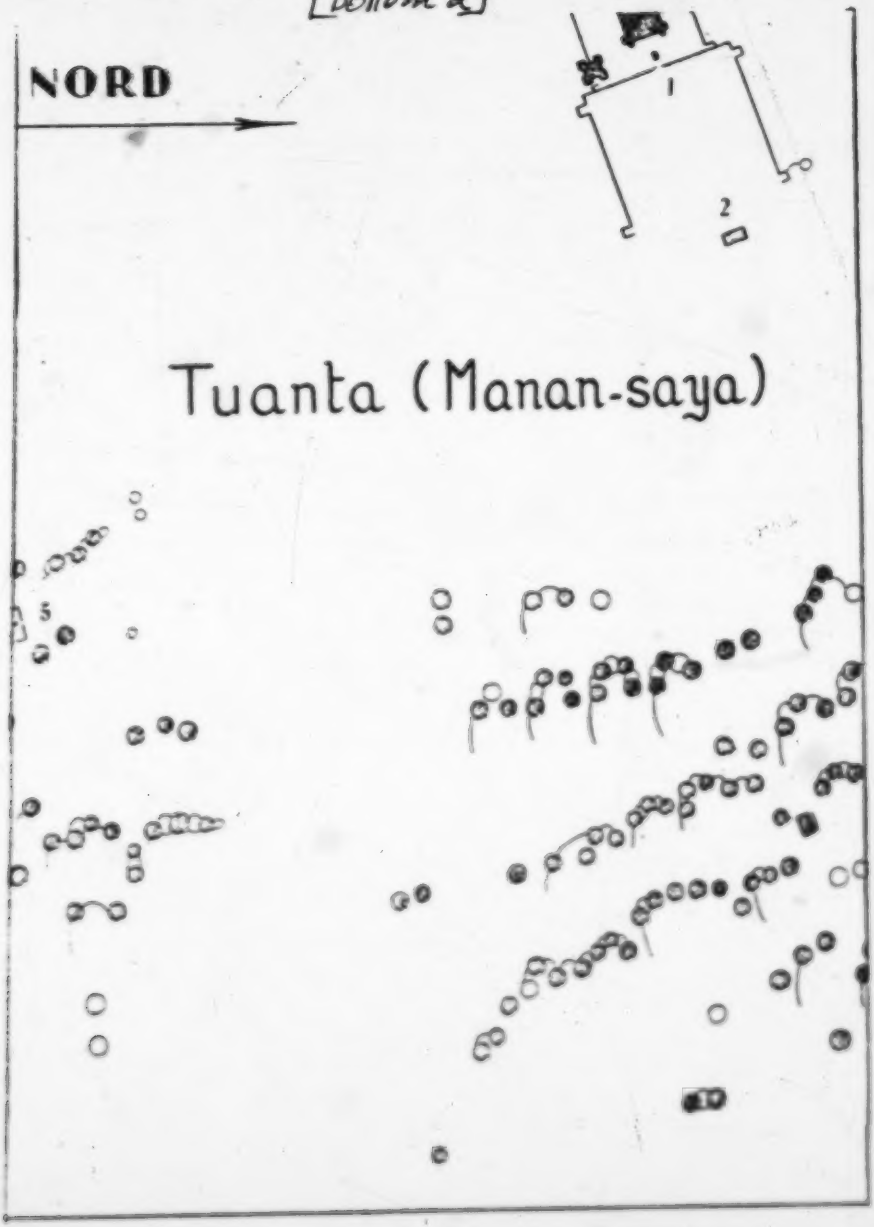
[Bottom 1]



[p. 120 - C]
[p. 13]

Carte
1 : Église

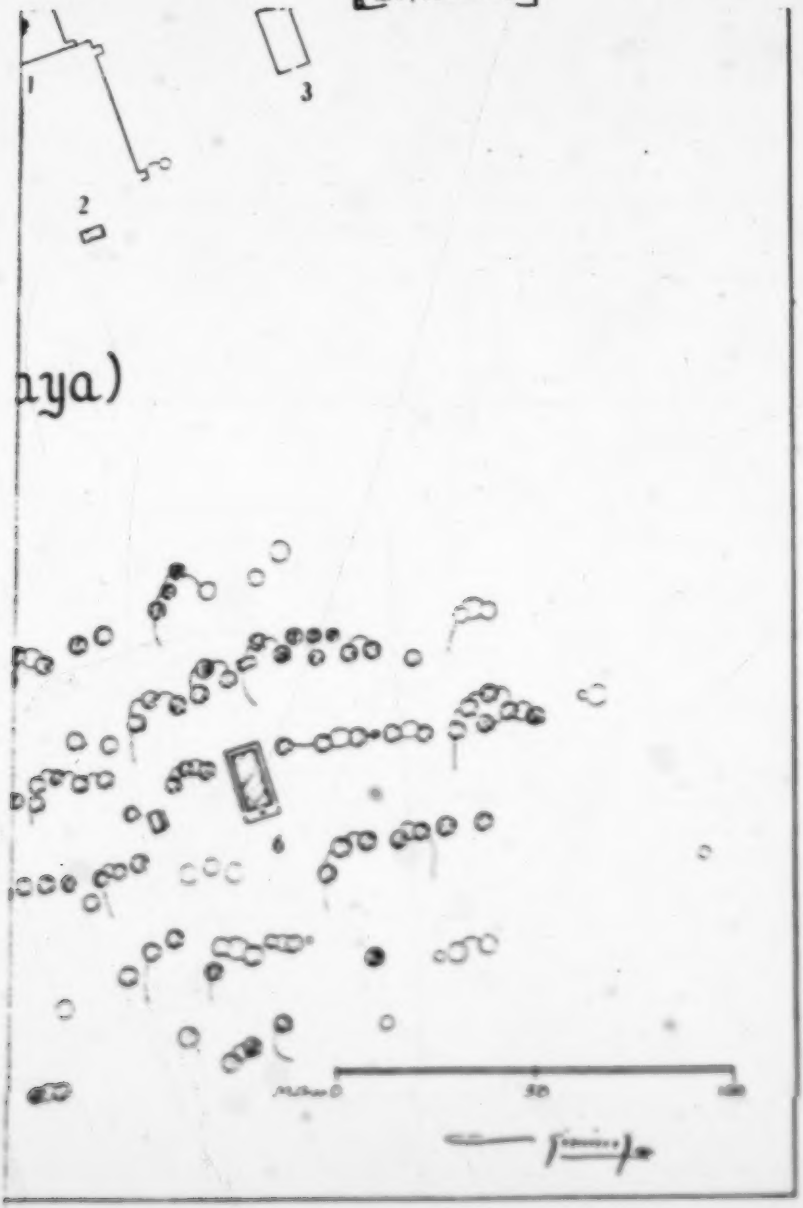
[Bottom 2]



Carte 2. — Le village de Chipaya et ses clans.
1 : Église ; 2 : Prison ; 3 : Cimetière ; 4, 5, 6 : Chapelles.

[p. 120-1]
[p. 14]

[Bottom 3]



[p.120-E]
[p.15]

[p.16]

munautés aymara et kičua rappelle les *moities* ou phratries non exogames des tribus nord-américaines auxquelles je n'oserais cependant les assimiler.

Ces deux fractions de la tribu si nettement différenciées dans l'espace ont une très forte individualité. Elles constituent deux unités presque indépendantes et sans autre lien que la célébration commune de certaines fêtes et la reconnaissance d'un chef aux fonctions mal définies et de création récente, le *corregidor*.

Entre les deux sections il existe un antagonisme qui se manifeste sous une forme violente au cours des grandes fêtes célébrées par la tribu au complet. Des rixes sanglantes éclatent alors entre les membres des deux *saya* échauffés par l'alcool. On considère ces bagarres comme un complément obligatoire de ces réjouissances. Les luttes entre les deux fractions de Chipaya sont si courantes qu'un Indien me déclara un jour être heureux de ma présence au village à l'époque du carnaval, car, ajouta-t-il, les deux « moitiés » n'oseraient pas s'affronter en présence d'étrangers et il n'y aurait pas ainsi d'incidents dramatiques à déplorer. Hôte de l'une des sections, je n'ai jamais joui dans l'autre de la confiance et de la sympathie que me marquèrent les gens de « ma » section. En dehors des fêtes ou des assemblées réunies pour discuter des intérêts généraux de la tribu, les deux *saya* s'ignorent et si leur existence se poursuit sur un plan parallèle, elle ne se confond que rarement.

Lorsqu'ils s'adressent à un étranger les Čipaya désignent les deux divisions de leur village sous le nom aymara de *manan-saya* et d'*aran-saya*, mais dans leur langue *manan-saya* se dit *tuanta* et *aran-saya*, *taxata*. Or, ces deux mots signifient « Est » et « Ouest » (*taxata* est dérivé de la racine *tax* : dos) et indiquent simplement que ces deux secteurs sont orientés suivant ces deux points cardinaux. A plusieurs reprises, lorsque je m'entretenais avec eux de leur organisation sociale, les Čipaya qualifièrent ces deux secteurs d'*ayla manan-saya* et d'*ayl'u aran-saya*. Si nous devions prendre nos informateurs au mot, chaque section serait constituée par un clan. Or je ne crois pas que *taxata* et *tuanta* soient des clans, du moins ils ne devaient pas l'être à l'origine, sans quoi les Indiens ne les auraient pas assimilés aux *saya* aymara qui comprennent chacun un grand nombre de clans. Une autre considération m'empêche d'accepter ce rapprochement. La partie du village appelée *tuanta* comporte en effet un quartier connu sous le nom de *uarta-ayl'u*, clan du sud, quelque peu écarté du reste de l'agglomération. Les habitants de *uarta ayl'u* participent aux fêtes et aux solennités de la *saya tuanta* et dépendent de son *alcalde*. Leur individualité ne se traduit que par leur tendance à rester ensemble et, détail significatif, par la présence au milieu de leurs huttes d'une chapelle particulière. Chaque *saya* a, en effet, sa chapelle propre où elle célèbre ses

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cérémonies, l'église placée au milieu d'une zone neutre n'étant utilisée qu'au cours des fêtes solennelles qui réunissent la tribu entière. Il s'agit sans doute d'un ancien clan qui a survécu alors que, dans l'autre *saya*, clan et « moitié » se sont confondus.

Hors des édifices publics, tels que les chapelles et la prison, le village se compose de maisons d'habitation avec leurs dépendances immédiates : magasins et petits enclos. La description détaillée de la hutte fera l'objet d'un chapitre spécial. Dès maintenant il importe d'indiquer que les maisons d'habitation aussi bien que celles qui servent de magasins ont une forme cylindrique et sont faites de mottes de terre superposées et couronnées d'un toit de paille en dôme (*Pl. VI, B*). Par endroits, les huttes sont groupées au hasard, mais d'une façon générale elles sont disposées en longues rangées plus ou moins parallèles dont les intervalles correspondent à des rues. Comme toutes les maisons s'ouvrent sur l'Est chaque rangée de maisons donne sur une rue différente.

Les huttes appartenant à un seul ménage ou à une même famille sont reliées par des murets qui forment de petits enclos utilisés comme bûchers ou poulaillers. Un mur très bas sépare des suivantes les huttes ainsi réunies. Le terrain délimité de cette manière est assimilé au « patio » des maisons aymara et placé sous la protection d'un esprit, le *patio mal'lku*.

Les chapelles sont entourées d'une enceinte et devant leur porche se dresse un oratoire ou une croix d'où part toute une série de petites chapelles et d'oratoires qui alternent à peu de distance les uns des autres sur cinq ou six kilomètres. Ces enfilades d'édifices sacrés correspondent en tout point aux *ayar*[1] du Cuzco, cette succession de wak'a, de temples et

1. Ondegardo (*Informaciones acerca de la religion y gobierno de los Incas*, 1re partie, p. 161 : « Otros muchos barrancos y lomadas tienen cargo de los grandes ídolos de que cada hombre particular reciçion en la corta general del Cuzco, que cuesta en todo el reyno e contorno todos los lugares que se diferençian de los otros en algo alderredor del pueblo hasta las comarcas, si es tierra llana que llaman cotas, quebrada, como algunos pueblos grandes e todas las pampas y nacymientos de aguas, o algunos llanos que hazen en algunas quebs o algunas lomadas redondas, ó las partes o donde acostumbra el reyno para los sacrifiçios, porque todos estos cotas estan divididos por sus cargos e cargos en el turno de cada pueblo y cada o cargo de personas que tengan en ellos sacrifiçios diferentes o para diversos efetos ; en unos para que se empreñen las mugeres, en otros que diera que de ellí sale el pelo o el grassa, y en otros que llueva ; assi desta manera los cuenta el Yngа cada division de lugares en todo lo que comprehende, lo[s]bolando grandissimo cargo del venefiçio que resçiviran en dandos assi en a cada uno en su tierra de lo que tengan o se podian aprovechar para sus sacrifiçios dichos ; lo qual el dio de oy hazen por su mysmo horden y tienen entendida grande que distinçion en ello ; e assi en enterarse en todos los pueblos lugares que pueden la corta, y viendo la del Cuzco tengo lo hazen... ». Sur les *ayar* ou *ayar* du Cuzco, v. Ondegardo (1re partie), pp. 9-11.

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de lieux sacrés qui s'échelonnaient du Cuzco au loin vers l'intérieur des terres dans toutes les directions. Il n'y a rien d'étonnant à retrouver à Chipaya, en miniature, une disposition propre à l'ancienne capitale de l'empire. Les villages incasiques reproduisaient fidèlement l'ordonnance des grands centres ou, à proprement parler, villes et villages ne se distinguaient pas fondamentalement.

Ce n'est pas l'effet du hasard si à Chipaya toutes les huttes sont orientées vers le soleil levant. Ici encore les Čipaya obéissent à d'antiques traditions religieuses. Ce point cardinal exerce une véritable tyrannie sur les attitudes que prennent au cours des cérémonies pagano-chrétiennes les officiants et la foule des fidèles. Les victimes offertes aux démons sont égorgées face à l'est ; c'est vers l'est aussi que se tourne le magicien pour faire ses prières et ses offrandes. Les anciennes sépultures des populations précolombiennes du haut plateau ou *chullpas* ont toujours leur porte située à l'est, fait qui avait déjà été remarqué par Cieza de León au XVIe siècle. Les Indiens modernes expliquent ce souci de l'orientation par un mythe malheureusement trop tronqué pour que la teneur primitive en puisse être reconstituée. A part une chapelle, le seul édifice de Chipaya qui n'ait pas sa porte à l'Est est la prison qui fait face à l'église pour que le pécheur enfermé puisse se repentir en contemplant la maison de Dieu. J'ai constaté dans plusieurs villages aymara une préoccupation identique.

Les Čipaya jettent leurs ordures dans la rue et satisfont leurs besoins un peu partout. Grâce à la sécheresse de l'air, le village ne sent pas mauvais et n'est pas d'apparence sale. Par contre, à l'époque des pluies, il devient difficile d'y circuler. Les Čipaya extrayent au milieu du village les mottes de terre avec lesquelles ils construisent tous leurs édifices. Ces prélèvements occasionnent naturellement des dépressions remplies d'eau que l'on est obligé de drainer par des rigoles. Le canal ménagé devant la *saya tuanta* déborde alors et coupe les communications entre les deux quartiers.

L'entrée du village est indiquée par deux piliers qui se dressent sur la route de Huachacalla.

A Chipaya il n'y a d'autre lieu de réunion que les chapelles et l'église. Les étrangers de passage sont logés chez les autorités.

Les huttes d'habitation ne sont pas continuellement occupées par leurs propriétaires. En effet, chacun d'eux possède en dehors de son domicile au village une ou plusieurs huttes situées quelque part au milieu des pâturages. Ces « fermes » sont placées généralement près des terrains d'inondation d'où le nom que les Čipaya leur donnent : *ʔaʃ-ʔoya* « maisons d'eau ». Ces Indiens désignent aussi chaque groupe de ces huttes et de leurs dépendances par le nom espagnol d' « estancias ».

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Les maisons d'eau sont, soit du type de celles du village, soit entièrement bâties en mottes de terre et de forme conique.

Parfois ces maisons rurales sont réunies en modestes hameaux, mais elles sont le plus souvent isolées. Leur nombre est considérable et on les trouve éparpillées tout autour du village dans un rayon qui va de 7 à 10 km.

L'organisation sociale.

Exercice de l'autorité. — Chaque *saya* est sous l'autorité d'un *alcalde* qui exerce les fonctions de juge de paix. Il intervient dans les querelles, saisit et emprisonne les coupables et reçoit les dénonciations. Comme nous venons de le voir, les *alcaldes* procèdent à la répartition des terres de culture et se chargent en outre de diriger les travaux faits en commun, tels que l'entretien des canaux ou la réparation des routes.

Le *corregidor* représente la tribu auprès du gouvernement. Celui de Chipaya, mon ami *Paulino Kondori*, était si peu convaincu de la légitimité de sa fonction, créée tout récemment, qu'il m'accompagna à mon retour pour être présenté au préfet du département et obtenir de lui que le territoire de Chipaya devint une circonscription administrative indépendante de Huachacalla. Par une de ces curieuses inconséquences du caractère indien, il ne m'attendit pas à Oruro où il m'avait précédé, et je ne pus appuyer ses efforts pour mener à chef cette révolution administrative. Tant que son titre n'aura pas été reconnu par le gouvernement, le *corregidor* de Chipaya continuera à être soumis à celui de Huachacalla. Pendant mon séjour j'ai eu l'occasion de lire les lettres que lui adressait son supérieur et qui étaient souvent conçues sur un ton comminatoire. Je me souviens qu'une fois il lui était enjoint de faire arrêter par ses *alcaldes* un débiteur récalcitrant et une autre fois de conduire à Huachacalla un Indien soupçonné, d'ailleurs à tort, de meurtre.

Paulino Kondori paraissait avoir quelques attributions judiciaires, car les Cipaya firent allusion devant moi à des « demandes » c'est-à-dire des plaintes qui lui avaient été présentées par des Indiens lésés ou se croyant tels. C'est à lui que les Cipaya vinrent faire part de leurs inquiétudes sur mes agissements insolites et sur mes mystérieuses enquêtes. Je fus logé dans sa propre hutte qui au lieu d'être ronde, comme les autres, avait un plan rectangulaire et un toit à deux pentes. Cette forme propre à deux ou trois autres maisons du village indiquait que leur propriétaire avait voyagé et était suffisamment riche et ami du progrès pour rompre avec le style traditionnel et imiter le type de construction en usage chez les Aymara.

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Une des principales prérogatives de *Paulino Kondori*, dont il n'était pas peu fier, était de distribuer des passeports aux gens de Salinas qui passaient au Chili. Rien ne lui faisait plus plaisir que d'apposer sa signature et son sceau sur un bout de papier dont le texte était rédigé par les intéressés eux-mêmes.

Son autorité n'allait pas plus loin. Les Čipaya auraient difficilement pu trouver pour les représenter un fonctionnaire plus timide, plus indécis et plus borné. Si leur choix s'était arrêté sur lui, c'est sans doute à cause du prestige que lui conférait sa qualité d'ancien soldat bolivien. Le fait qu'il savait lire et même griffonner quelques phrases a dû aussi contribuer à sa nomination. Les *alcaldes*, par contre, étaient des personnalités plus accusées et faisaient preuve dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions de beaucoup de caractère et de sérieux.

Il doit exister à Chipaya une assemblée générale qui se réunit pour traiter des questions particulièrement graves intéressant toute la tribu. C'est ce que j'ai pu conclure, du moins, d'un incident qui s'est produit au cours de mon séjour. Le territoire de Chipaya, s'étendant au nord des grandes salines de Coipasa, est régulièrement traversé par les caravanes de lamas qui vont en quête de sel ou reviennent avec leur charge. Les Indiens Aymara, forts de la timidité des Čipaya, faisaient pâturer leurs bêtes sur les terrains appartenant à ces derniers et irrigués par leurs soins. Les Čipaya décidèrent de faire cesser ces abus ou du moins d'obtenir en dédommagements des droits de passage. Le *corregidor* vint faire des remontrances aux caravaniers et exiger d'eux le payement d'une somme d'ailleurs minime. Comme ceux-ci se montraient récalcitrants, il convoqua autour de sa bottle la plupart des hommes adultes du village qui pendant toute la nuit discutèrent de la question. Le lendemain les commerçants aymara vinrent s'acquitter, qui en argent, qui en nature.

La famille. — La famille čipaya, comme l'aymara, est calquée sur le modèle créole. Les mariages sont célébrés à l'église et enregistrés à Huachacalla. Lorsque j'ai fait le recensement de la population, j'ai pu constater que les individus de même nom ont tendance à se grouper dans une partie déterminée du village. Ailleurs comme ceux caractéristiques de chacun des secteurs du village. Ainsi les *Aliste*, les *Lopez*, les *Pinto* à *Wanapa'o* ; les *Kondori*[1], les *Mul'o*, les *Loza*, dans l'autre partie de Tawna ; les *Farfán*, *Lazaro*, *Felipe*, *Kispe*, *Kipa* et *Tinta* dans la ayu Tawna. D'autres noms, par contre, se retrouvent dominants dans tout le village, ainsi les

1. Les noms de famille tels que *Mamani* (épervier), *Kondori* (condor), *Kipa*, sont purement aymara et nous portons par presque tous les Indiens de cette race qui n'ont pas de noms espagnols.

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Manani[1] aussi nombreux à *Tuoxia* qu'à *Tarata*. Les *Filha* chevauchent sur *Tarata* et *Tuoxia*. Exception faite des *Manani*, les individus dont les noms sont répartis indifféremment dans les trois secteurs du village ne représentent que quelques familles presque isolées et probablement émigrées. Il n'y a par exemple que deux métayers *Cora* dont l'un habite dans une case construite à la périphérie de *Warta* et l'autre à l'extrémité de *Tuoxia* proprement dit. Cette situation excentrique dans le village indique une origine étrangère ou récente. Il en est de même pour les deux *Filha*, père et fils, qui vivaient dans *Warta* avec un des deux métayers *Cora*.

Mon essai de recensement me donna les moyens d'examiner de près la question de l'exogamie. Les résultats des recherches poursuivies dans ce sens confirmèrent les témoignages des Cipaya sur l'absence de toute restriction à cet égard. Les membres de chaque « moitié » peuvent épouser aussi bien dans la « moitié » adverse que dans la leur. Les femmes de *Tuoxia* sont en grande partie de la section *Tuoxia*, mais à *Tarata*, par contre, s'il est de nombreuses femmes *Tuoxia*, la plus grande partie des métayers sont constitués par des individus de la même section, mais de noms différents. J'ai pu établir qu'en quelques cas, à l'intérieur de la même section, mari et femme avaient le même nom. Comme en ces deux occurrences il s'agissait de patronymiques sans équivalents dans un autre secteur, on peut en conclure que les exogamies étaient mais par quelques lois de parenté ; j'ignore lesquels.

La filiation est rigoureusement patrilinéaire. La femme dans la première année de son mariage habite avec les parents de son mari. Après la naissance d'un ou de deux enfants, le couple se construit une case spéciale à côté de celle des parents du mari. Cette règle n'est pas absolue, car il est des belles appartenant à des métayers sans enfants. J'ai recueilli sur le droit successoral quelques renseignements, malheureusement bien vagues et dont l'exactitude est suspecte. En cas de décès du mari, si la femme n'a pas d'enfant, les biens de son époux passent en propriété de son père ; elle (il en devient le curateur ?). Si elle a un enfant, l'avoir de son époux lui reste et en cas où l'enfant est encore petit, son « autre famille » prend soin des troupeaux, c'est-à-dire de la fortune par excellence d'un Cipaya. Un Cipaya me racontait que, devenu orphelin de bonne heure, il fut élevé par une femme de sa « moitié ». La fréquence des mariages croisés me rappelle de son frère qui lui servait de père lorsqu'il fut en âge d'aller labourer leurs petites parcelles.

Terminologie de parenté

Bien que la nomenclature des termes de parenté ne corresponde pas

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LES TERMES DE PARENTE DE CHIPAYA

sur l'ensemble organisation des Chipaya, je le reproduis à tout hasard, pour exposé de commentaire :

grand-père	[illegible]
grand'mère	[illegible]
père	[illegible]
mère	[illegible]
frère du père (le plus âgé)	[illegible]
frère du père (le second)	[illegible]
frère du père (le plus jeune)	[illegible]
frère de la mère	[illegible]
sœur du père	[illegible]
sœur de la mère	[illegible]
fils	[illegible]
fille (jusqu'à 18 ans	[illegible]
fille adulte	[illegible]
petit-fils, petite-fille	[illegible]
frère	[illegible]
frère (sauf que lui donne sa sœur)	[illegible]
frère cadet	[illegible]
frère aîné	[illegible]
sœur	[illegible]
sœur cadette	[illegible]
sœur aînée	[illegible]
fils du frère	[illegible]
fils de la sœur	[illegible]
fille du frère	[illegible]
fille de la sœur	[illegible]
cousin germain	[illegible]
cousine germaine	[illegible]
femme utilitaire	[illegible]
femme sexuelle	[illegible]
l'homme appelle la femme de son frère :	[illegible]
la femme appelle la femme de son frère :	[illegible]
la femme appelle le mari de sa sœur :	[illegible]

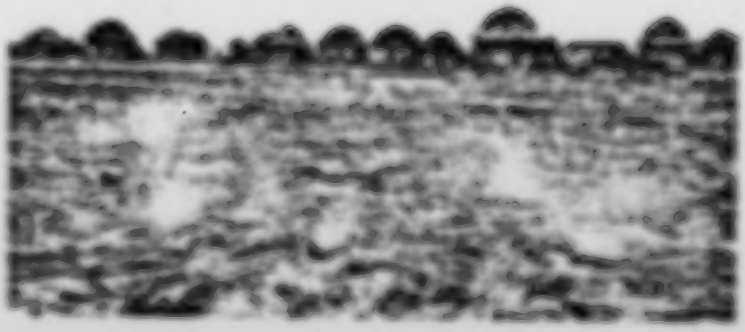
[illegible]

[illegible] société des chercheurs

le mot signifie le père d'un homme	*ermur, ermur kp*
le mot signifie le mère de un homme	*kolóka*
gendre	*uezi*
fils	*wezala, wezala*
épouse de le même remarie	*wir ep*
femme du père remarié	*wiri-nd*
remarie (mon distinctive de degrés)	*pirimiri-kla* (espagnol et aymara)
remarier (mon distinctive de degrés)	*pirimiri kalaka* (espagnol et aymara)
homme	*jel*
jeune homme	*ne*
enfant (garçon)	*skala-ala*
enfant (fille)	*skala-ciala, skala-nana-ciala, Pural, al.*

(*A suivre.*)

A. — La pointe de Coroapata.



B. — Village de Chipaya : la rive de l'ouest (amont).

A. Métraux SF24 Uru

LES INDIENS URO-ČIPAYA DE CARANGAS.

Par A. MÉTRAUX,
Directeur du Institut d'ethnologie de l'Université de Tucumán (Argentine).

(suite) [1].

(Planches XI-XVII).

La Religion.

Remarques préliminaires.

L'influence spirituelle est espagnole. — Depuis fort longtemps, probablement, les Čipaya sont catholiques. J'ignore la date à laquelle ils ont été évangélisés, mais je la suppose ancienne. Il est vraisemblable que leur conversion est contemporaine de celle [illegible] à l'époque où un curé vint s'établir à Carangas, soit au début du XVIIe siècle. Les églises des villages n'existent vraisemblablement aussi depuis au XVIIe siècle déjà et peut-être seulement au XVIIIe. Celle qu'on a bâtie à Sabaya dans l'époque où j'ai fait mon enquête avait plus de cinquante ans. Les Indiens furent incapables de me renseigner à ce sujet, pas plus que le curé de Huachacalla dont les Čipaya dépendent. Ces Indiens sont totalement ignorants de toute doctrine religieuse, sauf de ce qu'ils voient ou font par eux, au cours de fêtes, la vénération de leur patron spirituel qui n'a rien de plus pressé que de quitter cette région désolée et aux conditions météorologiques épouvantables. Les Čipaya viennent régulièrement à célébrer leurs mariages ou le baptême de leurs enfants à l'église ; ils accompagnent en chantant de vieux cantiques le voyage jusqu'à Huachacalla.

La religion des Čipaya est essentiellement païenne comme on pouvait s'en convaincre à la lecture des chapitres précédents. L'événement capital de notre vie, pour l'ensemble remarquable des premiers colonisateurs espagnols, l'indigénat et la perte de cette vie chargé héroïque modernes ont contribué, à des degrés divers, à maintenir dans un village perdu les croyances et les pratiques de l'époque précolombienne. Tout ce qu'on sait des Uro-čipaya se rapporte à leur passé ou à leur présent [illegible]

1. Cf. Journal de la Société des Américanistes, t. XXVII, 1935, p. 1-71.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Le nombre d'étrennes chrétiennes qui se sont ajoutées aux fêtes anciennes, l'oubli de quelques-unes d'entre elles, la nécessité où l'on a été de les renvoyer à un dimanche pour compléter des heures extrêmement fatigantes, ont fait que dans les premiers almanachs nos vieilles divinités païennes ne sont désormais l'une ou l'autre aussi mentionnées que la Vierge et des Saints. Parfois même ceux-ci seuls sont invoqués au cours de cérémonies qui n'ont rien de chrétien.

Il n'en faudrait pas pour penser que certaines fêtes, telles que celles du Feu Nouveau et de la Chandeleur, empruntent l'appendicite de l'ombilic étrangère le plus scrupuleux sur le chapitre des rites. Les personnes qu'elle engendrent leurs de même dernières fêtes ont une simple parenté de celles qu'ils font sous la conduite de leur curé.

À l'église, les prêtres devaient leur stabilité, brûlaient des cierges ou l'honneur des saints et chantent jour nouveau des cantiques aux heures prescrites. Un fonctionnement spirituel, le sacrifice, est chargé de l'entretien de l'église, de la bibliothèque et en compte ici était en plus souvent les cloches.

Plusieurs fêtes sont célébrées avec le patronage d'un saint et celle-ci avec celles des ordonnances catholiques.

À cette ordonnance catholique, il faut en joindre une autre de caractère païenne. Les solennités extraordinaires qui forment un des intermèdes obligatoires de toute fête sont entièrement des réminiscences de l'ancienne mythologie païenne. Les noms de ceux-ci, « ce dernier heure », qui sont prononcés en même temps, constituent un indice certain de l'origine engagement de plusieurs rites de cérémonie légale. La première est engagée de la fête [illegible] « [illegible] », « [illegible] », et en dignité est symbolisée par un [illegible]. Elle est [illegible] aussi engagée, mais elle [illegible] par plusieurs de ses engagés semblés dans [illegible] dans la troisième [illegible].

À [illegible] il [illegible] que [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] avec un village de même [illegible], ce qui n'est [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

(Suite)

Les rapports inter-tribaux et religieux

ou entre familles d'organisations religieuses que l'on trouve jusque dans les cérémonies ou les formules les plus intimes. Si jadis les Ojibwa ont pu subir un ascendant de tribus voisines qui leur ont été groupées, mais ont conservé leurs propres rites et leur propre mythologie. Cette pénétration n'a été d'ailleurs d'influencer qu'en partie de ses derniers siècles, comme le prouve le nombre de mots et de formules empruntés qui, comme je viens de le dire, forment partie intégrante de nos textes religieux.

La mythologie Ojibwa a un caractère purement syncrétique et il n'est pas impossible qu'elle ait aussi subi une certaine influence linguistique. Les événements qui servent à son exposition sont identiques à ceux que l'on rencontre chez tous les Indiens algonkiens. Cette notion des éléments dans la formation primitive se retrouve jusque'à nos jours et j'ai été témoin de véritables luttes de magiciens dressées à des Indiens Ojibwa par des Ojibwa ou des Indiens Cris. Les meilleurs magiciens Ojibwa croient tout leur apprentissage hors de leur village.

Les croyances primaires dont j'ai été témoin à Ojibwa rappellent beaucoup les pratiques chamaniques dont les Esquimaux nous font part. Le mythe raconte dans le Pérou du XVIIe siècle. Elles ont également d'étroites affinités avec les rites secrets des Iroquois. Ces similitudes, qui montrent à l'évidence une diffusion très large, attestent l'ancienneté des croyances et des rites populaires dans toute la région nord-est de l'Amérique centrale. Par ce fond commun se sont développées les religions plus complexes des grands empires disparus. Les affinités entre Ojibwa et Iroquois, principalement dans le domaine religieux sont si étroites que nous pouvons considérer les Ojibwa comme les derniers représentants de la vieille civilisation de la zone boréale telle qu'elle s'est prolongée jusqu'au XVIIe siècle. A ne juger que leur ethnographie moderne, rien, si ce n'est la langue, ne devrait distinguer jadis un Indien Iroquois d'un Ojibwa. Si les « superstitions » des Iroquois et des Ojibwa sont les mêmes, elles se sont conservées chez ces derniers plus pures et sous une forme plus complète.

Les principales divisions sociales. — Les principales divisions auxquelles les Ojibwa croient ou celle aux différents noms (Ours Polaire, Ours Américain, Martinet, Hibou, etc.), le patronage du village, le Totem-nom (Totem-name) accordée à la Vierge, des divisions fréquemment subdivisées (Totem-sous-fractions, Totem-sous-fractions, Totem-sous-fractions, etc.), les associations de tous hommes, un patronage de famille, le nom Chrétien et le nom de leur église (Nom-sous-fractions).

Les croyances sont groupées par un esprit, le petit sous-fractions, et par des croyances auxquelles (Nom-sous-fractions) qui sont l'objet d'un culte particulièrement développé.

[p.28]

Autels et cimetières

Les Saints et la Pala-nuna. — Comme on le verra par la description des cérémonies religieuses, les saints sont mis sur le même plan que les dieux ou les démons et reçoivent des libations et des sacrifices sanglants. Ils ne se sont pas substitués à d'anciennes divinités païennes, comme cela a été le cas en d'autres régions du haut plateau, mais ont été simplement ajoutés au panthéonisme à la liste des démons et des génies protecteurs des Capeyo.

La *Pala-nuna* (la Terre-mère), sous toute la principale de toutes les divinités païennes des Capeyo, est ouvertement confondue avec la Vierge et les Indiens déclarent indifféremment que la Vierge est la Terre-mère et que la Terre-mère est la Vierge. Ils ne la connaissent pas sous le nom de *Maria*, mais toujours sous celui de *Virgen*, qu'ils font suivre du mot *nuna* (mère). On fait à la *Pala-nuna* des offrandes de coca, d'alcool, de farine de blé et on laisse la terre en signe de respect ouverte. Je n'ai assisté à aucune cérémonie qui pût être considérée comme un culte adressé exclusivement à la personne. Les hommages qui lui sont rendus sont associés aux libations en l'honneur des démons, des pierres sacrées (*wanki*) et des Tata Antisanas.

C'est pour la *Pala-nuna* que l'on met dans le cercueil situé au pied de l'effigie du démon des hauteurs « pour l'adorer », c'est pour elle aussi que l'on enterre des plantes fraîches dans une motte de gazon et que l'on allume aux quatre coins des cimetières modernes un mât.

Les autels. — Le mot *wanku*, qui dans le dictionnaire de Bertonio[1] est traduit par « chef » « arbre de Versailles », aujourd'hui un sens plus limité et exprime une notion d'ordre religieux. Dans les textes sacrés qui constituent le ritual.ord des Capeyo, le qualificatif *wa* lui donne souvent à la Terre-mère, au rio Lliusta, à certaines montagnes et à la tour de l'église. Ce même mot est associé à divers autres groupes portés par de certains monuments que les Capeyo tiennent en grande vénération. Ce sont des pierres de forme de 1 m. 20 à 1 m. 70 de hauteur dressées au centre de neuf maisons du village dans un rayon qui ne dépasse pas [illegible] ces pierres sont disposées dans le genre et disposées de façon à former une sorte [illegible] (Pl. V). Deux [illegible] sont à leur base un cercle soigneusement [illegible] les indigènes y entassent les offrandes qu'ils font aux divinités des lieux. Sur l'une d'elles, une petite colonne sans [illegible]

1. Bertonio (P. Ludovico), *Vocabulario de la lengua aymara*. (Publié à nouveau par J. Platzmann), Nouvelle édition, Leipzig, 1879, p. 398.

2: Métraux SF24 Uru

çait le caveau. Ces monuments sont parfois supportés par un terre-plein ovale d'un mètre de haut environ. A côté du cône qui occupe la partie centrale de la plate-forme, il y a généralement un petit oratoire ou autel avec une niche où les Indiens déposent des feuilles de coca, de l'encens et diverses offrandes. J'ai remarqué à une certaine distance de ces sanctuaires un tertre artificiel où les animaux sacrifiés sont préparés pour le festin qui termine toute fête čipaya. Quelques mottes de terre entassées à peu de distance de la plate-forme font office d'encensoir et pendant toute la durée de la cérémonie les Indiens y brûlent de la *thus*, plante résineuse qui dégage une odeur forte et assez agréable.

Dans l'esprit des Čipaya, ces cônes de terre sont des « statues » représentant des personnages divins, des démons. C'est ainsi qu'on me les désigna lorsque j'en entendis parler pour la première fois. « Ce sont, me traduisit l'interprète, des *bultos a manera de hombres* ». Effectivement, chacun de ces cônes porte un nom (*Čunkirini, Koritanturi, Kemperani, Kant, Kilimint, Kusil'er, Kusil'awari, Estewan, Waxma* etc.), et si la plupart de ces noms sont čipaya ou aymara, le cône le plus révéré de la *saya tuanta* s'appelle *Estewan*, soit Étienne [1]. Lorsque je m'enquis auprès de l'Officiant attitré de la *saya tuanta* de la nature et des attributs des êtres divins matérialisés par ces cônes de terre, il me répondit que c'étaient des esprits qui parcouraient la *puna* sous l'apparence d'hommes blancs vêtus d'une tunique (*ira*) de même couleur et coiffés d'un grand chapeau. Si on leur adresse la parole, ils disparaissent.

Chaque *saya* a ses propres *mal'ku* auprès desquels « elle s'acquitte », c'est-à-dire leur fait à tour de rôle un sacrifice annuel. Il n'en existe qu'un seul (le *Kemperani mal'ku*) construit à la limite des *sayas*, qui soit adoré par l'ensemble de la tribu.

Ces constructions correspondent en tous points aux fameuses *wak'a* (*huaca*) que les inquisiteurs espagnols eurent tant de peine à extirper des villages de l'ancien empire péruvien. Le mot *wak'a* est d'ailleurs l'équivalent de *mal'ku* et tout aussi malaisé à traduire avec précision. Cette difficulté provient de ce que les démons de la religion populaire péruvienne et du folk-lore moderne des Čipaya sont peu individualisés et mal dégagés de l'objet sacré lui-même. Je suis même porté à croire que les Indiens ne se faisaient qu'une idée bien vague d'un être spirituel qui eût été le double de leur *wak'a*. Je n'irai pas cependant jusqu'à dire que la notion d'esprit fût étrangère à la représentation que les indigènes se faisaient des pierres ou des arbres qu'ils adoraient sous le nom de *wak'a*.

1. Je suis tenté de voir dans le *Kilimint* (?) *mal'ku* un démon dont le nom espagnol *Clemente* a été indianisé.

2: Métraux SF24 Uru

[p. 30]

Tout semble indiquer que ces objets sacrés étaient considérés en eux-mêmes comme pourvus d'une certaine individualité et de vie. Il ne peut en être autrement car on leur attribue souvent femme et enfants[1]. C'est précisément le cas des *mal'ku* čipaya. Dans les prières, leur nom est souvent répété deux fois, la première suivi du mot *mal'ku* et la seconde de l'épithète de *tal'a*. Cette dernière m'a été expliquée par les Čipaya eux-mêmes comme désignant la femme du *mal'ku*. Cette assertion est exacte puisque nous trouvons dans le dictionnaire de Bertonio[2] le mot « *Tiulla Cuyrahuni* : Reyna Muger del señor principal del pueblo, y las parientas cercanas de los mayores ». Si le mot *mal'ku*, « chef », a fini par signifier « démon », « esprit », il est naturel que le mot *tal'a*, « femme du chef », « dame noble », ait pris le sens de « démon femelle ». Les *mal'ku* qui sont symbolisés par ces monuments ou qui sont ces mêmes monuments personnifiés sont donc conçus comme formant un couple. Le mot *pésaru* qui suit souvent celui de *mal'ku* dans les prières čipaya est, à ce qu'il paraît, synonyme de *mal'ku*. La signification et l'origine de ce terme me sont inconnues ; j'incline à croire qu'il n'est pas aymara, mais uru. En ce cas il aurait le sens de « démon », « esprit ». C'est ainsi que la tour de l'église de Chipaya est *hata pésaru*, « grand *mal'ku* ».

Le mot *mal'ku* chez les Čipaya comme chez les Aymara désigne aussi une catégorie spéciale de fétiches fort répandus dans la province de Carangas et peut-être aussi en d'autres points du territoire habité par les Aymara et les Kicua. Ce sont des animaux empaillés ou des plantes qui protègent la maison. Mon interprète aymara me donna au sujet des *mal'ku* de son propre divers renseignements dont j'ai pu par la suite vérifier l'exactitude. Le *mal'ku* peut être une cactée assez rare que les Indiens cueillent dans les champs et qu'ils transplantent dans la cour de leur hutte. Ils lui bâtissent une chapelle minuscule en *adobes*, la décorent de touffes de laines colorées, de serpentins et lui font un sacrifice le premier août, mais qui passe pour « sauvage » c'est-à-dire néfaste.

1. Sarmiento (Licenciado Fernando de). *Relación del Origen, Descendencia Política, y Gobierno de los Incas*, dans *Tres Relaciones de Antigüedades peruanas*, publiées par M. Jiménez de la Espada. Madrid, 1879, p. 33 : « A unos (huacas) edificaban casas o hombres y a otros casas o mujeres y ofrecíanles sus devociones a cada uno para un género de necesidad ». Acosta (P. Padre Joseph de), *Historia de la idolatria del Peru*. (Réimpression facsimilaire de l'édition originale de 1621). Buenos-Aires, 1910 p. 12 : « otros tenían diversas figuras de hombres o mujeres, y a algunas dellas llamaban que eran hijos o mujeres de otros Huacas ». *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, t. I, p. 75 : « y era tanta la cerimonia desta gente, que no habia idolo a quien no daban mujer e hijos ».

2. Bertonio. *Vocabulario de la lengua aymará*, p. 347.

[p. 31]

Voici la formule encore en usage que l'on récite en faisant des offrandes au *mal'ku* :

Mal'kito	*kaita*	*kwiti'wiki*	*wawaiti'ka*
Petit *mal'ku*	cela	je te donnerai	nous sommes tes fils
awapiwit'wakita	*tuhuy*	*imata*	*kwiti'wiki.*
ne te fâche pas	tout	ensuite	je te donnerai.

« Petit *mal'ku*, je te fais cette offrande. Nous sommes tes fils. Ne t'irrite pas. Je te ferai tout à l'heure cette offrande ».

Le *titi-mal'ku* est un chat sauvage, de couleur grise, que les Indiens empaillent, mettent sur une table ou un coffre et auquel ils font des offrandes de coca tous les vendredi et samedi. Il est souvent décoré de rubans et d'autres ornements. Mon informateur me conduisit dans la maison d'une *chola* d'Oruro où je vis un de ces animaux apprêté de cette façon.

On qualifie également de l'épithète *mal'ku* les poutres transversales du toit (*oko-mal'ku*) qui sont considérées comme sacrées puisqu'elles reçoivent des sacrifices sanglants.

On lira plus loin (p. 383) la description d'un sacrifice fait par un Indien *Chipaya* en l'honneur d'un *titi mal'ku*, c'est-à-dire du chat sauvage gardien de sa maison. Je vis à Chipaya, dans une hutte servant de dépôt au *épervier*, *manani*, empaillé qui me fut également désigné comme le *mal'ku* de la famille qui en était propriétaire.

Certains personnages du folk-lore aymara portent, eux aussi, l'épithète de *mal'ku*. Ainsi le *Wiru mal'ku*, gardien mystérieux des animaux sauvages. Ces exemples nous permettent à présent de nous faire une idée assez claire de l'évolution parcourue par le mot *mal'ku* et de sa signification actuelle. A l'origine, ce terme marquait la prééminence, que celle-ci fût purement profane et due au rang social ou qu'elle dérivât du caractère sacré de l'objet ou de la personne ainsi qualifiés. La substitution des anciens noms indigènes désignant les différents degrés d'autorité par leurs équivalents approximatifs en espagnol a fait disparaître l'emploi du mot *mal'ku* dans le sens de chef. Il ne s'est conservé dans la langue que pour marquer l'excellence, ce qui est respectable et par conséquent le surnaturel et le sacré. Cette évolution s'est poursuivie jusqu'à son extrême limite et aujourd'hui *mal'ku* peut se traduire en certains cas par « démon ». Dans quelques prières *Chipaya*, le magicien s'adresse indistinctement à « tous les *mal'ku* », il invite les « *mal'ku* » à venir manger les morceaux de viande qu'on leur jette à la volée.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Les recherches bibliographiques que j'ai entreprises ne m'ont apporté que de rares exemples du mot *mallu* attribué à des titres surnaturels ou revêtu de la signification de « sacré ». Les indigènes actuels de la région de Huarochirí[1] rendent un culte aux « *mallkis* » ou momies de leurs ancêtres gentils. « Avant de répandre les eaux d'irrigation, les gens se dirigent vers la maison communale où se trouvent les fonctionnaires pour apprendre de leur bouche les prières prononcées par les *mallkis* ». « Près de la bagne de Pokle, il y a une grande pierre, arrondie, qu'ils appellent le *Mallki* de la pompe de terre. Les fonctionnaires et les vieillards donnent autour de cette pierre en chantant en hommage ». Dans les premiers exemples, le mot *mallki* semble être synonyme de *malqui*, corps des ancêtres. « Après les *Mamas* de pierre, nous dit Arriaga[2], leur plus grand sujet de vénération et d'adoration sont les *malquis*, que dans la plaine on appelle *Mamas*; ce sont les os ou les corps entiers des ancêtres parmi qu'ils donnent fils de *Mamas*; ils les gardent dans les champs ou des lieux retirés, dans les *Machays*, qui sont leurs sépultures ordinaires, parfois ils les ornent de longues tresses postiches et de plumes de diverses couleurs ou de cendal ». Comme à Huarochirí, *mallki*, est, à ce qu'il semble, le nom indigène des momies, on peut supposer que c'est une forme dialectale du mot *malqui*, qui a le même sens. Quant à la pierre *mallki*, elle est identique aux ancêtres lithiques et se rapproche de ces pierres sacrées et des *wanki* dont nous parlerons tout à l'heure. Il est évident qu'en ce cas le mot *mallki* correspond assez exactement à nos hommes-symbole et objets.

Le livre de Bigalberto Paredes[3] sur les survivances religieuses de la Bolivie contient quelques allusions aux *mallis* que l'auteur a confondus avec le *Wari mallu* dont il a été question plus haut. « Si les Indiens égorgent un mouton, un lama ou un bœuf, ils engagent de sang le front ou l'extrémité triangulaire du mur principal de leur maison, en hommage au *mallu*, qui, croient-ils qu'on ne l'a pas oublié, favorise en leur pour le remercier de cette offrande ». Il s'agit ici du culte rendu aux *mallis* domestiques que j'ai déjà signalé. Le même folkloriste décrit certaines cérémonies célébrées en l'honneur d'un *mallu*, c'est-à-dire d'une poupée que les Indiens font au bout d'une perche, et auquel ils font des sacrifices sanglants. « Cette effigie peut être quelquefois une poupée

1. Tello (Julio C.) et Wiesse (Pompeyo), *Difuntos, Covenados Gentiles* [illegible] *en la Región Circundante del Pará Central*. Inca. Lima, t. I, n° 1, 1923, p. 173-248, 249, 251, 252.

2. Arriaga, *Extirpación de la idolatría del Perú*, p. 24.

3. Paredes, Bigalberto. *Mitos, supersticiones y supervivencias populares de Bolivia*. La Paz, 1936, p. 73-78.

[p. 337]

démoniaque, d'autres liés aux pierres fétiches, aux images de pierre ou aux bâtons enveloppés de chiffons de couleur ».

Au contraire du mot *mallo* lui-même, la notion qu'il exprime est familière à tous ceux qui se sont occupés de l'ethnographie de l'ancien Pérou. Je pourrais par de multiples exemples démontrer que les *mallo* épars ne sont autre que les huacas dont la nature, la forme et le nombre ont été si souvent mentionnés par les anciens chroniqueurs. Comme leurs descriptions ont été complétées par de nombreux auteurs modernes traitant de la religion péruvienne, je crois inutile de citer à mon tour ces passages bien connus [1]. Les Aymaras désignent du Titicaca donnent au mot *alalâla*, « conserver », une signification voisine de celle du mot *mallo*. « Les Indiens Aymaras, nous dit Bandelier [2], appellent chaque « conada » ou gîte assigné « Animchila », c'est-à-dire « grande-pierre ». Ils appliquent ce terme à toute chose protectrice; cependant l'importance de l'*alalâla* n'est pas toujours en rapport avec sa taille ». « Les Aymaras des îles associent une attention particulière aux *alalâlas* littéralement aux grande-pierre, esprits qui résident en des lieux élevés ou dans des objets fragmentés et qui sont censés exercer une influence constante sur l'homme. Cette croyance aux *alalâlas* n'est autre que la fétichisme si bien caractérisé par M. Cushing et dont j'ai trouvé la trace dans toutes tribus indiennes avec lesquelles je suis entré en rapport. Tout objet extraordinaire dans la nature est supposé par l'Aymara contenir un esprit ou une essence spirituelle qui joue un rôle actif dans l'existence de ce qui l'entoure y compris les hommes ». L'interprétation de Bandelier est naturellement beaucoup trop savante d'ordinaire, mais ce qu'il nous apprend des *alalâla* ou de l'*alalâla* (la Terre-mère est aussi un *alalâla*) et de leur culte rappelle beaucoup la notion de *mallo* et les pratiques superstitieuses dont les *mallo* sont l'objet [3].

1. Voir entre autres Avila « Constancia (J.), *Las religiones del Imperio de los Incas*. Vol. I. *Los fundamentos del culto*. Huacas, amuletos, ayunos, fiestas, oráculos (Quito, 1918); Lehmann (Henrich G.), *Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos*, Santiago de Chile, 1925, pp. 61-82.

2. Bandelier, *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, pp. 9 et 10.

3. Un passage du chroniqueur Cobo [Bernabé, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (Sociedad de los amigos y publicistas del Perú), Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú, Lima, t. I, 1890, pp. 458-459, p. 107] laisse entendre que dans l'ancien Pérou le mot *mallo* avait été employé avec exception comme synonyme de celle de huaca (*cosa*) et pouvait se traduire par « sacré, saint ». « Los indios que llamaban *allpa* huacaban una huaca, que *allpa* huacaban a la tierra, una porque decían que a todos criaba el Sol, y que los daba mantenimientos; y que sembrándose a la misma postura decían que todos morían, y tornando brotaban sus frutos y sus sementeras; y el fuego decían semejante todo muchos, y el mais y a las otras sementeras y a las criaba y generaba que todos

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Une évolution analogue à celle du mot *mal'lu* s'est produite en kitua avec le mot *auki* dont le sens primitif est identique, à savoir « maître, seigneur ».

Dans la région du Cuzco, « les *anqui* forment une catégorie particulière de génies tutélaires de l'air, des eaux, de la terre. Ils président aux actions des hommes et reçoivent leurs offrandes. On croit que les individus, les animaux, les choses, sont possédés par des êtres mystérieux, esprits, fluides, essences dont les manifestations sont souvent concrètes. De ceux-ci quelques-uns sont bienveillants et deviennent des protecteurs s'ils reçoivent les offrandes des hommes, surtout les prémices des boissons (sic) qu'ils consomment. De même que l'*anqui* peut être une divinité protectrice, d'autres sont toujours malveillants et infligent constamment des maux à certaines personnes. Ce sont eux qui font grêler, geler, qui détruisent les récoltes, provoquent les épizooties, font tomber la foudre meurtrière et destructrice. Ce sont les *machu* des Kitua et les *Achachi* des Aymara (ces deux mots ont le sens de vieux) que l'on insulte, auxquels on jette des pierres et qu'on raille pour les tenir à distance[1] ».

Le mot *anqui* revient fréquemment dans les rapports publiés par l'Université du Cuzco sur le folk-lore de cette région. C'est ainsi que les trompeurs sont censés être protégés *par un anqui* et que l'âme d'une personne malade peut se trouver captive d'un *anqui*[2]. Le mot *apu* qui jadis signifiait « chef » et qui, par conséquent, est synonyme de *mal'lu* et de *auki* est employé aujourd'hui pour désigner les démons ou esprits.

Les *chaus* de terre, qui sont les *mal'lu* par excellence, jouent dans la vie religieuse des Cipaya un rôle de tout premier plan. La plupart des fêtes solennelles de ces Indiens sont en leur honneur. Lorsque dans un sacrifice le magicien offre le sang de la victime aux *mal'lu*, il ne manque jamais d'en asperger les quatre points cardinaux en prononçant le nom des *mal'lu* qui vivent dans chaque quartier de l'espace.

Les samiri. — Le culte des *samiri* constitue l'aspect le plus intéressant

madre ; y a la chicha, que es el brevaje que ellos usan, diciendo que el vinagre de ella era la madre y la reverenciaban y la llamaban mama, agua madre del vinagre, y cada una celebraba de esta manera, y la tenían hecha, como digo, una cosa y parecía su servicio muy cumplido y particularmente ; e la mar decían que tenía madre y que se llamaba marimanda, que es madre de la mar y que la tenían gran respecto ».

1. Gonzáles (Pastor). *Los Farayas*. Revista universitaria. Cuzco, VIIIe année, n°. 30, septembre 1919 (pp. 41-48), p. 41-42.

2. Muñoz (César A.). *Del folk-lore indígena*. Revista universitaria. Cuzco, XVIe année, no. 52, 1928, pp. 14-30.

de la religion païenne des Çipaya. Les *samiri* sont des pierres plates, d'origine calcaire, n'affectant aucune forme déterminée. Ceux de la *saya tuntja* sont gardés dans un caveau de 60 cm. environ de profondeur et de 60 cm. de longueur, situé à une dizaine de kilomètres du village, à l'endroit où de maigres pâturages font place aux salines de la *puna*. La fosse est entourée par un monticule et soigneusement dissimulée sous une *yareta*.

Les *samiri* sont censés protéger le bétail, et, dans les prières qui leur sont adressées, on distingue les *samiri* des lamas, ceux des porcs et ceux des moutons et c'est d'eux qu'on attend la multiplication de ces animaux. Les Çipaya appellent également *samiri* un agneau empaillé qu'ils enterrent dans l'enclos à moutons pour qu'il veille sur le troupeau. Le mot *samiri* équivaut donc à *huaca*, terme générique qui servait à désigner les fétiches ou amulettes dont les anciens Péruviens faisaient dépendre la prospérité de leurs troupeaux, de leur champ ou de leur maison[1].

Le culte des *samiri* existe chez les Aymara modernes quoique leurs *samiri* aient une nature différente et des fonctions plus étendues qu'à Chipaya. Près de Corque, en faisant des feuilles, je vis une pierre haute de 20 cm. environ et ayant vaguement l'apparence d'une statuette humaine. Je voulus l'emporter, mais on m'en dissuada. La perte de cette pierre aurait affligé et troublé les Indiens dont elle était le *samiri*. Une montagne, le Moleku Kurusani, me fut indiquée par les Aymara du village de Kurusani comme étant leur *samiri*. Ils s'y rendent le jour de la Saint-André pour y brûler de la *thola* et y égorger un lama ou un mouton. Les *alcalde* ou maîtres descendent de cette montagne pour apporter « la chance ». Mon interprète aymara me fournit un sujet des *samiri* d'autres faits que j'exposerai tels qu'il me les dicta : « Les *samiri* sont des animaux que l'on garde chez soi et qui portent chance. Ce sont généralement des crapauds ou des lézards que l'on attrape dans les champs et que l'on met dans des petites boîtes de verre. On les nourrit de bonbons. Chaque mardi et chaque vendredi on leur fait des offrandes et des libations (*t'alla*). Ils requièrent en outre nourriture de la coca avec de la *llipta* (*lista*). La libation s'accompagne en pays kitus de la formule suivante :

tatji	*sanitanaxa*	*kunpatatanaxa*	*cunnâ*	*cuna.*
offrir de la coca	plus	que m'accompagne	bonne	chance.

1. Sur les *huacas*, on peut consulter la compilation de Arriaga et Cobo, *La religion des Incas de Pérou*, pp. 99-105 et Lothrop, *Les croyances religieuses des anciens Péruviens*, pp. 53-58.

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SOCIÉTÉ DES ANTHROPOPHAGES

A San Pedro, près d'Oruro, on peut voir deux blocs de rocher et un crapaud en pierre qui sont les *amiri* d'Oruro. Lorsque ces rochers se mouvront c'est un présage de malheur[1].

Mal'ku kamaxa est le *amiri* d'Uanale : les *patiri* ou magiciens *cymaca* y ont enterré des crapauds vivants. Ces batraciens ne souffrent pas, à ce qu'il paraît, de leur séjour sous terre et autour s'y multiplient. La caisse dans laquelle on les a enfermés doit être renouvelée chaque année et à cette occasion on célèbre une grande fête qui précède la collège des *patiri* ou magiciens. Ceux-ci observent divers rites mystérieux que les assistants tenus à distance ne font qu'entrevoir. Les hommes-médecins tiennent de longs discours interrompus par de fréquentes libations. Tout habitant du village doit faire quelques offrande aux *amiri* : des morceaux de sucre, de la filasse, de la graisse de lama, du vin en bouteille, de l'alcool pur et de la coca avec de la *lijia*. On sacrifie en plus deux lamas noirs dont le sang est exhumé, les os brûlés et la viande consommée par les fidèles. Cette cérémonie est un prétexte à toutes sortes de réjouissances, en particulier à des danses au son de la flûte et du tambourin.

Le *amiri* est donc le protecteur du village, il veille également sur les troupeaux. Pour attirer sa faveur sur le bétail, on dépose à l'endroit supposé des amulettes représentant des boeufs et des moutons. Chaque année, à l'époque des semailles, on lui sacrifie deux lamas.

Le *amiri* peut être une montagne. Ainsi le cerro de Potosi est un *amiri* et la légende veut qu'un crapaud se trouve à son sommet. Le cerro d'Oruro est lui aussi un *amiri*. Aux heures solitaires de la nuit, deux serpents mystérieux y apparaissent qui font sortir les hommes en cuir Huka. Les sécrétions du cerro de Potosi lui font des libations *d'al'a* et des offrandes de lettes de lama. De l'ornement avec de la filasse et laissent en son honneur une bouteille de vin. Ces sacrifices, qui se accomplissent à certains dates fixes, ont toujours lieu au pied de la montagne. Le sommet inspire une profonde terreur aux Indiens qui sont en proie à des tremblements.

Outre les montagnes, les points d'eau et les cavernes peuvent être *amiri*. Ceux-ci sont particulièrement redoutables et il est préférable de n'en jamais approcher. Les offrandes sont déposées à une certaine distance et le *patiri* lui-même n'ose guère approcher ces lieux sacrés.

1. Ce renseignement est confirmé par Portugal, Oruro, *apuntaciones y reminiscencias*, etc., p. 61 : « Cerca a la ciudad de Oruro, existe un peñasco en forma de sapo, el que era considerado por el pueblo como una buena indagación y un conocimiento, en la inteligencia relacionado exactamente de Roma, existen y diariamente cuentan de ello ricos, vivos y agonizantes ».

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LES INDIENS CHIPAYA DE CARANGAS

La seule indication bibliographique précise que je connaisse sur les *amiri* se trouve dans le livre de B. Parodi[1]. Ces renseignements, comme tous ceux que nous fournit Parodi, sont caractéristiques de toutes ceux qui nous éclairent sensiblement la valeur scientifique : « *amiri*, explique, endroit signifie comme dénonce originaire des ancêtres, soit des hommes ou des animaux. De par ce fait, une étrange force vitale est censée localisée en cet endroit et chaque fois que le descendant s'y rend, il reçoit un nouvelle vivifiant et revient plein de courage. Une vertu semblable a été réservée à un lieu par la Pâte-mama qui n'a pas voulu accorder aux habitants de son temps tout ce qu'elle savait par leur donner. Ainsi tant que la vie existera, tant qu'il y aura un monde, une fils ou enseignement pas de surprise pour consoler à leur découragement et à l'heure de leur premières. Ce lieu est une mère pour l'être vivant qui implore son aide. Les Indiens viennent ces lieux considérés comme sacrés et leur offrent des sacrifices.

« Mon *amiri* », dit l'Indien et il montre son estomac, ou encore, en cherry ou une grotte. « Le *amiri* de mon troupeau est tel autre endroit », ajoute-t-il, et il indique des lieux inhabitables, quoiqu'il n'y soit jamais allé ».

Si les renseignements de Parodi sont exacts, les *amiri* des Aymara actuels sont les *pakarina* des anciens Péruviens, c'est-à-dire le lieu d'où chaque ayl'u ou clan est issu et qui est, par conséquent, sacré et révéré par les membres de ce clan. Comme les *amiri* des Cipaya n'ont ne aucun façon un caractère, on peut supposer que le mot *amiri* a pris comme celui de nulle une existence qu'il n'avait pas primitivement et qu'il a été par dérivation, entre les *pakarina*, les lieux protecteurs des troupeaux et des champs.

Les chroniques et les documents du XVIe siècle ne mentionnent pas les *amiri*. Dans le fameux ouvrage de l'extirpateur Arriaga[2], il est fait cependant une courte allusion à des lieux sacrés appelés *yamoro*. « Y en eut ceux-ci nommés les Illamas, pour eux les bagues, dondo dans que des-cendaient, « adoraient les Illamas, que Nomen *Zavaya*, y a cinq bagues de dondo elles les invoquent, que Nomen *Cayan*, tendaient les cérémonies ». Le mot *yamoro* a été un peu voisin de celui que Parodi donne à *amiri*, « segment ».

La définition des *yamoro* donnée par Arriaga ne semble convenir à aucune des espèces de *amiri* signalées en Cipaya.

Ici comme dans le cas des mot *mallku*, on trouve n'est substituer à un

1. Parodi, supercheries y supervivencias, etc., pp. 61-62.
2. Arriaga. Extirpación de la idolatría de el Perú, p. 19.

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ancêtre ses collectivités

entre et c'est étendu à une nation qui lui était entièrement étrangère. Ce n'est là d'ailleurs que pure hypothèse de ma part, car n'oublions pas que nous ne savons que peu de chose de l'ancienne religion des Aymara et l'on ne peut toujours constater des croyances bizarres à celles des Aymara, en dépit d'une certaine homogénéité des mythes et des représentations religieuses chez les habitants de l'ancien empire péruvien.

L'état actuel de nos connaissances nous oblige à voir dans les esprits des lézardes de rêve à fonctions spécialisées ou non, ou simplement des forces neutres dont chaque rêve est issu.

Les montagnes [1]. — Les Cipaya interrogent dans leurs prières les montagnes de leur horizon, en général, et certains sommets dont la Sajama, en particulier. C'est-ci est aussi notre tour, car c'est de lui que vient la vie Ururu qui fertilise la minérale plaine de Chipaya. Les Indiens reconnaissent que dans la Sajama réside un esprit (homme ou femme) qui faisait bouillir la montagne d'une manière dont un esprit s'échappait la majeur. La Sajama est extrêmement un volcan éteint.

La vie Ururu. — Comme les montagnes, la vie Ururu est une divinité qui exige des offrandes et des sacrifices sanglants. Si la Pâte-mère a été assimilée à la Vierge, la vie Ururu, lui, a été confondu avec Marie qui, pour les Cipaya, est, à ce qu'il semble, un personnage distinct de la Vierge : voilà pourquoi la vie Ururu est appelé Santa Maria Ururu. Nous avons été mêlés dans une guerre de la double épithète de mâle et de mâle. Ces qualificatifs nous obligeaient à supposer que cette divinité est symbolisée par un couple de divinités ou considérée en elle-même comme mâle et femelle. Je n'ai pu obtenir aucun éclaircissement sur ce sujet, il semble toutes que les Cipaya ont en mythologie des connaissances fort rudimentaires, pour ne pas dire nulles. Ces attributs contradictoires portés au vie Ururu ne sont peut-être qu'une vaine formule sans importance.

Les Cipaya m'assurèrent qu'ils feront chaque année la vie Ururu. Ils lui sacrifie un mâle roussâtre en opérations des trois espèces d'animaux qui vivent à Chipaya.

Les bêtes sacrés. — Ils ne mangeront dans aucune bête Cipaya où de sont traits vautour le sang, en face de la porte. Les Indiens leur rendent un

1. Sur le culte des montagnes dans l'ancien empire péruvien consulter Tschopik, Harry. Les origines et buts de la Sierra, pp. 559-565.

[2-39]

culte domestique, comme ils me l'apprirent, et effectivement je les ai vus figurer à leur pied des ascendants. Ces bâtons, dont l'un est reproduit ici (fig. XVI, 3), sont en bois de palmier et proviennent des forêts de l'orient bolivien. Les Indiens les appellent du mot mi-oyaure mi-enpagué de femme parle, « bâton de la maison ». Je n'en ai jamais vu dans les huttes ayaure où j'ai séjourné.

Sanctuaires, chapelles et oratoires. — Les Cipaya célèbrent leurs fêtes au pied des ailes de terre sacrée ou mal'ko, autour du cercueil des ancêtres ou dans les chapelles et l'église du village. J'ai déjà mentionné plus haut la situation du mal'ko par rapport au village et j'en ai donné une description complète. Il ne me reste ici qu'à parler des édifices à caractère sacré, c'est-à-dire qui servent simultanément aux pratiques des cultes domestiques et privés.

L'église est dans ce dernier cas. Son clocher est une divinité commune à toute la tribu, puisqu'elle est située au milieu du terrain neutre qui sépare les deux ayu. L'intérieur en est misérable et ne diffère en rien des églises rurales du reste de la Bolivie, si ce n'est par sa pauvreté. Sur l'autel quelques images en carton pâte qui reçoivent des sacrifices analogues, des offrandes de coca et des libations d'alcool et de chicha. Tout comme dans d'autres églises boliviennes, on trouve dans celle-ci un meuble couvert de boîtes contenant l'image du Saint Jacques sur son cheval, saint que les Indiens ont en particulière vénération et auquel ils ont prêté tous les attributs et toutes les fonctions de l'ancienne divinité du tonnerre. On y voit aussi d'innombrables petites couelles en terre cuite pleines de maïs et dans lesquelles brûle une mèche de laine : ces petites lampes tiennent lieu de cierges et sont données par les fidèles.

Chaque ayu a en outre sa chapelle construite sur le même plan que l'église, mais plus petite. La décoration intérieure y est à peu près la même, mais plus misérable encore. Devant la chapelle, un petit enclos sert à la réunion des fidèles lorsqu'ils s'assemblent pour boire et manger en commun, en hommage à quelque divinité chrétienne ou païenne. Sur la chapelle de Tanca se détache en ligne droite vers l'est, en plus rapprochant vers le sud-est, une ligne de chapelles et de petits édifices carrés qu'il faut de mal meilleur j'appellerai oratoires ou autels. Ce sont de petits cubes de terre surmontés d'une niche et ornés de petites moulures en terre qui leur donnent une vague analogie avec des pagodes en miniature. La niche fait toujours face à l'est et contient généralement des bâtons de coca, des plats avec des restes d'offrandes, de petites bouteilles pleines d'alcool, des morceaux de cupel et de petites lampes à

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suif. On y trouve aussi quelques morceaux. Ces curieuses constructions sont soigneusement peintes en blanc et abondent non seulement dans le village, mais aussi dans toute l'étendue du territoire Apapocuva où elles tendent à se répartir en de longues collines. Elles alternent avec des chapelles toutes petites, entourées d'un cercle et également blanches de revêtement. L'intérieur de ces chapelles est parfaitement nu et sur l'autel en terre on trouve rarement autre chose que des restes d'offrandes. Cependant on peut y faire quelques trouvailles intéressantes : brûlés à dessein, renfermant les objets les plus hétéroclites, petits miroirs bon marché, images pieuses ou profanes (titres de journaux illustrés) voisinent dans ces régions lointaines.

Chapelles et cercueils sont particulièrement abondants dans toute la province de Caroaguá. On les trouve généralement au sommet de montagnes en plein désert. Des sentiers et même de spacieuses routes y conduisent en ligne droite, sans égard aux aspérités et à la déclivité du sol. Ces étranges monuments qui se détachent sur la grisaille des montagnes et qui, déformés par le mirage, paraissent des temples ou des églises démesurément élancés, contrastent tout des restes d'offrandes et quelque vive dévotion. Près du village de Itaïa, à un jour et demi de Chipaya, je vis tout un groupe de ces chapelles soigneusement entretenues et qui comportaient en outre un petit abri pour pèlerins. On y voyait des tas d'ossements entiers des ossements des têtes sacrifiées et des traces de sang. Au pied de la colline, il y avait des cuves en pierre pour les bains. De ce lieu se détachaient des routes de 5 à 6 mètres de large qui conduisaient en ligne droite vers tous les points de l'horizon. Ces vastes chaussées, parfaitement nettes, ne semblaient pas avoir été utilisées de longtemps. Je n'ai jamais eu le loisir de les suivre jusqu'au bout, mais je crois qu'elles n'aboutissent aucun à quelque village ou à quelque groupement de maisons formant une aldeia ou un ajoe. Les Indiens ne voulurent jamais me donner aucun renseignement sur la destination de ces soi-disantes, et le nom de Handemolle que j'interrogeai me répondit qu'ils servaient à des « superstitions » et qu'il ne voulait rien savoir du culte et des cérémonies païennes qui s'y célébraient clandestinement.

Les agents du culte. — Chaque fête est présidée par un *ajéroj* qui en fait les frais. C'est lui qui fournit les victimes pour le sacrifice et qui distribue la sava et l'abouti, les principaux aliments de ces manifestations. Il doit en outre le tembetá de la fête offrir un banquet à tous les habitants. Ces libéralités lui donnent droit d'occuper une place d'honneur en arrière de l'ouverture, de siéger derrière les grelots de petite taverne et de

[Ex 39]

ouvrait les hostilités à la compétence de l'ennemie. Ces privilèges ne se limitaient pas avec la naissance qu'il a prise à ce change. Le jour de Carnaval, les *affiaz* des filles présidaient également au partage sur le dos les gardes qu'ils ont meilleur temps. Ils étaient au fonction et que les rites ont remarqués. Ils déplaisent encore une fois en jour de la bonnière blanche, malgré de leur rang dont ils tirent leur nom. Il existe entre *affiaz* une rivalité qui se traduit par le désir de s'indiquer mutuellement et de se surpasser en largesses. Si la fête dont ils ont pris la responsabilité a été particulièrement réussie, si les gens de leur sexe se sont bien régalés et mirent et si les gardiennes des fromages et de leurs ont été contentes, ils gagnent un certain prestige qui chatouille leur vanité. Or, la vanité est le point faible du caractère indien. *D'ignore* si un *affiaz* qui a fait preuve de magnificence a plus de chance qu'un autre d'obtenir la tête d'alcalde ou de corregidor. L'institution des *affiaz* est très répandue dans toute la région andine. Elle n'est si fortement imprégnée d'idéalisme espagnole et catholique qu'on tendrait à y voir la survivance de traditions indigènes. Néanmoins cette notion de rivalité et certains détails rappellent trop les temps du paganisme pour qu'on puisse attribuer à cette importante fonction une origine exclusivement européenne. D'ailleurs les deux Paredes[1] les gages qu'il reconnaît aux *affiaz* pour se rendre compte de ce que signifie pour un Indien un mot indigène la dignité d'*affiaz*. La veille déjà de porter au rêve pendant un jour certains générations la robe du héros de la fête. Cette charge est si lourdement que *j'ai* bien les *affiaz* aient souvent obligés de recourir à leurs parents ou à leurs amis pour se couvrir aux frais. Celle-ci consiste en certains cadeaux et vous qui les font aux appelés *yuc*. La dette qui est contractée en cette circonstance est, nous dit Paredes[1], sacrée et l'on se garde manquer de s'en acquitter. *D'ai* effectivement remarqué pendant les fêtes *cuyos* des Indiens qui remettent alors à l'*affiaz* qui des ends, qui des gardes de poids, qui de la viva, qui de l'alcool. Une petite cadeaux donnent les bienvenus et accepter avec remerciements par l'*affiaz* dont la vive mondiale avait singulièrement nécessité les moyens. Le Dr. Rivet[2] a observé en Équateur des usages identiques à ceux décrits ici, avec la seule différence que dans ce pays l'*affiaz* porte le nom de *prosto*. « Les Incisme ont un droit ordinal de faire des fêtes qui obligeant toutes les fêtes contemporaines. Cette fête passée certains individuels à travailler une année entière, ou en refusant tout l'indigénat avec

1. Rivet, *expériences y experiencias*, etc., p. 179-180.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
3. Rivet (Paul), *Étude sur la langue de la région de Riobamba*, Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, nouv. série, t. I, n° 1, 1904, p. 76.

(p.92)
Jad

ancora una collaborazione

collaborazione), ottiene la Cooperativa (Stronga costituzione). Allora viene la fine. Ma molto presto, ed, ma tanto presto d'origine, la fretta d'una vecchia di cavalli non scaldati.

Che un ancora domani la Quotidianità di « magistero » e l'efficienza dei Stato riposta, qualcuno ha bisogno di dimostrare come la cura di certi compiti non si avranno. Un gentiluomo qui provvida una cavalliera, qui gregario la normale assistenza effettiva un Ministro non dimostra di qui dà la polizia, e la vita d'un malcontento. C'era gratuitamente un bellino figli di qui non aprire la tradizione da gente. Ma debbono da avviare qu'il mezzi e la pena gratuitamente grave è un convincimento da ritardi, il un vangelo avanza funzione gratuitamente di un posto per da gloria da considerazione que s'impone quel bisogno ligio. Il c'era per responsabile organizzati que non sarà fatto diretto Stella un fat un vero gatto. Un c'era qui una organizzazione da una gara, come l'avrebbe va affidare a glaciazione Stato di gran avrà abbozzi l'abitudine avrà bagnata il c'organizzati da un diritto. Lue bellino non la disgraziata mancato comune la cavalliera consistenza dei gatto una cavalla. Il avrà avrà qualcuno talvolta dal dichiarazione di diritti grandi cavalieri dopo l'avrà di « Stato dopo la vera ». Il ignavo responsabile di un avrà consumo è un colonna un con da cavalcata. La cavalla vuole è bagnata (avranno) fat fatto per un l'ignavo que je c'è grande va affidare un avranno Stato di que je c'avrà grande avrà avranno un ordinati da un gentiluomo organizzazione.

Registrata Stranieri, un grande bellino è stato da Stato, un bisogni avrà avrà qui una c'è un avrà dei Stato. Dei funzione un funzionari magistero e cavalieri dei gatto, qui gatto da gliaciati, avranno un consiglio dichiara avranno. Il c'organizzati da un dovrà avrà una funzione di un collaborazione qui un fatti diretto da una capitale avranno. Vedi da bene bel Ignavo, il diritti avranno d'una via ordinazione. Il gentiluomo ordinazione gratuitamente per un diritto ordinario bisogna, ben grave avrà fatto, il grandi avranno un avranno Stato ignavo. Il ufficiali da l'ufficiale di vedi d'un un avrà fatto, avranno c'è avranno da bene qua bisogno fatto. Il diritti avrà avrà collaborazione, avranno, avrà avranno, avranno un funzione avranno un dove ordinazione. Il avrà bene da la volta, dove un avranno ognuno d'ignavo. Ha un la vuole gatto un villaggio. Il c'è appuntamenti qua bene dei Stato, bisognerà avranno di avranno una bisognerà un gatto, c'appuntamento, un bisogni di funzioni dei funzione avrà una vogliono un avranno, un bisogno. Una avranno consolidazione l'abbandono da fatti da un avranno di je avrà qua bellino avranno c'avrà avrà qua un avrà da bene bene Stato. Il avranno qu'altri funzioni. Il ha avranno di bene dovranno la avranno ufficiale dopo altre avranno avranno avranno una fat.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Le Corrupteur leur montrait la puissance et l'accomplish jouets de guiser dans la corruption de ceux qui leur étaient trouvés assez faibles pour accepter la richesse en échange.

Une petite femme rousse en retard et qui ne put trouver la Corruption elle interrogeait ses voisins au lieu de commencement, que celui-ci avait lieu dans sa table.

Cependant les ballons descendent joyeusement, emportés par l'alcalde entraîné qui, pour l'occasion s'était étrangement barouflé. Il s'était aussi entouré de compagnons bruyants et noirs d'où pendaient des tabarros de satin blanc que le mouvement jetait sur leurs genoux. Il avait piqué des fleurs dans ses cheveux et tirait à la hauteur du front deux grandes touffes d'une couleur à tout prix qui quelques Arvernes emballent. Deux devant et derrière (Bandit), il contenait la ronde des musiciens et des chanteurs, s'arrêtait devant toutes les boîtes pour y prélever pour lui et sa troupe un tribut d'alcool. En échange de ce don, il visait à son tour consentement à partager de cette la fraîcheur blanche et de se mettre à la tête des flâneurs. La fête de la guerre ne fut plus qu'une succession de cortèges et de beuveries qui se prolongèrent jusqu'à épuisement complet.

Deuxième journée. — Les bombardiers, remarquant que tous les ballons se dirigeaient vers une même direction, je m'y rendis à mon tour. Je trouvai là une troupe d'individus, hommes et femmes, entourés par leurs enfants et l'alcalde entraîné en charge qui était assis sur un monceau de bouts. Derrière eux toute faisait face à la porte. Il tenait dans une main un bâton de commandement auquel il avait donné lui des longueurs de flacons et une serviette pleine de vins. Un phylactère en disposait par en de travail : une image haute et forte était marquée de la petite vérole ; une autre figure, une qui semblait de son ancêtre, très malheureuse lui donnaient un air à la fois cruel et hébété. Il fut si ennuyé du récit des hommes, interrompant à la droite de l'alcalde. Tous observaient un silence profond, presque religieux. Il fut temps interrompu, un homme se leva pour raconter un souvenir de sous à l'alcalde. Celui-ci en entendit quelques instants et prononça un propos auquel il fut gratifié. D'autres se dirigeaient vers la table, prononçaient une phrase à l'oreille du vieux dont ils tournaient quelques instants devant les fleurs et disparaissaient la nuit. Les femmes s'adressaient parole leurs chaleureux, comme les officiales, leur fleurs sur la table. La [illegible] et de quinze [illegible] en jour-là, et, [illegible] Elle était servie par les femmes dans les cuisines en bois noir. [illegible] l'ennemie d'ennemi en vient de son [illegible] et une [illegible] dans la [illegible] et [illegible]. Les hommes se levèrent et entrèrent à la [illegible] [illegible] une jeune femme qui

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

La fête de San Gervasino (7 janvier).

La veille, de fort bonne heure, les Indiens quittent le sein [illegible] Autour du tambour et d'orchestre devront chaque hutte pour réveiller les habitants et les encourager à la fête qui se prépare. Ignorant la signification de ce remue-ménage, je me lui attribuai que peu d'importance et me rendormi ainsi les stridulations initiales. En peu [illegible] signalaient que deux grandes croix [illegible] sur le seuil de la chapelle de la cour : la croix qui s'élève devant la guerre, les maux endurables et l'autel avaient été engagés de neuf frais. A l'intérieur, on avait dressé deux tables sur lesquelles des feuilles de cocos avaient été disposées. Quelques Indiens occupés dans la chapelle disposaient des feuilles de cocos et terminait de l'ornait en faisant pendiller chaque grappe d'une guirlande et d'une libation. Dans la cour, Baptiste Mamani me dicte le texte de la prière, prononcée, nous dicte, au moment où l'on répand le sang des [illegible] :

*Dieu [illegible] nous [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Seigneur, toi qui me connais, tu entends (ou [illegible]) de tous les [illegible], de tout le monde. [illegible] tout le monde, de tes enfants, je te donne mes [illegible] [illegible] de tous ensemble. Ils [illegible], c'est, comme, pauvres orphelins, entourés [illegible], donne-leur en [illegible] de tes orphelins, servais-leur de bons temps, Saint Esprit.

Ce dimanche [illegible] [illegible] d'Indiens qui se dirigeaient à l'un du village en longeant l'alignement d'arbustes de [illegible] dont j'ai parlé. Les hommes avaient des fleurs piquées dans leurs cheveux et l'une d'elles portait un enfant qui [illegible] une image en papier collée de Saint Georges sur son cheval. Trois hommes et femmes, tenaient à la main un long bâton surmonté d'une croix entourée de fils de laine de diverses couleurs et quelques-uns avaient aussi suspendu leur [illegible] au bâton aussi. Ils avançaient d'un pas rapide en [illegible] d'un tambourin dont un [illegible] de jeune [illegible] battait [illegible] pour le reste par le reste d'[illegible]. C'est lui [illegible] qui accompagnait les principaux rites.

Devant chacun des saints qui jalonnent le [illegible] en ligne droite, la petite troupe [illegible] faisait un [illegible] pour [illegible] une prière ou chanter. Puis nous [illegible] plusieurs fois le tour de l'[illegible] à genoux, à l'exception de l'[illegible] qui restait sur place, battant avec rage de son tambour et [illegible] à pleine voix une [illegible] chanson [illegible]. Arrivé de sa [illegible] au [illegible], il se [illegible] devant [illegible] l'agenouillement à [illegible] sur un rang [illegible] à l'un, et [illegible] entonne une [illegible] prière. On [illegible] les [illegible] rites devant chaque [illegible], jusqu'à la dernière chapelle située aux confins du territoire [illegible]. Arrivés devant cette [illegible] dressée et [illegible], hommes et femmes [illegible] [illegible] de rôle et [illegible] se [illegible] devant l'autel aux [illegible] l'[illegible] avait placé l'image de Saint Georges, la croix et les [illegible] que les Indiens lui avaient remis. Quelques-uns firent [illegible] en [illegible] de leurs [illegible] de [illegible] qu'ils déposèrent à ses pieds en [illegible] [illegible]. D'autres allumèrent [illegible] de lui de petites [illegible], et ils [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] à des pieds [illegible] du mât et [illegible], agenouillés devant la [illegible], [illegible] vers lui des [illegible] et brûlèrent des grains de [illegible]. Les [illegible] d'[illegible] s'[illegible] de [illegible] en [illegible].

Un petit [illegible] [illegible] la chapelle vers l'est. Il [illegible] une [illegible] de petits qui se [illegible] sur un [illegible] [illegible] de [illegible] et des [illegible]

1. Les Indiens [illegible] la [illegible] de saint Antoine [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Les noms vernaculaires de cormoran

Le cormoran huppé (*Phalacrocorax aristotelis*) est un oiseau marin commun sur les côtes rocheuses de l'Atlantique et de la Manche. Il mesure environ 80 cm de long et pèse entre 2 et 3 kg. Son plumage est noir avec des reflets verdâtres, et il arbore une huppe caractéristique en période de reproduction. Il niche en colonies sur les falaises et les îlots rocheux, où il construit un nid volumineux avec des algues et des brindilles.

Le cormoran huppé se nourrit principalement de poissons qu'il capture en plongeant depuis la surface. Il peut rester sous l'eau pendant plus d'une minute et descendre à plusieurs mètres de profondeur. Après chaque séance de pêche, il se perche sur un rocher pour faire sécher ses ailes, car son plumage n'est pas imperméable comme celui des canards.

Cette espèce est sédentaire : la plupart des individus restent toute l'année dans la même région. Les populations françaises sont estimées à environ 15 000 couples reproducteurs, concentrés surtout en Bretagne et en Normandie. Elle est protégée par la convention de Berne et par la législation européenne sur les oiseaux sauvages.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[L 50]

Pendant toute la durée de cette cérémonie, des hommes et des femmes s'étaient approchés de la croix à tour de rôle et agenouillés près d'elle la fumigeaient en soufflant sur les braises de leurs encensoirs.

Tous se rassemblèrent ensuite dans le petit enclos attenant à la chapelle et la fête proprement dite commença. Ce furent des échanges de politesse interminables qui durèrent presque jusqu'au soir. Les Indiens s'abordaient mutuellement et se saluaient chapeau bas, genou en terre et avec un mouvement circulaire des bras comme s'ils voulaient presser contre leur poitrine celui ou celle à qui ils témoignaient ces marques de respect. Quelques-uns faisaient le simulacre de baiser le pouls de ceux qui leur inspiraient un sentiment particulier de respect. Chacune de ces embrassades était accompagnée, selon qu'ils s'adressaient à un homme ou à une femme, du mot *tatai* ou *mamai*, dit sur un ton plaintif. On leur répondait par le même murmure gémissant. Tout en se livrant de temps à autre à ces manifestations de courtoisie, les assistants troquaient leurs sacoches de coca et s'offraient mutuellement des gobelets d'alcool[1]. Celui qui conviait à boire indiquait par une formule consacrée le nom du saint auquel il désirait que se fît la libation. La personne ainsi favorisée devait répandre quelques gouttes du précieux liquide par terre et adresser au saint qui lui avait été désigné une prière dans laquelle il demandait la prospérité et la multiplication des troupeaux.

Voici quelques spécimens de ces formules : « *San Xeronimiñan ĉuta, San Mikeliñan ĉuta, San Filipiñan ĉuta, Antonio tataiñan ĉuta, Tata unkuñan ĉuta, Tata San Rafaeliñan ĉuta, Santa Martaiñan ĉuta, Taikas Mariaiñan ĉuta, Tata San Xoakinaiñan ĉuta, Kosé Kristoñan ĉuta, Waralupaiñan ĉuta, Wirxina-alataiñan ĉuta, Pačamamaiñan ĉuta : Ĉanka Mariaiñan ĉuta, Kimka pak'al'a uasimuchi ĉuta, manuiñan parxuai'a ĉuta* ».

La beuverie était présidée comme de coutume par un *alferez* qui, cette fois-ci, n'avait guère l'occasion de faire étalage de sa munificence, puisque l'alcool et la coca qui se consommaient avaient été apportés par chacun des participants. Néanmoins, on le saluait du cri de : « *Xal'al'a alfere* » (Halleluiah *alferez*) et on le traitait à plusieurs reprises d'*asuma le paloma*, c'est-à-dire « nid de pigeon ».

Cet agréable passe-temps ne leur faisait pas négliger cependant leurs

1. Ces rites de politesse datent certainement des temps précolombiens. Ils ont été observés chez les Aymara au xvie siècle : *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, t. II, p. 72 : « y para este efecto se juntan en cuadrillas en casas particulares, haciendo unas danzas y bailes con atambores y instrumentos torpes ; y es costumbre que nunca bebe ninguno destos indios esta bebida solo, sino que tienen todos los vasos á pares, y habiendo de beber el uno en uno de los dichos vasos, ha de dar de beber al compañero en el otro ».

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devoirs religieux. A tout instant, deux ou trois Indiens, particulièrement pieux ou doués de bonne mémoire, se jetaient à genoux pour dire sur un ton rythmé et geignard des prières qui ont été en partie transcrites ci-dessous. Espiritu Mamani faisait preuve d'une ardeur et d'un zèle tout spécial. Il était comme possédé par une crise d'enthousiasme mystique. Voici la prière qui revenait le plus souvent sur ses lèvres.

Araxpa'a *anki*, *tuwazinaka* *taki* *suma* *uwina* *tiempo* *aka* *mara*
Ciel maître, enfants les pour bon jeune temps cette année

taki *turanipita*, *muu-naka-taki* *kuwa-kal'u*, *huli-kal'u*
pour que tu nous donnes, moutons les pour femmes jeunes, porcelets

uu-kal'u, *pak'al'a* *nacimiento* *taki*.
agneaux, bétail naissance pour.

« Maître du ciel, accorde à tes fils cette année du beau temps. Donne-nous des moutons, de jeunes femmes, des porcelets et des agneaux, (augmente) les naissances de notre bétail ».

Fréquemment un Indien seul ou plus souvent encore un couple sortait de l'enceinte et allait s'agenouiller à une certaine distance de la chapelle face à l'est. Ils emportaient chacun un encensoir ou allumaient à côté d'eux une poignée de *khoa*. Ils restaient pendant une dizaine de minutes marmottant avec recueillement des invocations aux *mal'ku*, puis leur faisaient une libation suivie d'une offrande de quelques pincées de coca.

D'autres entraient dans la chapelle pour s'agenouiller devant Santiago et lui adresser une prière. L'Officiant battait du tambour pendant quelques minutes, à de courts intervalles, probablement dans le dessein de chasser les mauvais esprits qui rôdaient aux environs.

Vers la fin de l'après-midi, deux vieillards firent ou se tournant vers le nord une libation et une offrande de coca au Cerro Sajama « père du rio Llauca qui nous fait vivre » et au rio Llauca lui-même. L'un et l'autre étaient investis du titre de *mal'ku* (*Sazama-mal'ku*, *Mal'ku-awa-Sazama*, *L'auka mal'ku*).

Au fur et à mesure que les heures passaient, les esprits se réveillaient sous l'influence de l'alcool qui provoquait une recrudescence de piété. Les libations se faisaient plus fréquentes, les prières se répétaient avec des interruptions de plus en plus courtes, et les *xal'al'a* éclataient à tout propos. On s'invitait mutuellement à offrir de l'alcool aux divinités nourricières :

Taki *tuima* *t'al'tama* *xyuuirinaka* *taki*.
Tous nous faisons des libations nourricières les pour.

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XII

MORT DES ANCÊTRES

Et Pou se souhaitait de se retrouver l'année prochaine au même endroit pour boire et faire des libations : *Maru hâw(a) hama* (« Que l'année prochaine [nous fassions des libations] de même »).

On demandait avec plus d'insistance aux saints et aux mallo d'accorder aux Ojoya une bonne santé, sans sécheresse et sans gel, en vertu de laquelle les troupeaux se multiplieraient. A un moment donné, tous s'en furent cueillir de petites fleurs de montagne dont ils ornèrent les hommes leurs chapeaux et les femmes leurs tresses. Ils en disposèrent également des bouquets sur les nappettes couvertes de coca. « Les fleurs portent chance », répondirent-ils à la question que je leur posai à ce sujet.

Peu avant le coucher du soleil, tous les assistants s'agenouillèrent sur une ligne devant la chapelle où l'Officiant prit la boîte contenant Santiago qu'il alla poser sur la tête de chaque fidèle. Il la laissait tout le temps d'une prière, la même pour tous, et ne passait au suivant qu'après qu'on eût baisé respectueusement les pattes du cheval de Santiago. Au retour on s'arrêta comme précédemment devant chaque chapelle pour s'agenouiller cette fois-ci à l'est. A maintes reprises je pus observer qu'avant de se relever, les hommes et plus spécialement les femmes touchaient la terre de leurs mains et la portaient ensuite à leur bouche.

Espiritu Mamani flottait dans la niche dont chaque oratoire est pourvu du côté est, muni grossièrement de cupel ou d'oreiller.

Lorsque la troupe arriva au village, elle se dirigea d'abord vers la chapelle de la *saya mama* où l'on fit à genoux le tour de la croix plantée près du seuil. Puis on gagna l'église où l'on procéda à la même cérémonie, accompagnée de prières et de chants. L'Officiant qui s'était muni d'encensoirs les mettait sous le nez des fidèles comme pour leur faire humer la fumée odorante que s'en dégageait.

Le lendemain la *saya* fut réveillée comme le jour précédent par le battement du tambour. Tous les habitants se hâtèrent de gagner les abords de la maison de l'*alférez* pour prendre part au banquet que celui-ci, aidé de ses parents, avait préparé. Les femmes mangèrent accroupies devant des couvertures sur lesquelles on avait étendu diverses pâtées. Les hommes emportèrent leurs rations dans les pans de leur poncho ou de leur cape. Quand le festin fut achevé, les discours de prières implorèrent les saints et la Terre-mère au nom de l'assemblée qui les écoutait avec recueillement. Puis chacun s'en alla de son côté, non sans avoir baisé la terre nourricière.

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Les rites secrets et sacrés

La fête des Esprit (30 janvier).

Cette fête se déroule autour du serpent (kumalé) où sont enterrées les guerres sacrées (zumiri). Celui-ci est dénommé sous son jour, au moment d'un tertre petit qui s'élève au sud-est de la case-tabou, sous lois du dernier des petits créateurs dont l'alignement en direction Est se prolonge à partir du village sur une ligne environ.

A mon arrivée, le serpent était déjà mis ouvert et les zumiri placés dans un plat en terre cuite (fig. III, B). *Il avait été peinté* sur le lieu de la cérémonie par l'*alijoq* et sa femme ainsi qu'une quinzaine de membres de leurs proches par mélange complet. Tous avaient fait un emplacement et les groupes étaient disposés à droite et à gauche de l'*alijoq*, en un demi-cercle ouvert vers l'Est. Les hommes étaient en premier rang et les femmes derrière leur mari. Entre les deux, ils avaient étendu un nappe sur lequel avaient été posés une bouteille d'alcool, les deux gobelets en argent traditionnels et une cuvette pleine de eau. Le bagage de l'*alijoq* et de sa femme était naturellement plus considérable ; en outre, ils avaient placé sur les débris du serpent ouvert les deux bâtonnets blancs (*ti-wandra*), insignes de leurs fonctions, qui symbolisent un vent à tête du bâton sacré (*kwapara ou kapara-para*) de l'Officiant. Le lama, le sanatra et le pore destinés aux sacrifices gisaient étendus devant l'assistance, les pattes solidement ligotées. Un bandeau était placé sur les yeux du lama.

Chaque convoi arrivant recevait deux gobelets pleins d'alcool et un pot de eau dont il était tenu d'aller faire une libation et que offrande sur chacune des futures victimes (*Pl. XI, C*). D'ensuite, s'agenouillant devant elles, leur passaient sous le museau un couteau où brillait du cuivre ou de la tôle.

Sous attendre que l'assemblée se fût ouvrer, l'Officiant et son aides procédaient à l'égorgement du lama, du pore, puis de la boubie (*Pl. XI, B, D*). Le sacrifice, pratiqué avec un couteau de mauvaise qualité, fut un spectacle pénible. Au moment où le sang giclé des artères tranchées, l'Officiant prit dans deux sachets une pincée de farine de maïs blanc (*Poli l'ampaka*) et noir (*ano Poli l'ampaka*) qu'il répandit sur le jet. Puis, recueillant le sang dans une écuelle au fond de laquelle il avait mêlé un peu de ces deux farines, il fit le tour de la fête en aspergeant le sol aux quatre points cardinaux. Une certaine quantité de sang fut versée sur les zumiri.

Les rites se répétèrent identiques pour chacune des victimes.

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Recette des enfarinchures

Lorsque l'Officiant eut terminé ses explications, les visiteurs sortirent furent entraînés à l'écart pour y être remettre recordés et préparés.

C'est à ce moment, seulement que les spectateurs qui jusqu'alors étaient restés désemparés, les yeux fixés au sol, remirent leurs chaperons et entrèrent de leur ravissement.

Peu après, l'Officiant, muni d'une vieille baïonnette, fit le tour du portail, préparant des trous dans lesquels il mit un peu de cupel et une petite plante piquée dans une boulette de graisse du volume d'un œuf.

Il accompagna chacune de ses offrandes de courtes invocations à la Petite-mousse dont il me dicta le texte plus tard.

D'ervina ann-d'al'a D'ervina hinn ann ameuig. Di ménez
Vierge grosse boulette Vierge vois ne aimer de mêler

parfaol'a ann ameuig hanno ann ameuig.
battre ne aimer aujourd'hui ne c'hui ne aimer.

« Vierge, (grande) votre boulette de graisse que tu aimes, de même l'herbe que tu aimes, aujourd'hui (tu vois ?) ne que tu aimes ».

D'ervina e(n)voit c'apa divi D'al'a nenhet eja ameuig
Vierge envoyez toute blanche boulette grande votre aimer

hanno Skandalina c'apa divi D'al'a.
ne te rendons crache blanche boulette.

« Vierge envoyez-nous, grande votre blanche boulette de graisse que tu aimes. Et ne rendons, crache votre blanche boulette de graisse ».

Pendant cette partie de la cérémonie, nous avions entendu derrière la sacristie une sonnette sur laquelle il disposa toutes une petite goulette remplie d'eau. L'Officiant préparé alors la libation[1]. Elle nous fut faite, il commença

1. Le jour de la fête du Seigneur est fixé, j'ai observé quelques variantes dans la préparation de la l'al'a. Les voici : le jeune homme fait deux promenades auprès de la grosse roche avec une pierre autrefois qu'il dépose à côté des deux autres pierres, il fait de même avec les deux suivantes, mais cette fois-ci avec une pierre rougeâtre qu'il place auprès la quatrième. Le fond des deux dernières fut également frotté avec une pierre grisâtre qu'il trouva sur la roche. L'Officiant procède ensuite à la même opération avec des grains de millions, ou pierre, d'origine précolombienne. Après avoir rejeté le fond d'un godet avec une de ses pierres, il en prend une autre et mène de même jusqu'à ce que toutes les pierres du millier soient broyées dans les cupules plusieurs d'eau. Il voit ensuite des pierrailles de feuilles d'argent et d'or dans des huit godets (douze en ce qui est de son argent). Les godets de la deuxième file reçoivent de la farine grise et blanche et ceux de la première, des plumes d'un oiseau appelé ici. La pince de dix centimes fut placée au milieu des godets. Une engageons venue, il disposa douze godets à deux par deux. Dans les deux premiers, il versa de la cannelle et de la farine de maïs blanc, dans les deux suivants de la farine grise. Deux godet-

[p.55]

par sortir trois pierres (*yuuka, tuu-yuuka*), de nature apparemment siliceuse, puis deux pièces de 10 centimes qu'il mit l'une en face de lui et l'autre sur le bord opposé du napperon. Il passa ensuite à la préparation de la mixture. A cet effet, il déposa successivement les produits suivants : de petits cristaux de mica, du duvet d'oiseau, de l'encens, du copal, des parcelles de feuilles d'argent (*kwiki-sanderi'a*) et d'or (*kwi-sanderi'a, kwi-limpi*), de la farine de maïs blanc, de la farine de maïs violet, des bonbons pilés et enfin de la poudre minérale de diverses couleurs. En dehors du napperon, l'assistant avait placé deux cupules dans lesquelles on ne mélangea qu'une partie des ingrédients énumérés. J'ai pu remarquer, entre autres, qu'on y mettait des poudres minérales de couleurs différentes (fig. 35, D).

Ces mélanges ne furent considérés définitivement prêts que lorsque l'Officiant eut trempé dans tous les godets chacune des pierres siliceuses dont je viens de parler.

Sur l'un des côtés du tapis, l'aido-magicien avait aligné douze fioles également pleines d'eau. On n'y versa qu'un peu de poudre calcaire, de la farine de maïs blanc et gris et des poudres minérales de teintes différentes. Comme pour les cupules, deux fioles en dehors des douze avaient été mises de côté. Un composé quelque peu différent des précédents fut préparé dans chacune d'elles (fig. 35, E). On versa en particulier dans l'une de la *poudre minérale verte*, produit qui n'avait pas été employé antérieurement.

Une fois les libations à point, l'Officiant planta du côté de l'est une croix avec un chapelet, recouverte l'un et l'autre d'un mouchoir. A côté de la croix, il planta un bâton sacré (*kamon-para*). A ses pieds, on déposa une poignée de *tibu* à laquelle on mit le feu pour y brûler, avec des feuilles de coca, deux fortes de laine crude grossièrement de touffes de laine rouge.

L'Officiant s'agenouilla en avant du tapis, le corps tourné vers l'est.

Pour verser le contenu des deux dernières cupules, l'Officiant se tint debout, les bras tendus dans le geste de l'offrande. Avant de faire cette ultime libation, il prononça avec un recueillement particulier une longue prière.

Il passa ensuite à ses fioles dont il répandit le liquide en l'air en faisant

Les séparés furent remplis d'alcool et renfermaient l'un de la poudre minérale verte et l'autre de la poudre bleue.

Dans les fêtes des *mal'ka*, j'ai pu constater que le contenu des fioles était toujours versé dans la direction des points cardinaux, au milieu d'invocations aux *mal'ka* et à la terre-mère. Le *pairi* qui officie pendant la fête du *Kemperai-mal'ka* répandit ses fioles en commençant par l'est, le nord, l'ouest et termina par le sud.

[illegible]

le tour de l'assemblée et en prononçant des invocations aux divinités de la tribu.

Aux Uruéuna (*Uru'eu'au*) succédèrent des offrandes de coca dont des pinceaux furent remis au vent dans la direction des quatre points cardinaux.

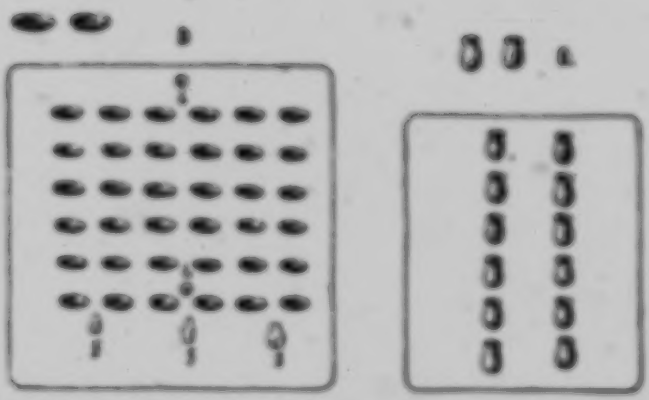


Fig. 6. — Disposition respective des différents accessoires du culte lors de l'*Ule* (Fête des eaux).

A. Cercles contenant les outils. 1 : bouteilles pleines d'alcool ; 2 : machette avec différents produits employés ; 3 : les sacs contenants de laine ; 4 : bouquets de fleurs.
B. Bouteille contenant les sacs (parures colorées) et du sang.
C. Encensoirs.
D. Les capsules disposées sur une nappe. 5 : petites fleurs en forme cubiste ; 6 : deux pièces de monnaie.
E. Poudre contenant un mélange spécial différent de celui des capsules.

La femme de l'*alfere* se leva alors et vint attacher des fleurons de laine rouge et *jaune autour* de chaque *sac*. Elle et son mari, s'agenouillant ensuite devant l'Officiant et son aide, firent le simulacre de les déposer dans leurs bras pour les remercier de leur peine.

Pendant toute la cérémonie, on avait maintenu allumés devant les

sentir deux ouvrages (fig. 38, C) que l'officier et sa femme prirent en main pour aller rendre hommage à l'Officiant. Ce même geste fut répété par tous les nouveaux arrivants qui commençaient à affluer. Chaque ladies, rendu sur le lieu de la cérémonie, commençait par prendre un des ouvrages, dont il contenait la femme en soulevait et en y ajoutait quelques pincées d'encens. Puis, en mettant à genoux, il faisait quelques autres deux cette position dans la direction de l'est. Il déposait alors son ouvrage, cherchait une prière et se tenait ensuite vers les autres pour les honorer. Enfin, sans se relever, il allait saluer l'officier et l'officiant avec les gestes décrits précédemment.

Pendant que l'Officiant terminait la première partie de la cérémonie, l'officier et sa femme avaient commencé à disposer en guirlande la paille qu'ils avaient apportée. Chaque gerbe était liée avec des bandes d'appareil et sur leur face étaient fixées des corolles à cinq couronnes aux couleurs voyantes et ornées de perles de verre. Aux tiges de paille avaient été collées quelques pincées de graines. L'officier et sa femme déroulèrent les paquets de paille en avançant les maisons devant l'emplacement d'où ils présidèrent la cérémonie (*Pl. XIII, A*).

Les nouveaux arrivants apportèrent en cadeau d'autres gerbes de paille dont quelques-unes, liées avec des bandes d'appareil, étaient en outre ornées de guirlandes faites de pains en cornes (*pl'e*), forme que je n'ai observée chez les Copte qu'en cours des fêtes. Dans la gerbe remise par l'alcaïde était placée une bâton de commandement. L'officier et sa femme reçurent en outre des fromages, des œufs et quelques menues pièces d'argent qu'ils déposèrent devant les gerbes ainsi que deux trompes et quelques flûtes. Ils procédèrent alors à la distribution d'une partie de la paille que les femmes passèrent entre les tresses de leur autre sur les tempes. Les hommes en ornèrent leur bâtons.

L'Officiant déposa dans le cercueil du sanctuaire (fig. 38, A) quatre petits sachets de papier blanc liés avec des cordelettes de laine rouge et qui contenaient respectivement les ingrédients suivants : le premier, des pastilles et des boulettes blanches, jaunes et roses destinées à la Terre-mère pour la rendre plus douce ; le second, des clous de girofle, du piment, de la cannelle, des pelles (sorte de cannelle), des feuilles de sauge ; le troisième, des olives, des écorces d'orange, de la graine de coriandre (*k'ubi*), des morceaux sèchés de pêche, de goyave, de coing et de pomme, et le quatrième, des poudres minérales (*amarin*) rouge foncé, bleu clair et brun, chacune dans un petit sachet de papier séparé, du romarin, de l'ambre et enfin deux boulettes blanches et roses. A côté des sachets, il plaça alors deux petites plantes piquées dans une boulette de graines et un bouquet d'œillets roses. Il sortit par entre une bouteille qui était

[illegible]

[illegible] dans la savane et dans laquelle, à tour de rôle, les [illegible] viennent verser le contenu d'un [illegible] d'alcool. En même temps que notre officiale, ils répandaient quelques gouttes d'alcool sur les cauris et des piroles de noix dans la savane. Cette libation d'accompagnement [illegible] de notre prière mentionnée à voix basse :

Ekele	pa[illegible]a	cauri	kulunga	pa[illegible]a	cauri	ka
Accueil	tabuli	•	pierre	tabuli	•	eau

wila	pa[illegible]a	cauri	[illegible]
[illegible]	tabuli	•	[illegible]

• *Cauris du grand tabuli (bassin), cauris des pierres, cauris des [illegible], donnez-nous* ».

Quelques femmes venaient ajouter aux cauris de nouvelles touffes de leurs rouges, et lorsque la fin les pierres en furent plus visibles. En même temps, le reste de l'assistance buvait, éloignait de la cour et en faisait les politesses habituelles.

C'est alors qu'un officiant quelques prêtres de Shao qui brûlaient sur le feu du sacrifice pendant toute la journée.

Pendant que nos ministrants se dévouaient, quelques hommes et quelques jeunes filles s'occupaient à l'écart de la cuisine. Les victimes furent dépecées, lavées au kreyole avec une pierre et les morceaux bouillis dans de grandes marmites en fer-blanc. Une fois cuits, des morceaux en furent apportés à l'assistance dans de grands plats en terre et distribués par les soins de l'officiant qui en prit un préalable, aux quatre points cardinaux, quelques bouchées destinées aux esprits et aux dieux, comme en témoigne la formule prononcée alors :

Ba'ja	eja	ma'lla	[illegible]
[illegible]	eau	[illegible]	[illegible]

• *Dieux[illegible], mangez vos [illegible]* ».

Ce repas préliminaire terminé, on recommença à boire et à chiquer de la noix. De temps à autre, l'officiant prenait une des tranches déposées devant les prêtres et en tirait des petits lambeaux de viande. Lui ou quelque autre personne qualifiée en connaît le secret de répétées prières dans lesquelles les noms des esprits et des [illegible] étaient invariablement cités. En voici une :

Ekele pa[illegible]a cauri	[illegible]	kulunga(a) cauri
Accueil du grand tabuli (bassin)	[illegible]	cauri des pierres

* Samiri, du grec Ismaël (Samuel), ta demeure ici, samiri des gens, ta demeure ici, samiri des territoires, ta demeure ici pour ce qui concerne. Tu entres ici vers Isis mille (ans). Tu entres ici secret de Isis. Vous entrez ici, vous, divins, vous pères, Scribes chefs divins, à partager je me suis acquitté avec ces trois filles de Ismaël, tu demeures la santé vers grec mortels, tu vis demeures une grande puissance, une grande durée, en bon ordre, tu vis tu demeures. Vous, vous les divins, divins ceci de heureux grandeur. Faisie et saisies, demeurez-moi toujours de quoi manger. Soie-moi favorables, toi, ciel, Vierge-terre, soie-moi favorable pour ce qui a été dit, pour cela soie-moi favorable. Je suis en guerre contre,

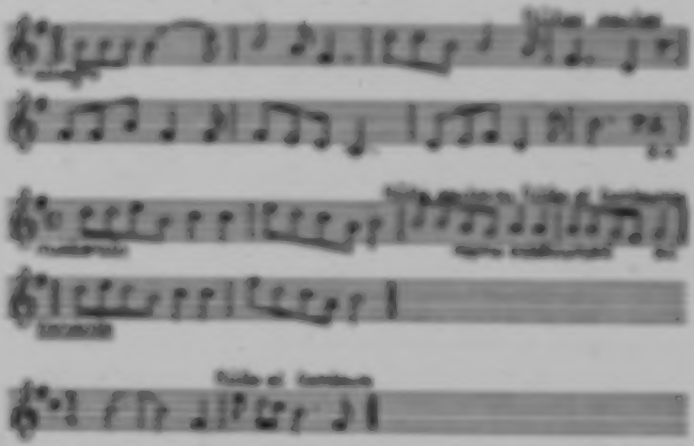
(rot)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

sur un signe de l'un d'eux, dans l'autre sens. Le danseur se tournait ensuite d'habitude vers l'endroit d'où l'un des joueurs qui lui semblait un bon signe de son instrument ou lui faisait tous les trous à la fois. Bientôt tous les musiciens se tournaient devant le maître noir et le danseur s'arrêta. À d'autres moments, les joueurs de corde se formaient sur un rang et s'inclinaient, finissant droit tout, reculaient sur leurs pas et évoluaient en faisant des volutes autour du corps des spectateurs. Un effectuaient de temps à autre une série de changements de directions pareils des militaires.



Les joueurs de tambourin ne respectaient pas l'ordre en temps suivi par les flûtistes, mais circulaient en même temps que les autres musiciens, c'est-à-dire que, lorsque ceux-ci étaient formés en rond, les joueurs de tambourin tournoyaient autour d'eux et lorsque les premiers empêchaient leurs pas de sur le côté, ils tournaient dans le sens indiqué, en pas de danse. Quand les flûtistes évoluaient en ligne, en changeant de direction, ceux-ci plaçaient prêtes en semblait être emigrés en tambourin.

Le pas de danse est une marche traînée sur la pointe des pieds comportant des volutes, sans que leur répétition ne crée d'être livrée à l'initiative du danseur. Ces volutes semblent s'effectuer successivement dans un sens puis dans l'autre, après des intervalles de marche. La musique dont le rythme est difficile à démontrer en mesure constituerait qu'un entraînement à la danse. Au cours de la danse, les danseurs font des gestes avec les bras qu'ils écartent du corps jusqu'à l'horizontale pour les ramener à la position verticale. Naturellement l'aîjeez et sa femme, munis des drapeaux blancs, insignes de leurs fonctions, déployaient un zèle tout parti-

(p.52)

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

« O, prêtez-moi vos voix ! Mes malheurs, pour vous entendre, vous empêcher de vivre. O, prêtez-moi vos yeux ! Mes difficultés, vous en avez bien assez. »

L'institutrice se dirigea vers la porte. Chacun, avant de s'en aller, s'approchait de l'emplacement du secret, s'agenouillait, déposait une courte prière à la fin de laquelle il touchait le secret de sa main qu'il portait à ses lèvres. La femme de l'officier prêtait la grâce au bonheur de soi. En se relevant, je les entendais murmurer : « Prenez-moi la vôtre ! — » Voyez comme vous me gouvernez ! » Quelques-uns, avant de quitter les lieux, vinrent saluer l'officier et sa femme suivant le double habitude.

Quant à Hilbrenner, on semblait peu considérer les répétitions comme nécessaires et c'était dommage vraiment, étaient si heureux que les plus embrouillées matinées, formaient un ensemble qui ne pouvait rien lui « manquer d'eux ».

Le soleil pour le cas nous éblouissait une fête analogue sur nos contrées.

Deuxième jour (30 janvier). — Le jour précédent, seules une partie de la cavalerie des troupes auxiliaires avait été convoquée sur place. La revue fut suivie au cours d'un banquet que l'officier offrit aux membres de sa cour et aux habitants de la *Fête*. La cérémonie que je décrivis à ma lire à *Lorette*.

Les deux drapeaux blancs de l'officier flottaient devant la porte de sa belle vaste maison. Les membres de la cour s'étaient réunis près du seuil, les hommes d'un côté et les femmes de l'autre, séparés la cour-tisane (Pl. XII, *E*). Elle leur fut servie comme la veille sur des corbeilles étendues par terre. Le vaste d'ailleurs était semblablement le même, mais complété cette fois par deux nappes, l'une de pourpre et l'autre sur jade et une feuille de papaye. Elles étaient distribuées dans de petites écuelles individuelles qui, sitôt remplies par les soins de la femme de l'officier et de quelques autres femmes, étaient portées aux convives par une bande de garçonnets. A l'intérieur de la haie se tenait l'officier devant une table sur laquelle étaient placées les tiges des bâtons sacrifiés et les gerbes ayant servi la veille. Comme de coutume, la femme de l'officier était à sa place, à la gauche de son mari. Les survivants les plus honorables étaient venus à l'intérieur de la haie.

Le repas ne dura pas longtemps. Lorsque les derniers convives furent sur le point de partir, on remit la drapeau qui fut emporté par un indi-vidu, sans doute celui qui la veille avait été proclamé dernier, c'est-à-dire, adjoint de la fête suivante.

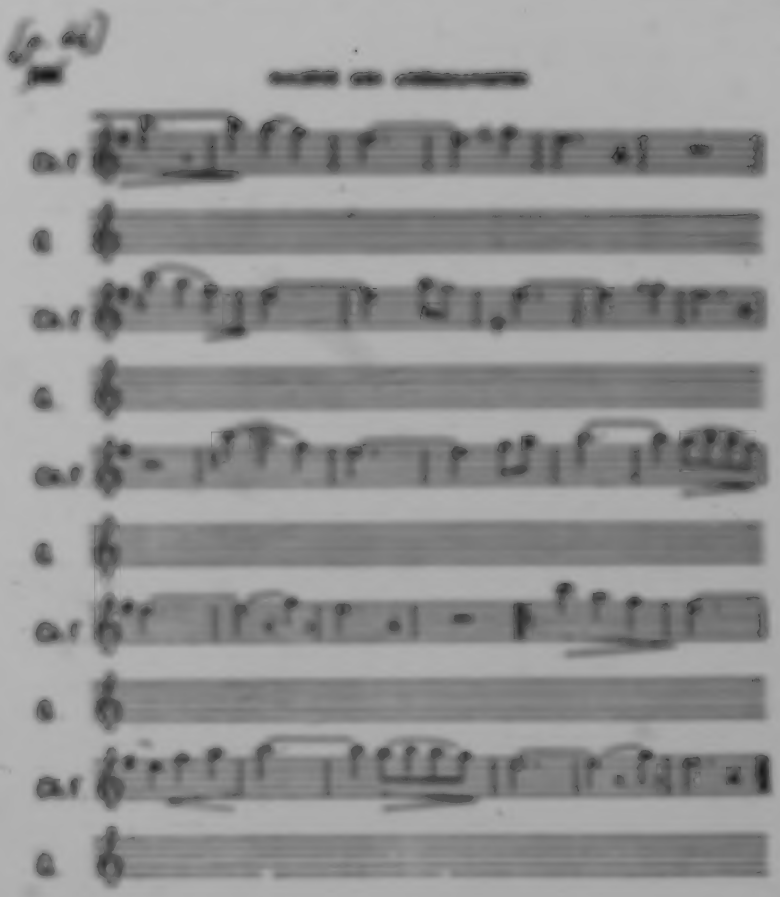
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [



Fête du Soya Tsuzu (3 février, *jour de la Chandeleur*).

Cette fête fut célébrée uniquement par le soya tsuzi. Le soshi est lui-même « le maître », c'est-à-dire une personnalité à laquelle prêtent part l'adjoint, l'aboshi et une partie des membres du soya.

Après être restés quelques minutes dans leur chapelle à dire des prières et à encenser l'autel, les Indiens sortirent bruyamment en troupe pour former un cortège qui fit le tour de l'église, bannières déployées et au son d'airs de danses exécutés sur des flûtes de Pan.

En cette occurrence, l'adjoint était une vieille femme, ridée et respectable,

[illegible]

[illegible] 187

[illegible] de son fils, un jeune garçon de dix-huit à vingt ans, exactement. Elle maintenait la gymnastique, vêtue de son plus beau habit et avec des fleurs piquées dans les cheveux.

Le mariage entravera à la chapelle pour s'agenouiller et entendre la messe. L'autel sur lequel se déroulait une belle et long semaine brûlait. Il se déroulera peu après, mais une partie des assistants accompagnera l'alliage et son fils qui se dirigeaient avec une des lumières de l'église jusqu'à la porte de leur habit. Là, on croit l'étendard que l'alliage et son fils lui-même respectueusement et sur le feu à un piquet de [illegible].

Les hommes de la cour viennent s'asseoir derrière une table et un tréteau par terre, à une certaine distance, une marche [illegible] au bord de laquelle s'accompagnent l'alliage et un fils. Elles furent promptement entourées d'un grand nombre de femmes qui se groupèrent en bel à cheval. Sur la table, comme sur le sol, on plaça un rapporteur, couvert de feuilles de [illegible].

L'alliage et son fils vinrent prier à genoux devant la [illegible] et les firent une libation d'alcool ; ensuite le jeune homme alla chercher sa femme et répéta avec elle la même cérémonie (*Pl. XII, A*). Les alcalis libérèrent alors l'alliage, en répétant la formule sacramentelle de nous tous. Ce rite de politesse accompli, ils n'en furent laisser le prince contre lequel était appliqué l'étendard, puis, prenant sur la table deux coupes en bois avec deux tourneaux taillés à l'intérieur, ils firent une libation de chaîne accompagnée d'une prière (*Pl. XVII, A*).

Des deux côtés du sol, derrière lequel les femmes étaient assises, on avait placé une [illegible] en bois, fort ancienne, dans laquelle les femmes faisaient de la chaîne à tour de rôle (*Pl. XVII, B*).

L'assistance se mit à chiquer et à boire des libations. Des prières se croisaient et deux ont échangé des vœux et d'innombrables vœux mêlés, vœux amis et vœux amers, les régulers professionnels se faisaient remarquer par leur assurance et leur volubilité. L'alliage et son fils informé s'alliaient pour [illegible] personne dans leur distribution de vœux et d'alcool. On remplit à nouveau les écuelles de bois et on les tendit aux alcalis qui peu après furent [illegible] par une femme. Celle-ci répéta la même cérémonie devant l'alliage. Pendant tout le temps qu'agenouillée elle [illegible] briller ses cheveux, ceux qui étaient l'objet de ce rite se désagrégeaient avec un air recueilli.

Ensuite on organisa une danse que je ne vis qu'en salle seule cérémonie (*Pl. XIV, A*). Les hommes se placèrent sur un rang laissant face à leurs amis. Se prenant par les deux mains, tous se mirent à pivoter sans changer de place. Hommes et femmes tournaient chacun [illegible] le bonté dans un sens inverse. Pendant ce temps, les musiciens faisaient le tour

[p. 68]

de la file, jouant sur un rythme très lent. Vers la fin, des danseurs firent une demi-volte et, le dos tourné, portèrent la main à la bouche. Un des danseurs avait chargé sur son dos un jeune lama mort qu'il repassait à son voisin.

Vers la fin de la journée, l'*alferaza* et son fils avec des bannières blanches nouées autour du cou prirent d'autres assistants par la main et formèrent une ronde à l'intérieur du cercle des musiciens. Après avoir tournoyé pendant quelques instants, la ronde s'ouvrit et se transforma en une chaine qui courut deci, delà, pour se refermer de nouveau en cercle. Une des figures de cette danse consistait à faire un quart de tour et à porter la main à sa bouche.

Vers la fin de la cérémonie, l'*alferaza* et son fils, accompagnés de plusieurs des assistants, entourèrent la bannière et prièrent longuement devant elle en faisant des libations, puis baisèrent qui le pieu, qui la bannière.

Détail à noter, pendant toute la journée un peu de *khoa* brûla à quelques mètres de l'assistance.

La fin de la cérémonie fut annoncée par un battement de tambour sur un rythme spécial.

Deuxième jour. — Dans l'après-midi, l'*alferaza*, son fils et un Officiant se rendirent devant la chapelle de leur *saya*. N'ayant pas été prévenu, je n'arrivai sur le lieu qu'au moment où ce dernier avait terminé de préparer le mélange destiné à être offert en libation. J'ai tout lieu de croire que les ingrédients ajoutés à l'eau ou à la *chicha* dans les trente-six petites cupules étaient les mêmes que dans les fêtes antérieures. Comme de coutume, l'Officiant avait planté devant lui, face à l'est, un bâton sacré (*kamanara*) muni d'une croix. Il fit à genoux les libations d'usage. Le contenu de deux fioles fut versé devant la croix qui se dresse à une dizaine de mètres de la porte de la chapelle. Dans deux cupules contenant vraisemblablement de l'alcool, l'Officiant avait mis quelques feuilles de coca avant de les répandre en libation devant son bâton. Le *yatiri*, son aide et deux assistants s'agenouillèrent devant le tapis, baisèrent le sol, puis l'Officiant se relevant aspergea de *chicha* les quatre angles d'un petit oratoire situé près de la chapelle. On fit alors une longue prière où les noms chrétiens se mêlaient à ceux des *mal'ku* et l'Officiant se dirigea vers la chapelle après avoir touché de son bâton l'oratoire et l'avoir baisé dévotement. L'*alferaza* et son fils allèrent prier sur les marches de la chapelle et tous, se félicitant et se saluant mutuellement, commencèrent les beuveries d'usage.

L'*alferaza* avait couvert de coca une petite table où tous vinrent se ser-

[p. 69]

vir à tour de rôle. Ceux qui prenaient de cette coca touchaient d'abord la table de leur main et la baisaient en signe de respect.

L'assemblée, très clairsemée au début, devint plus nombreuse et c'est alors qu'eut lieu le marché des *alasita*. Les Indiens, hommes et femmes, s'achètent mutuellement de petites quantités de *quinua*, de *cañaze*, de *chuño* et de sucre contre des tessons de poteries dont beaucoup sont perforés et liés ensemble avec un fil (*Pl. XVI, F*). Il semble exister une échelle de valeurs, tant de tessons donnant le droit d'acquérir telle quantité d'un produit quelconque. On peut également faire l'emplette de petits lamas en terre qui exercent sur la prospérité des troupeaux une action magique.

La fête des mal'ku Estewan, Kemperani et Čunkirini (8, 12, 14 février).

Raconter par le menu les cérémonies célébrées en l'honneur des *mal'ku* équivaudrait à refaire la description de la fête des *samiri*. Les pratiques rituelles observées, leur ordre, l'attitude des spectateurs sont rigoureusement les mêmes que ceux que j'ai notés en détail plus haut. La seule différence est qu'au lieu d'être adressés aux *samiri*, les libations et les sacrifices sont destinés aux cônes de terre sacrés. J'ai pu noter cependant quelques variantes que je ne crois pas inutile de mentionner.

La fête d'*Estewan-mal'ku* (*Pl. XIII, B-D*) comporta des préliminaires étrangers au culte rendu aux autres *mal'ku*. L'*alferez* de cette fête avait fait tuer la veille un mouton sur le parvis de l'église. Deux heures après, c'était un superbe bélier blanc qui fut égorgé par son ordre devant le muret de sa hutte. Il avait convoqué pour ce sacrifice Anacleto Mullu.

Conformément au rituel, un bâton sacré fut planté à l'est devant le mouton, dont le sang jaillissant fut mêlé dans une écuelle à de la farine, versé aux quatre points cardinaux, offert aux démons et enfin répandu contre la paroi de la hutte de l'*alferez*. Ces aspersions s'achevèrent sur une libation d'alcool dont les démons furent encore les bénéficiaires.

L'Officiant fut ensuite invité à aider aux préparatifs de la fête et il passa une bonne partie de la soirée à confectionner des sachets-offrandes et à modeler dans de la graisse pétrie avec de la farine noire et blanche, un lama, un mouton et un porc auxquels il ajouta des feuilles d'argent et des plumules de perroquet. Les femmes, de leur côté, attachaient aux frontes d'apparat des guirlandes de pains annelés et des morceaux de fromages et de fruits, tout en surveillant les légumes et les céréales qu'elles faisaient bouillir pour le banquet du lendemain. L'*alferez*, pour encourager ses auxiliaires, donnait généreusement un acompte sur la

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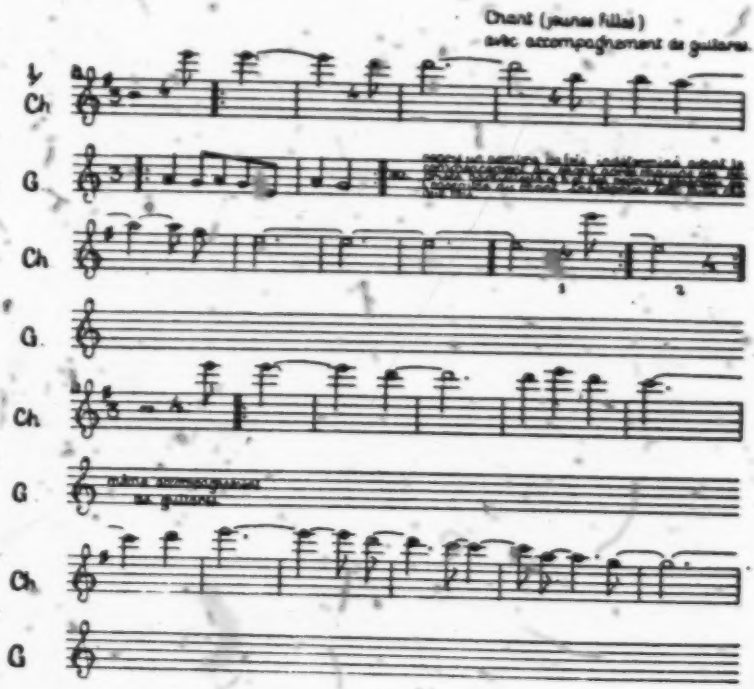
fête à venir et, de libations en libations, *alferez*, Officiant et amis s'enivrèrent à en perdre la raison.

Au cours de la nuit, je fus réveillé par d'étranges mélodies qui tantôt semblaient toute proches de ma hutte, tantôt se perdaient dans le silence du désert. Intrigué par ces rumeurs, je sortis et vis passer devant moi cinq à six jeunes filles se tenant par la main et qui, sous la conduite d'un guitariste, parcouraient le village au pas de course, faisant le tour de chaque maison. En dépit de la pluie, du froid et de la nuit noire, elles ne s'arrêtaient pas un instant pour reprendre haleine et des mélodies toujours plus tristes, toujours plus monotones (transcrites ci-dessous) se succédaient avec des intervalles de silence pour reprendre peu après au milieu de halettements de fatigue. Dans les huttes, dans l'église, les Indiens faisaient leurs libations engoncés dans leurs *ponchos* et leurs lourdes couvertures. Muets et immobiles, éclairés par les maigres lampes de leurs huttes, ils avaient l'aspect fantastique de revenants.



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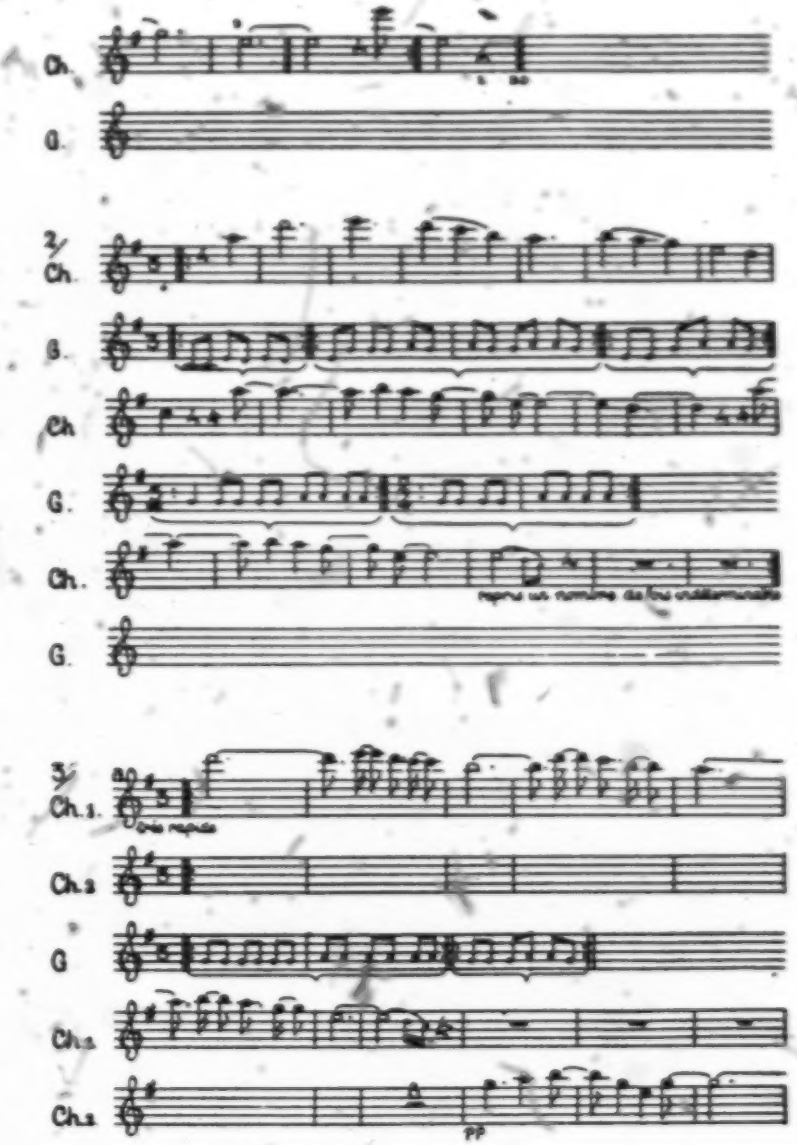
LES INDIENS ENO-ÎPATA DE CARANGAS



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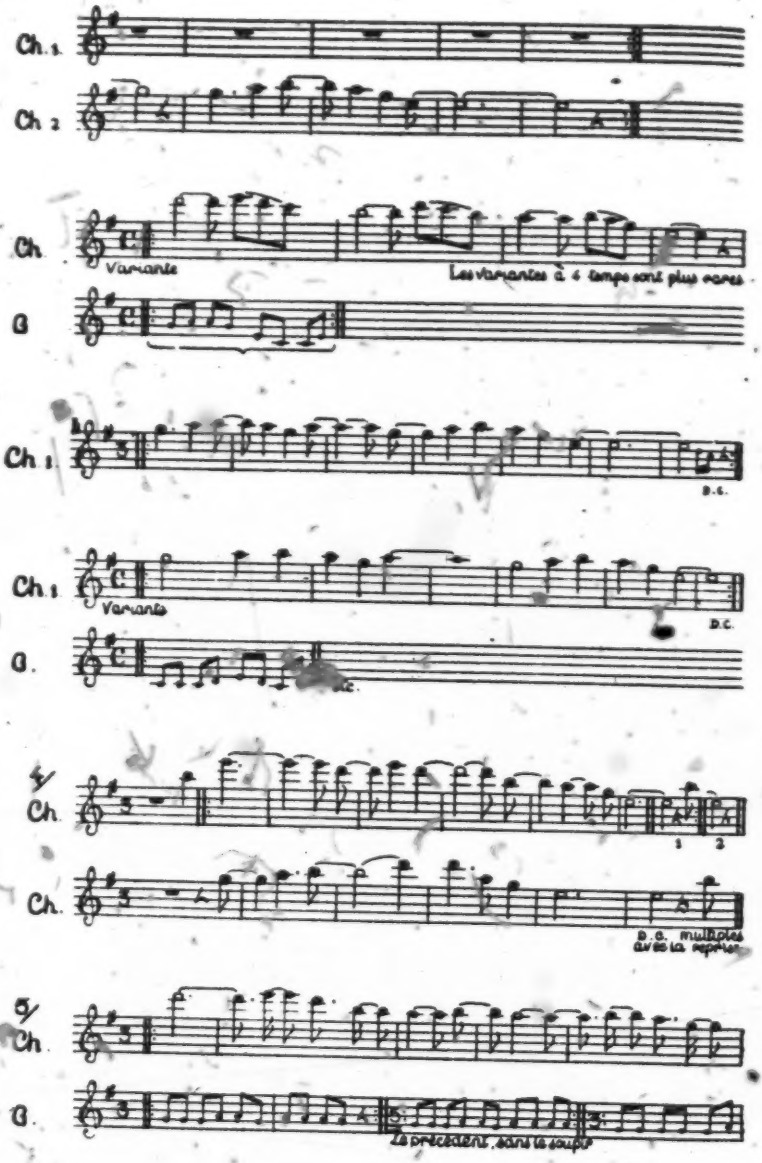
Ch. 1
Ch. 2
Ch.
Variante
Les variantes à 4 temps sont plus rares
G
Ch. 1
D.C.
Ch. 1
Variante
D.C.
G.
D.C.
Ch.
1 2
Ch.
D.C. multiples avec la reprise
Ch.
G.
La précédente, dans la soupe

[SF 23]
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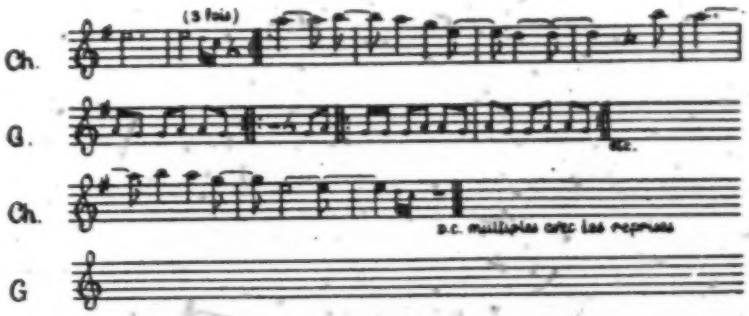
LES INDIENS URO-ČIPAYA DE CARANGAS



Le jour suivant, on se mit en marche de bonne heure pour atteindre l'*Estewan-mal'ku* situé à quinze kilomètres du village, au sud-est, au milieu d'une plaine submergée par une pluie de plusieurs jours. Les étendues inondées étaient si vastes qu'en cours de route, l'*alfetez* d'accord avec l'Officiant décida de célébrer auprès du *Čunkirini-mal'ku* la fête destinée à l'*Estewan-mal'ku*. Les rites seraient les mêmes mais aucune offrande ne serait faite au *Čunkirini-mal'ku* et des délégués, dont le fanatique Espíritu Mamani, seraient envoyés à l'*Estewan-mal'ku* pour lui remettre les tripes des victimes, les fœtus, les colliers de pains et de fromages, de la coca, de la *llicta* et du sucre. Pour qu'il n'y eût aucun doute sur celui qui était l'objet de la fête, l'Officiant et l'assistance eurent toujours le plus grand soin, au cours des rites qu'ils accomplirent, de se tourner dans la direction d'*Estewan-mal'ku*, c'est-à-dire, vers le sud-est. C'est ainsi par exemple qu'à leur arrivée sur le tertre du *mal'ku*, tous s'agenouillèrent premièrement en direction du sud-est, puis de l'est et enfin devant le cône symbolisant le *mal'ku*. De même l'Officiant, avant de faire ses libations, ficha son bâton sacré face au même point cardinal. Le sang des victimes fut néanmoins versé sur le *Čunkirini-mal'ku* que tous les nouveaux arrivants fumigèrent[1].

La prière qui revenait le plus souvent sur les lèvres de l'Officiant indiquait clairement que l'*Estewan-mal'ku* était seul à bénéficier des honneurs rendus apparemment à son collègue :

Estewan-mal'ku hasiki am kumpla tonuja ti pak'al'ittan
Étienne démon en ce moment toi accomplir je suis venu ces têtes de bétail

pak'al'a čep-laiku kasit esposa salut-laiku hasiki kumplataja
têtes de bétail trois pour mariés-époux santé pour en ce moment j'ai accompli

1. Lorsqu'on arrive devant le cône, on est tenu de s'agenouiller devant lui ou de le toucher de sa main puis de baiser celle-ci.

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basiki *t'apa* *ãumpãña* *tonx-tuñi* *kumpituja* *am-ki* *mal'ku*.
en ce moment toute compagnie aujourd'hui j'accomplis toi démon.

« Démon-Étienne, je suis venu m'acquitter envers toi [en t'offrant] ces animaux en faveur de nos trois espèces de troupeaux et en faveur des gens mariés. En ce moment, j'ai rempli mon devoir, en ce moment, aujourd'hui avec toute la compagnie je m'acquitte envers toi, démon ».

Ces détails insignifiants mis à part, tous les accessoires de la fête des *tamiri* figuraient à celle-ci, mais avec plus de profusion. Les gerbes de paille étaient plus nombreuses, plus ornées que précédemment et des œufs de *parina* (flamant) déposés à leur pied.

Je n'observai qu'un seul rite nouveau : la prière que l'*alferez* et sa femme firent successivement aux quatre points cardinaux. Au moment où ils se levèrent pour procéder à ce devoir, les flûtistes firent entendre une mélodie soutenue par des battements de tambour. Lorsqu'au soir ils rentrèrent au village, l'*alferez* et l'*alfereza* avaient l'un et l'autre chargé une botte de paille sur leur dos.

La fête se termina par une saoulerie générale dont fut en partie témoin le parvis de la chapelle. La beuverie continua presque sans interruption jusqu'au lendemain où l'*alferez* offrit à cent vingt personnes un banquet. En dépit de la pénurie relative d'alcool, l'*alferez*, l'Officiant et ses parents trouvèrent le moyen de rouler par terre, ivres-morts.

Quelques jours plus tard, soit le 12 février (*Comadres*), ce fut au tour du *Kemperani-mal'ku* de recevoir de l'alcool et des cadeaux. La pauvre idole ne semble pas jouir de beaucoup de faveur, car ceux qui vinrent « s'acquitter » furent peu nombreux et, si les rites furent fidèlement observés, on les expédia rapidement. Quelques petites particularités que j'ai pu saisir dans les gestes de l'Officiant et dans la composition des liquides offerts au *mal'ku*, ont été indiqués en note aux pages 354 et 355. Un fait mérite d'être retenu : lorsque le cône fut tout dégouttant de sang, les assistants se levèrent et se prosternèrent devant lui. Quelques-uns le touchèrent légèrement du bout des doigts et les portèrent à leurs lèvres. Les individus qui prirent part à cette fête appartenaient tous à la *saya* de l'exception, peut-être, de l'Officiant. L'absence des familles ou du moins de quelques représentants de *taxata* ne manqua pas de me surprendre, car, dans la prière adressée au *Kemperani-mal'ku*, on donne à entendre que le l'est (*tuanta*) à cône qui s'élève sur la limite des deux *saya*, les « regarde » l'une et l'autre :

Kemperani-mal'ku *porap-ikina* *inkiñi* *mal'ku lenta* *towantitta*
Kemperani-démon les deux derrière qui regarde démon limite est de

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taxatiña maitiñi hasiki poxap-ayl'u kumplatuja touxi-hi tsuanta
ouest de qui existe en ce moment les deux clans s'acquittent aujourd'hui ont

taxata kumpañu kumpañ-iltan ixp pak'al-laiku kumplatuja
ouest accompagnent compagnie avec trois têtes de bétail pour s'acquitter

pak'al'a hasiki maitiliñakija para siempre kumpliixapa.
tête de bétail en ce moment accorde-nous pour toujours pour s'acquitter.

« Démon Kemparani, toi qui regardes les deux clans qui sont derrière toi. Aujourd'hui les deux clans sont venus s'acquitter envers toi, celui de l'est et celui de l'ouest. Tous ceux-ci m'accompagnent, en ce moment viennent s'acquitter en faveur des trois espèces d'animaux. Accordons-nous en ce moment des troupeaux pour que nous puissions toujours nous acquitter envers toi ».

Le *Ćunkirini-mal'ku* est le dernier des cônes de terre dont la fête soit célébrée dans l'année par la *saya tsanta*. Aussi celle-ci revêt-elle un éclat et une solennité qui en font l'expression la plus parfaite des cérémonies et des rites païens conservés par les Çipaya. Les *alférez* des fêtes précédentes y viennent, portant sur le dos leurs bottes de paille enguirlandées et dressent tout autour du *Ćunkirini-mal'ku* leurs petits autels improvisés comme s'ils étaient dans l'exercice de leur fonction passée. Le cône de terre est couvert de guirlandes de fruits, de pains annelés, de fromages et émerge rouge de sang au-dessus des bouquets de paille et des groupes d'Indiens accroupis autour de lui. Les nombreuses prières qui sont débitées en ce jour sont autant d'appels à l'assistance et à la générosité des démons et des saints de la tribu. Le *Ćunkirini-mal'ku*, dont on célèbre l'« anniversaire », est naturellement le plus souvent invoqué. On l'implore en ces termes :

Ćunkirini-mal'ku hasiki ana kumpli tonuja
Ćunkirini-démon en ce moment toi m'acquitter je suis venu

pak'xal'ailtan kumplataja touxtuhi ixp pak'xal'a
têtes de bétail avec je m'acquitte aujourd'hui trois têtes de bétail

palatanuja ana inahapa Tatal Mamal sirvixapa hasiki
sont plantées ne pas en vain Père Mère servir pour en ce moment

maitiliñakija t'apa kumpañtan.
accorde-moi toute compagnie avec.

« Démon Ćunkirini, je suis venu, en cette heure, m'acquitter envers toi avec ces animaux. Je m'acquitte aujourd'hui avec ces trois têtes de bétail qui sont plantées (devant toi) — que ce ne soit pas en vain —

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pour te servir, père, mère, en cette heure, eux-mêmes et tous ceux qui m'accompagnent ».

A la différence de la fête antérieure qui eut lieu au pied de ce même cône de terre, on ouvrit cette fois une sorte de caveau ménagé à sa base et l'on en retira diverses offrandes à moitié pourries et une bouteille d'alcool dont l'Officiant et ses aides burent pieusement le contenu. Il convient d'ajouter qu'on la remplit à nouveau et que des substances et des provisions magiques fraîches remplacèrent celles qui furent jetées.

Les Indiens profitèrent de l'occasion pour aller se prosterner devant un autre cône, véritable nain parmi ses congénères, car il ne mesure guère qu'une cinquantaine de centimètres. Peut-être ce *mal'ku* en miniature est-il le protecteur des enfants, car le *corregidor* de la tribu lui offrit un mouton au nom de son fils âgé de trois ans.

Prières au Kilimento-mal'ku et au Kosil'awari-mal'ku. — Le *patiri* Anacleto Mullia me dicta encore deux prières qui sont adressées l'une au *Kilimento-mal'ku* et l'autre au *Kosil'awari mal'ku*. Ces deux cônes de terre s'élèvent sur le territoire de *tanata* et leur culte est réservé à cette *saya*. Je n'ai pu assister aux cérémonies dont ils furent l'objet, car elles furent célébrées en même temps que celles auxquelles je prenais part à *tanata*, en l'honneur des *mal'ku* de cette *saya*. Il est fort improbable que les rites diffèrent dans les deux secteurs; en tous les cas, les prières, à en juger par celles que je donne ici, sont du même type :

Kilimento-mal'ku, hasiki am hampli tamaja ti tep
Kilimento-démon, en ce moment toi m'acquitter je suis venu avec trois

pak'al'itan palantasaja pak'al-laiku ti hasat-itpe-laiku ana
têtes de bétail sont plantées troupeaux pour ces mariés époux pour ne pas

ina-hapa-ki Tatal Manal, tarusihapa t'apa hampaña.
en vain Père Mère, servir pour toute compagnie.

« Démon Kilimento, en ce moment je suis venu m'acquitter avec ces trois animaux qui sont plantés devant toi, en faveur des troupeaux et des gens mariés. Que ce ne soit pas en vain. Père, Mère, que tous ceux qui m'accompagnent (sont venus) pour te servir ».

Kosil'awari-mal'ku, [illegible]'a hasiki am hampla tamaja
Kosil'awari-démon démon-femme en ce moment toi m'acquitter je suis venu

tan-tis tamia tamiki tep pak'l'itan tamaja
aujourd'hui anniversaire aujourd'hui trois têtes de bétail avec je suis venu

pak'al-laiku salut-laiku t'apa hampaña hampitaja tan-taki.
troupeaux en faveur santé pour toute la compagnie s'acquitte aujourd'hui.

« Démon Kasil'awari, femme du démon, en ce moment je suis venu m'acquitter avec ces trois animaux, en ce jour, jour de ton anniversaire. Je suis venu avec toute la compagnie pour nous acquitter en faveur de nos troupeaux et de (notre) santé ».

Pour terminer, je reproduirai la prière qui est adressée au mont Sajama et au rio Llauca lorsqu'on sacrifie à cette dernière rivière un spécimen de chacune des trois espèces d'animaux qui forment les troupeaux des Çipaya :

Sayama-mal'a	*awiaturu*	*awititkal'a*	*Maria*	*L'auka*	*ti*	*tep*
Sajama sacré	berger	fais paître	Marie	Llauca	ces	trois
pal'al'a	*awititka*	*parwal'a*	*para*	*simpre*	*awititka.*	
espèces de bétail	fais paître	herbe	pour	toujours	fais paître.	

« Sajama sacré (toi) le berger, fais que nous puissions faire paître, Marie Llauca, (accorde-nous) de faire paître ces trois espèces d'animaux; donne-nous de l'herbe pour les faire paître ».

Pratiques religieuses à l'occasion de la tonte des moutons.

Au début de février les Indiens de la *saya taxata* s'en furent tondre leurs moutons. Ils revinrent de leurs « maisons d'eau » avec de gros ballots de laine de lama et de mouton qu'ils entassèrent dans leurs huttes. Ce retour donna lieu à une fête qui consista surtout à faire des libations d'alcool sur les tas de laine et à offrir de la coca et de l'alcool à de petits lamas en terre (*Pl. XVII, B*) alignés à l'intérieur de la hutte, sur une table. Quelques lamas avaient été conduits dans le village et les Indiens venaient de temps à autre faire tomber sur leur dos quelques feuilles de coca et des gouttes d'alcool tout en demandant aux démons et aux saints de multiplier ces animaux, de les protéger et de faire pousser l'herbe dont ils s'alimentent.

Echauffés par l'alcool, quelques Indiens dansaient éperdument à travers les rues du village. Ce furent là les seules manifestations que j'aie observées au cours de cette fête.

Pratiques pagano-chrétiennes pour obtenir de la pluie.

A la fin de janvier, comme le ciel restait implacablement bleu, les Çipaya craignirent la sécheresse et la destruction de leurs pâturages. Ils décidèrent, après une délibération générale, de recourir à des prières publiques. Celles-ci étaient faites par tous les enfants qu'on obligeait à jeûner pendant la matinée et qu'on envoyait en procession à l'église pour faire à genoux

[2-28]

le tour de la croix, en face du parvis. La même cérémonie avait lieu devant la petite chapelle dont les enfants remontaient les marches à genoux. Un mouton fut sacrifié à cette occasion et avec son sang on aspergea les quatre angles du socle de la croix. La chair en fut consommée exclusivement par les enfants.

Fête de Carnaval.

Carnaval est pour l'Indien Čipaya la fête par excellence, celle à côté de laquelle toutes les autres ne sont que de pieux devoirs. A Carnaval,

Fig. 36. — A. Indien Čipaya en habits de fête.
Remarquer sur la tête la couronne d'œufs de flamant.
B. Indien Čipaya équipé pour participer aux danses de Carnaval. Sur son dos, un canar sauvage maintenu au moyen d'une fronde d'apparat et la *bola perdida* en paille.

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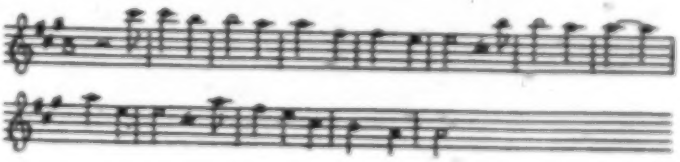
s'il observe quelques rites, son but est avant tout de boire et de danser jusqu'à tomber ivre-mort. Si à ces amusements il peut joindre quelques rixes sanglantes avec les gens de l'autre *ayllu*, son bonheur est complet. Carnaval est aussi pour lui le seul ferment d'activité, le seul moment de l'année sur lequel son esprit se repose avec complaisance et auquel il pense dans son hébétude et son insouciance de l'avenir. La perspective d'assister à une fête si prônée fut seule assez puissante pour me retenir à Chipaya au-delà du terme que je m'étais fixé. Cependant, j'eus tout lieu d'être déçu et les Çipaya eux-mêmes me manifestèrent leur désappointement d'un carnaval peu réussi. Ce n'est pas la bonne volonté qui avait manqué, mais l'alcool, le précieux alcool et la non moins précieuse coca. La crise, qui ailleurs faisait sauter les présidents de l'Amérique latine, privait les Çipaya de leurs débouchés pour l'écoulement de leurs fromages et les condamnait à *filter* Carnaval en coupant leur alcool d'eau.

Comme je l'ai dit plus haut, les rites religieux ou magiques ne tiennent dans ces fêtes qu'une place insignifiante : les survivances importantes du paganisme se font jour dans l'accoutrement des participants (*Pl. XIV, D*). La plupart s'étaient entouré le corps de frondes d'apparat dont les franges leur composaient un habit bigarré. Quelques-uns avaient ceint leur tête d'une sorte de chevelure postiche en crins de cheval (*Pl. XVI, C*) ou de diadèmes en plumes de flamant. Les coiffures les plus originales que j'aie remarquées furent quelques couronnes composées d'œufs de flamants enfilés (fig. 36, A). Une grande partie des jeunes gens portaient sur le dos des oiseaux aquatiques attachés avec la *hola* de paille qui les avait tués (fig. 36, B). Les *alferez* et les *alferezas* avaient chargé sur leur dos les gerbes de paille derrière lesquelles ils avaient présidé aux fêtes des différents *mal'ku* et *samiri*. Celles-ci étaient décorées de guirlandes de fruits, de feuillages et de pains. Ceux qui n'avaient pas eu l'honneur d'être *alferez* ne s'étaient pas moins décorés d'ornements symbolisant la prospérité et l'abondance.

Airs de danses de Carnaval.



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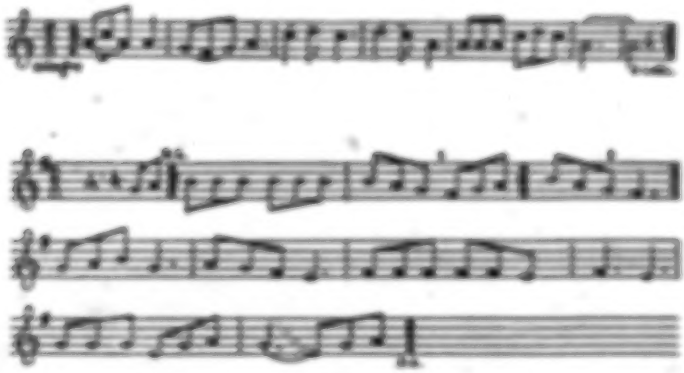

Ainsi costumés, les Čipaya se livrèrent à la plus monotone des danses: celle que j'ai décrite à propos de la fête des *anuri* (p. 360). Les couples se disloquaient de temps à autre pour former des *cortèges* qui, en pas de course, sous les bannières blanches des *alferes*, gagnaient la *saya* voisine ou venaient s'arrêter devant une hutte dont le propriétaire offrait à boire à tout le monde. Si les gens de chaque *saya* donnaient de préférence sur leur territoire, les visites aux *saya* voisines étaient fréquentes et par moments conduisaient à une confusion qui contrastait avec la rigoureuse séparation habituellement en vigueur.

Dans quelques huttes appartenant à des *alferes*, on avait dressé une table, transformée en autel, avec les gerbes de paille consacrées, les têtes et les pattes des animaux égorgés pour la fête. Des groupes y venaient faire des libations et puiser dans le tas de coca placé devant le museau des victimes.

C'est ainsi que la fête se déroula pendant toute une semaine. De nuit, les jeunes filles se tenant par la main galopaient dans le village, chantant leurs chansons mélancoliques, et quelques ivrognes faisaient des libations jusqu'à l'aube. La pénurie d'alcool ne permit pas le déchaînement des passions ensuite et je n'assistai à aucune de ces orgies brutales dans lesquelles les Aymara se surpassent. C'est à peine, je crois, s'il y eut quelques disputes et quelques échanges de coups et je ne vis aucun de ces accouplements publics dont les fêtes de Carnaval sont souvent l'occasion chez les Aymara.

Le dimanche suivant, dernier jour des fêtes de Carnaval, fut particulièrement animé. Tous les clans s'étaient soudés et dansaient en masse compacte. La tour de l'église avait avait été décorée de guirlandes de

[2 p.]

fruits, de fromages et de pains et un moutons immolé en son honneur. On avait aspergé de son sang les quatre angles et les cloches.

C'est au cours de ce sacrifice qu'est récitée la prière à la Tour, dénommé qui, comme le Candelero-mal'ha, est commun aux deux ayar :

Tori-mal'ha,	*tatá mal'ha,*	*Santa Ana,*	*mal'ha*	*tapata,*	*asentilaya,*	
Tour-démon,	grand démon	Sainte Anne,	démon	ces,	ceux de	
maitibi,	*cabrito*	*lucibi*	*cuna,*	*cuina,*	*cimapa*	
celui qui obtient,	qui prie,	en ce moment	lui	*pasa*	temps	
huachimal'a,	*uuiñ,*	*uuiñ,*	*cuna*	*uuta*	*huachitiña*	*t'apa*
donne-moi,	homme,	homme,	lui	aussi	accorde-nous	tous
cruciciita.						
serviteurs à.						

« Démon de la tour, grande divinité, Sainte Anne, démon des ayar *Tunnia* et *Tacana*, notre intercesseur, toi qui prie, fais-nous avoir en ce moment un temps propice et bonifie-nous une bonne, très bonne année à nous tous, tes serviteurs ».

Les spectateurs se rangèrent sur deux rangs en faisant face et échangèrent leurs sacoches de coca et leurs dernières gobelets d'alcool. Quelques-uns, dont les plus notables, s'étaient séparés de l'assistance et, à genoux devant leur bâton sacré, faisaient leurs libations aux démons et aux saints protecteurs. Un collègue se tenait devant eux pour dire les réponses.

Au coucher du soleil, tinata, tarata et uarta, les trois clans, fusionnèrent pour la dernière fois dans une ronde gigantesque conduite par tous les musiciens réunis. Ils tournoyèrent longtemps encore et à la nuit se dispersèrent pour achever leurs dernières restes d'alcool.

Cette fête est la dernière qu'ils célébrèrent avant Pâques et la visite de leur curé, en juin.

Rites et pratiques observés lors de la construction d'une hutte.

La construction de la maison est chez les Čipaya, comme chez les Aymara une entreprise collective. Le futur propriétaire est aidé dans son travail par les gens de sa famille et par tous ses amis. Au moment où le toit est recouvert de « linoleum », c'est-à-dire de ce curieux tissu fait de paille et de minces couches de boue qui le rend imperméable, le maître de la maison fait entretenir ceux qui l'ont assisté. Ceux-ci s'assoient

(p. 12)

[illegible]

[illegible] DES DÉMONS

en rond et repoussent de leur tête de l'alcool et de sa femme de la coca. Ils se reposent quelques instants en buvant et chiquant et en faisant des libations accompagnées de courtes prières où ils demandent aux démons et à la Terre-mère de veiller sur la nouvelle hutte et sur ses habitants. Avant de reprendre le travail, ils fixent en cur, face à l'entrée, les bâtons sacrés (*kenaro-para*) auxquels on fait une ofrande d'alcool.

Quand la toiture est achevée, on égorge un mouton et avec son sang le maître de maison asperge le mur près de la porte et les roseaux qui soutiennent le plafond. Ensuite il organise un grand banquet pour témoigner sa reconnaissance aux ouvriers bénévoles.

Démons protecteurs des huttes.

Chaque hutte est sous la protection d'un *mal'ku*, c'est-à-dire d'un démon ou d'un esprit désigné souvent dans les prières sous le nom de *pacha mal'ku*, soit « esprit de la terre » ou plus exactement de l'espace compris entre les deux murets qui encerrent le groupe de cases appartenant à chaque famille. Le gardien de la maison peut être aussi un chat sauvage (*titi-mal'ku*) ou un oiseau de proie, milan ou faucon empaillé (*mamani*). Quelques huttes chez les Aymara de la province de Carangas ont pour *mal'ku* une plante, généralement une cactée.

Il est possible que le nombre des esprits qui règnent sur la demeure soit encore plus considérable. Dans une prière d'origine aymara que j'ai recueillie chez les Cipaya, on invoque, lors du sacrifice fait aux démons de la maison, la ramée et la cuisine en même temps que la cour.

La construction de la maison donne lieu à diverses cérémonies qui se répètent uniformes dans tout le pays habité par les Aymara. Il n'est pas de hutte dépuis sur laquelle on ne voie à gauche de la porte, en entrant, la tache sombre du sang dont elle fut aspergée à la fin de son édification. L'intérieur du toit porte également la trace de jets sanglants. Ce sacrifice est suivi d'un banquet dont le propriétaire de la nouvelle demeure fait les frais et auquel il convie tous ceux qui, parents ou amis, l'ont secondé dans les travaux de construction. On en profite pour faire force libations et pour demander probablement aux esprits protecteurs que « la paille (du toit), que la maison, que la hutte pour la cuisine soit bonne, qu'elle dure plusieurs années ».

Aintal'a	*k'oya*	*kamanuika*	*suma*	*hak*
Paille	maison	cuisine pour	bonne	beaucoup
uata	*anantil'a*[1]	*k'oya-ki*		
année	dure	maison-cuisine		

1. De l'espagnol *aguantar* « supporter ».

[2-23]

LES INDIENS UNO-DUPAYA DE CHIPAYA

Tel exemple de l'affreux jargon mêlé de mots *ūpuya*, *aymara* et *kūlina* que les Indiens emploient dans leurs rapports avec les divinités.

Le *titi-mal'ku* est honoré chaque fois qu'un Indien, après un long séjour dans sa « maison d'eau », revient chez lui au village. Comme le nombre des *titi-mal'ku* à Chipaya est restreint, je n'aurais pu assister à cette cérémonie intime si des mes voisins de la *saya tanata* n'avaient précisément fait un sacrifice à leur chat empaillé au retour d'une absence prolongée. Ils commencèrent par choisir dans leur troupeau un splendide mouton blanc qu'ils décorèrent de pompons rouges et qu'ils étendirent devant la porte de leur hutte, la tête vers l'est. Ils placèrent auprès de lui un napperon qu'ils couvrirent de feuilles de coca. Ils firent tomber sur la victime quelques gouttes d'alcool et quelques pincées de coca et prononcèrent la formule suivante :

Mal'ku patio	*titi-mal'ku*	*tuma*	*katsimal'a*	*vila*,
l'esprit (de) patio	chat sacré	bien	reçois beaucoup	de sang.

Les deux huttes de l'Indien furent aspergées intérieurement et extérieurement avec le sang du mouton égorgé et le dernier jet qui s'écoulait de son artère tranchée fut lancé en direction du levant avec une prière aux démons, à la Terre-mère et aux saints.

Le *titi-mal'ku* siégeait à la place d'honneur à l'intérieur de la hutte. Il était orné d'une fronde d'apparat enroulée autour du corps ; de ses oreilles pendaient des pompons rouges et on lui avait suspendu une sacoche au cou. Je fis l'inventaire du contenu de celle-ci : il y avait outre la coca et une petite bouteille d'alcool, diverses substances magiques telles que poudres minérales colorantes, l'argent fétiche (*il'a*), une pierre de nature calcaire et enfin une poire sèche et une écorce d'orange.

On offrit au *titi-mal'ku* une écuelle pleine de sang et on mit à sa portée une serviette couverte de feuilles de coca que les voisins vinrent renouveler. Le propriétaire et sa femme s'assirent près de leur *titi-mal'ku* pour lui rendre hommage par une petite fête privée à laquelle ils furent seuls d'abord à participer, mais qui attira bientôt quelques visiteurs intéressés. A chaque libation, avant de boire, on se tournait vers le chat sauvage pour qu'il ne put douter de l'hommage qui lui était rendu. Chaque offrande s'accompagnait de cette phrase :

Titi-mal'ku	*tuma*	*resibe-tamal'a*	*bila*	*xuntu*	*vila*
Chat sacré	bon	reçois beaucoup	à présent	ensemble	sang

amora.
amour.

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« Chef sacré reçois ceci en abondance, à présent en cette temps que ce mets que nous t'offrons avec amour ».

Au moment où le gobelet était vidé, il recevait le nom « *nel'a* » (bénédiction).

Dans chaque hutte cipaya, sans exception, on remarque fixés contre le mur, face à la porte, plusieurs bâtons en bois de palmier avec un trou de suspension. Je n'ai pu connaître la nature exacte de ces pièces de bois ni le caractère que les Cipaya leur attribuent. Ils leur donnent le nom mixaymara, mi-espagnol de *hamano-para* (bâton de la maison). Lors des grandes fêtes publiques, le magicien se dirige vers le lieu de la cérémonie muni d'un de ces bâtons et le plante devant lui avant de faire subir un sacrifice, soit une libation. Quelquefois on attache les gerbes de paille sacrée autour de ces cannes. Un jour, j'ai vu les Indiens brûler de l'encens devant leur *hamano-para* et ils m'ont assuré qu'avant Carnaval et la fête de la Conception, ils lui sacrifient un mouton. Je ne sais si c'est à cette occasion ou lorsque on tue un mouton pour le dîner du patio que l'on récite la longue prière qu'un Cipaya me dicta lorsque je l'interrogeai sur ces cultes familiaux :

Tatpeka (*tatpeenaki*) *ankalakala* *kaka* *kaka* *patal'a*
Tout enfant pour plante cactus grand troupeau

kalamaya *patal'a kas axita* *patal'a kala* *patal'a* *maiaxpita*
pure troupeau avec moutons troupeau grand troupeau fais-moi avoir

hamana kankaxpita *akal mal'ka* *mama mal'ka* *pati-ata kimsa patal'a*
maison tu recevras en démon mien mal'ka petite fois trois troupeau

naxiniata *hamakaxkaxna.*
naissance tu recevras.

« Fais-moi avoir, pour nous tes enfants, des plantes (?), de grands cactus, des porcs avec des moutons et du grand bétail (des lamas), fais-le moi avoir, toi remise (où se tient le *mal'ka*), toi cuisine de la maison. Tu recevras en offrande le petit des trois espèces d'animaux, toi esprit, toi maison esprit, toi cœur (démon de la cœur) ».

Un après-midi où j'étais allé visiter mon ami Anacleto Mollu, je le trouvai en train de faire ces libations en compagnie de son neveu et de sa femme. Ils avaient placé devant eux un encensoir et se tendaient mutuellement les deux gobelets jumeaux dont ils répandirent une partie du contenu en récitant une prière sur l'invitation et sous la direction du *yatiri*. Pour autant que j'aie pu comprendre la signification de leurs doléances implorations, elles devaient être adressées aux bâtons sacrés de la hutte, à l'esprit

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gardienne de la maison remarqua en demandait de faire pousser l'herbe des champs et de faire tomber la pluie sur les plaines salées de Chipaya.

Voici quelques brides des prières qu'ils récitaient ce jour-là et que j'ai pu noter au vol :

T'orsina	*Jal'ensa*	*ayamiri*	*Arcangelo*	*largo*	*nuestro*
Vierge	je livre aux libations	protecteur	Ciel	pluie	pays
Jal'o	*ayamiri*	*T'orsina*	*Manuela*	*Ramiro,*	*pata*	*kondore*	*hermano*
montagnes	protecteur	Vierge	Manuela	Ramiro,	patte	aussi	laisse
o	*K'ansina*
	humides	

« Vierge protectrice, je te livre aux libations, [donne-nous] la pluie du Ciel et vous aussi, montagnes du pays, Vierge protectrice, Manuela Ramiro, patte-aussi, laisse-la-aussi ».

Dans une autre traite, je remarquai, le même jour un commerce qui faisait devant les bêtes aussi (*humano pero*).

Chaque jeudi les Chipaya faisaient brûler, à l'extrémité du champ qui sépare leur groupe des maisons des autres, un peu de blé. Ils ont emprunté cette coutume aux Aymara qui la pratiquent même dans des villes telles qu'Ururo.

Les Esprits de la bergerie.

En compagnie d'Anacleto Mollo je fus convié à assister à l'ensilonnement d'un *yatiri* dans la bergerie d'une des familles du clan sarta.

Le premier soin du *yatiri* en arrivant sur les lieux fut de creuser le sol pour retrouver un petit caveau en glaise [abscisse de 20 cm. de profondeur sur 20 de longueur et qui était situé] approximativement au milieu d'un enclos à moutons. L'Officiant en retira quatre pièces de monnaie de cinq centavos, des fleurs séchées et une petite bouteille d'eau-de-vie. Les fleurs furent jetées, mais les monnaies et la fiasque d'alcool soigneusement mis de côté. Entre temps, on avait amené dans l'enclos un mouton noir orné de touffes de laine aux oreilles et sur le cou. Il fut, comme de coutume, consacré par des libations et des effusions de coca, et égorgé sur le bord de la fosse. Le *yatiri* faisant face à l'est offrit un peu de ce sang aux démons qu'il invoqua et implora dans une longue prière, puis, se tournant vers la butte de calcul qui offrait le sacrifice, il répandit le reste du sang en l'honneur de l'esprit protecteur de la maison et de son puits. Quelques pincées de farine de maïs furent jetées dans la fosse.

[illegible]

Le petit Ki consulte le tour des saisons pour les salon suivant traduction anglaise de l'étiquette Ojibwa. Le matin du troisième et le dernier les offrent de l'alcool et de la soie et invitent leurs parents et amis à se servir des feuilles qu'ils avaient étalées par terre. Un bol et un calepin pendant une demi-heure sans échanger un mot et avec toute la marque dont ces hôtes étaient susceptibles. On avait remarqué d'un moment de trêve qui l'enveloppait un agneau empaillé avait de poisons de laine : le sauvé, le fondre du propriétaire de la longueur lui ajouta quelques touffes de laine rouge supplémentaires et tous s'approchèrent à tour de rôle pour faire une libation sur son corps, les effets de la cour et rentrer pour lui une longue prière. On l'enfouit ensuite dans la fosse avec de la filasse, du « regal », des brindilles de sassafras et quelques graines de maïs que l'Officiant lançait avec énergie prélevés de temps en temps pendant son prêche. Il était inutile dans ses mouvements par les spectateurs, qui s'éclaboussaient de rire.

La fosse ne fut pas entièrement comblée. A côté d'elle, sur un support, l'instigateur de la fête avait étalé les innombrables produits à vente magique que les Ojibwa ont soutenus d'offrir à leurs divinités. Le petit, après les avoir passés minutieusement en revue, prépara des morceaux de papier dans lesquels il mit d'abord des pastilles roses, jaunes et vertes, des morceaux de bonbons rouge et blanc et enfin des brindilles de cotonnier et de l'amadou.

Il procéda ensuite à envelopper soigneusement chacun à leurs produits minutieusement de couleur différente qui furent mises à sa disposition. Il avait gardé que quatre : une vert sombre, une verte clair, une violette et une brune. Il les mit dans de petits carrés séparés, à l'exception de la poudre vert clair qu'il mêla à la brune. Ces couleurs avaient sans doute une signification particulière, à en juger par l'attention que le petit apporta à leur choix et aux explications qu'il donna au maître de la fête. Il se tint bien de supposer que ces quatre couleurs correspondaient aux régions dont les mouvements et l'expansion importe le plus aux Ojibwa. Le vert représente les pois, le brun les graines de gazon, le violet certainement parties des feuilles de graine et de tabac.

Avec de la graine de gazon, le petit modèle un agneau qu'il avait chargé d'attacher une touffe de laine. Il le mit dans une corbeille dans laquelle les assistants jetèrent de la nourriture et des libations et récita une longue prière où les vœux pour la prospérité de troupeaux se mêlaient aux énumérations des mal'ds et aux invocations à la Puissance. Pressant enfin une fois de la graine de gazon, le petit y introduisit des parcelles de feuilles d'or et y piqua des fleurs artificielles. Le choix des fleurs fut aussi minutieux que celui des couleurs du couleur. Lorsque la tombe de bois en fut couverte,

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LES MAGES GUERISSEURS ET DEVINS

la femme du malade de l'huile d'urucu(rouge d'une teinte orange. Quelques instants après, Simão plonge dans le lait et malaxe de grandes noix rouges fraîches dans une boîte en bois et commence à frictionner le corps du malade d'abord avec délicatesse et qui ensuite le pétrit de toutes ses forces et finalement avec la plus grande fureur. Un délicieux arôme de bonbons d'anis sort de ces noix broyées, à mesure que l'Officiant, sans s'arrêter, avec énergie remue, les tourne et les pétrit d'abord.

Quelques gestes d'abord furent répandus sur les différentes manipulations auxquelles on soumet les produits suivants : de la Lune, des hommes, de l'ananas, de la Mer, du sexe, du maïs. La boîte fut malaxée à fleur de terre et couverte d'une dalle. Le mets fut soigneusement étendu sous la terre et, sur l'emplacement du sorcier, le petit personnage aux longues pattes allongées, comme précédemment, à la Personne et aux diverses protections. La cérémonie se termina, comme toutes les cérémonies des Cayapo, par de nombreuses prohibitions à boire et à manger.

Pratiques religieuses relatives à la mise à mort des animaux domestiques

Lorsque les Cayapo égorgent un animal pour en consommer la chair, ils observent un rituel en tout point analogue à celui que j'ai décrit et suivant lorsqu'il s'agit des victimes. Le meurtre ou le gavage sont effectués de nuit et d'abord et son sang est offert aux Ancêtres. La tête de l'animal est placée sur une table où elle reste exposée pendant plusieurs jours. Vis à l'entrée de beaucoup de fleurs et l'on dispose sous la mâchoire de la tête une serviette couverte de feuilles de coca, de petits plats contenant des substances variées et toutes gouvernées de notions magiques. Les habitants de la hutte qui ont donné cet animal font exécuter une sorte cérémonie dont les principales manifestations sont des manipulations de magnet et des effleurades de coca et d'urucu.

Divination

Comme les Aymara, les Indiens Cayapo pratiquent la divination sur une grande échelle. L'invocation où ils font appel aux Ancêtres guide l'oracle pour la spécialiste la plus réputée de la tribu, Anandiba Mudja. Celle-ci n'use comme accessoires que d'une serviette et d'une certaine quantité de coca fournie par le client. Il commence par une courte prière harmonieuse à voix basse, tandis qu'il étale soigneusement sa feuilles, les ingrédients du plat de la main. Il porte à la bouche sa main droite

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formant cornet et souffla doucement dedans. Puis, reposant délicatement sa main sur les feuilles, les lissant et les caressant, il répéta la question. Après une courte invocation, il saisit une poignée de feuilles qu'il retourna d'un geste rapide. Il dégagea du tas les feuilles significatives pour me les montrer. A ce que j'ai pu constater, une feuille pour être considérée de bonne augure doit être tournée les nervures en haut, avoir le pétiole en arrière et la pointe du limbe vers l'extrémité des doigts. La main ne cesse d'ailleurs d'être ouverte, les doigts dirigés vers le consultant.

Pour être bonne, la feuille doit également n'être recouverte d'aucune autre. Les feuilles simplement mauvaises sont celles qui se présentent dans une position inverse. Les pires offrent leur face luisante et le pétiole dirigé vers le consultant. La précision de la réponse plus ou moins catégorique du devin dépend de l'estimation générale et de la proportion des feuilles bonnes ou mauvaises. Les feuilles pliées sont retirées et sont sans signification aucune.

Le diseur de bonne aventure se paie de sa peine en chiquant les feuilles dont il s'est servi.

Le traitement magique des maladies.

La science médicale des Indiens du haut-plateau andin est fort étendue. Pour s'en convaincre, il suffit d'aller examiner dans n'importe quel marché indigène le secteur occupé par les *chiñes* ou vendeuses de plantes médicinales. L'abondance des produits végétaux, animaux et minéraux qu'elles offrent, soigneusement classés dans de petites cases, est extraordinaire et mériterait une longue énumération méthodique. Si l'on songe que chacune de ces substances, outre ses propriétés particulières, entre encore dans la composition de mélanges hétéroclites et variés, on aura une idée du nombre de recettes médicales dont disposent les Indiens du haut-plateau. A vrai dire, beaucoup des traitements indiqués par les *yatiri* ont un caractère strictement magique ; cependant nombre des médicaments qu'ils prescrivent se recommande par des vertus effectives et réelles. L'Institut d'ethnologie de l'Université de Tucuman possède une collection fort complète de ces produits et il est à espérer que leur étude pourra être réalisée un jour par un pharmacien doublé d'un botaniste. Il ne fait aucune doute qu'une telle recherche, commencée déjà par Nordenskiöld [1], réserve plus d'une surprise et

1. Nordenskiöld (Erland). *Recettes magiques médicales du Pérou et de la Bolivie*. Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Paris, nouv. série, t. IV, 1907, p. 153-174.

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n'ouvre de nouvelles perspectives sur les connaissances médicales des Indiens de la Bolivie.

Les Indiens Çipaya de Carangas ont été si profondément imprégnés par l'influence des Indiens Aymara qu'il est à présumer que, dans le domaine médical, ils ne se distinguent guère de leurs voisins du haut-plateau. C'est tout juste si leurs connaissances doivent être plus rudimentaires en raison de leur isolement et de la difficulté qu'ils éprouvent à recevoir les substances médicinales, qui presque toutes viennent des Yungas. J'ai pu m'en convaincre en examinant un jour un sac à médecines qui avait été laissé par un Çipaya décédé, père d'un jeune Indien avec qui j'entretenais des rapports amicaux. Je trouvai dans l'héritage du vieillard plusieurs produits pharmaceutiques que j'avais recueillis au marché d'Oruro. Le défunt en possédait des parcelles qu'il avait soigneusement enveloppées dans de petits chiffons. Son fils refusa de me les vendre, alléguant leur haute valeur et la difficulté de s'en procurer. Je doute cependant que quelqu'un à Chipaya puisse en tirer profit, car il n'est aucun Indien, à ma connaissance du moins, qui dans ce village possède une science suffisante pour procéder à leur application.

Presque tous les jours, dans la hutte que j'occupais, je recevais la visite d'Indiens qui venaient me demander des remèdes pour divers maux. Le plus fréquent était la constipation qui semble effrayer fort les Çipaya. Je pus voir aussi une hernie et un terrible phlegmon que les Indiens traitaient en appliquant sur l'abcès un morceau de cœur de lama. Souvent les Indiens firent appel à moi pour soigner des ecchymoses ou des enflures, suites des bastonnades qu'ils ne se ménagent pas dans leurs querelles domestiques. Quelques-uns venaient aussi me supplier de les guérir de l'impuisssance. Pour quelques cas peu graves d'enflures ou de douleurs localisées, les Indiens se contentent de coller une feuille de coca contre la peau.

A l'heure actuelle, la médecine empirique des Çipaya semble se réduire à un certain nombre de recettes insignifiantes, d'application courante et facile. En présence d'un cas grave, ils ont recours à des procédés magiques compliqués dont j'eus la bonne fortune d'être le spectateur. Je ne saurais dire cependant s'il s'agissait d'un traitement exceptionnel conditionné par la nature du mal ou si, au contraire, de semblables cures sont entreprises chaque fois qu'un Indien se trouve dangereusement malade.

Un ivrogne fieffé, d'une humeur batailleuse et violente, avait pris mal à la suite d'une de ces nombreuses fêtes que les Çipaya célèbrent à l'époque des pluies et où il avait bu et s'était excité plus que de mesure.

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Souffrit-il d'une redoutable indigestion ? Eut-il une attaque d'épilepsie ? Je ne sais, mais le fait est qu'il s'abattit brusquement sur le sol où il resta pendant longtemps dans un état cataleptique. Les spectateurs épouvantés le crurent mort et ne furent pas loin d'entonner les lamentations funèbres. Lui-même, lorsqu'il reprit ses sens, jugea son état désespéré. Il prétendait qu'une grosse boule exécutait sans arrêt un mouvement ascendant et descendant dans son estomac. On soumit son cas à un Indien que rien apparemment ne désignait comme un médecin ou un magicien. C'était un homme encore jeune qui ne jouissait d'aucune autorité particulière et qui dans les fêtes ne remplissait nulle fonction. D'ailleurs il ne faisait au village que de rares apparitions. Consulté sur-le-champ, il commença par mener une enquête sur les origines du mal, prêtant une oreille attentive aux racontars et aux hypothèses des parents et des amis de son client. Ce n'est qu'alors et en toute connaissance de cause qu'il prononça son diagnostic final : deux superbes *topu* (épingles en argent à tête aplatie) qui se transmettaient dans la famille du patient, de génération en génération, étaient les seuls responsables de l'accident. En vertu d'un pouvoir malin inhérent à leur nature, ils avaient piqué l'estomac de leur propriétaire cherchant à le tuer. Ils avaient été assistés dans ce forfait par une pièce péruvienne en argent, de la valeur d'un quart de réal, que le malade avait également héritée de son père. Que ces *topu* précieux fussent dangereux, personne ne pouvait en douter : la meilleure preuve de l'influence redoutable qui s'en dégageait était la maladie et la mort de la mère du patient que l'opinion générale attribuait à ces ornements. Le premier devoir du magicien, allait donc être de les exorciser et de neutraliser leur action en les mettant en contact avec des substances magiques bienfaisantes

En arrivant chez le malade, je le trouvai la tête enturbannée de chiffons et accroupi devant sa femme. Ses parents s'étaient réunis dans la hutte et entouraient le magicien. Je notai dans le fond de la cabane une croix soigneusement voilée d'un mouchoir et, près de la porte, une tige de fer pour tenir à l'écart les mauvais esprits. Le magicien avait déposé le corps du délit, les *topu* et la monnaie, sur une petite serviette et retiré de sa sacoche des sachets contenant des substances minérales de teintes très variées (*sebarios*), du copal, de l'encens, etc., ainsi que des cupules et des fioles qu'il remplit d'eau et dans lesquelles il mélangea les *sebarios* et un peu de farine de maïs sucrée (*l'umpaka*).

Tout en le regardant faire, le malade et ses parents priaient, buvaient et faisaient des libations d'alcool. Lorsqu'il eut terminé, le magicien fit évacuer la hutte et se dirigea vers un mouton ligoté devant la porte. Il lui trancha la carotide, recueillit son sang dans une écuelle qui contenait

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de la farine de maïs sacrée et une petite cupule. Puis il la vida devant la maison, à l'est, en invoquant les démons gardiens du clan et les *samiri*. Il aspergea ensuite le mur de la hutte de ce sang sacré et se précipitant sur le mouton encore palpitant lui ouvrit la poitrine d'un coup de couteau et, d'un geste sauvage et nerveux, lui arracha le cœur qu'il alla déposer en courant sur le ventre du patient que l'on couvrit de couvertures. Après quoi il s'empara des *topu* et de la monnaie, les lava soigneusement dans de l'eau à laquelle on avait mêlé de la farine sacrée. Ce liquide fut versé, comme le sang, devant la hutte.

Les libations (*t'al'a*) qui eurent lieu tout de suite après furent destinées comme de coutume aux démons, aux *samiri* et aux saints. Le magicien prenait successivement ses cupules par paires et courait se poster devant le seuil pour en lancer le contenu dans la direction de l'est, en murmurant chaque fois une rapide prière. Quand il eut terminé ces offrandes, il s'accroupit devant sa provision d'ingrédients magiques et se mit à les classer attentivement. Il déposa d'imperceptibles doses de substances minérales (*sebarios*) bleues, blanches, vertes, vert clair, rouges, violettes, café et grises dans des sachets de papier et y ajouta du romarin, de l'amidon et des bonbons. Il groupa ensuite ces sachets par trois et en fit de petits paquets qu'il noua avec un fil rouge. Il fit exécuter en même temps par un des parents du patient quatre petites « tables » en graisse dont il recouvrit deux avec du papier et les deux autres avec des feuilles d'or. Au cours de leur préparation, ces produits furent plusieurs fois arrosés par les assistants qui répandirent sur eux des libations d'alcool. On les remit au malade avec la recommandation expresse de les conserver dans une cachette, à côté des *topu*, pendant une année. Le magicien donna l'assurance à son client que durant toute cette période il n'aurait à craindre aucun malheur et que son caractère s'améliorerait : son humeur batailleuse ferait place à la mansuétude et la paix règnerait dans son ménage. Car, ajouta-t-il, les rossées qu'il avait coutume d'infliger à sa femme et les bagarres qui en résultaient étaient autant de manifestations de la puissance maléfique des *topu*. On remplit ensuite deux petits flacons, l'un d'alcool et l'autre de vin que l'on joignit aux sachets. Le magicien fit sur eux une dernière libation et cracha dessus. Les produits ainsi consacrés furent placés dans une sacoche avec de la *khoa* et des pièces de monnaie et le tout glissé dans une cachette dissimulée dans le mur de la cabane.

Le malade se mit à exposer longuement, sur un ton larmoyant, tous les détails de sa maladie, pendant que le magicien consultait les feuilles de coca pour connaître le résultat de son traitement. A dix ou quinze reprises, il mêla les feuilles, les fit sauter dans sa main et chaque fois

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elles indiquèrent une guérison prompte et complète. Un peu de copal fut placé dans des gobelets d'alcool que le malade, le magicien et les parents répandirent en guise d'offrande sur les *tops* malfaisants. Sur ce, le patient, sa femme et sa sœur éclatèrent en sanglots bruyants qui durèrent quelques minutes. Puis, le premier baisa la main de sa femme, félicita le magicien en faisant le geste de le serrer dans ses bras et tous les assistants s'en vinrent le congratuler ainsi que sa femme et le magicien.

Ces politesses avaient le caractère habituel, c'est-à-dire qu'elles s'effectuaient en pliant le genou devant la personne honorée et en simulant une étreinte.

On apporta ensuite deux plats de viande, signal du début du banquet que le patient offrait à son médecin et à ses parents, pour les payer sans doute de leur peine.

Le magicien qui jusqu'alors avait gardé une expression sérieuse et imperturbable, se montra ensuite d'humeur plus riante et le sourire aux lèvres accepta les gobelets d'alcool et les plats que son client lui tendait, plein de gratitude.

Si grand que fût le respect du malade pour son guérisseur et l'impression causée par la cérémonie, le patient ne jugea pas superflu de m'interroger sur son cas et prit avec reconnaissance le laxatif que je lui administrai. Il en avait grand besoin, d'autant plus que pour fêter son retour à la santé et le traitement bienfaisant dont il avait été l'objet, il ingurgita une notable portion du mouton sacrifié et arrosa ce festin d'impressionnantes rasades d'alcool. J'ignore jusqu'ici comment ce malheureux a pu résister à ces nouveaux excès. Il guérit néanmoins et cette cérémonie compliquée aura eu au moins pour résultat positif une transformation très réelle de sa manière d'être. Jusqu'alors j'avais eu en lui un ennemi qui me cherchait noise en toute occasion ; chaque fois que je le rencontrai par la suite, il m'étonna par sa bienveillance et sa politesse.

Je fais des vœux pour que ces bonnes dispositions aient duré autant que le souvenir de son aventure.

Rites funéraires.

Au cours des semaines passées à Chipaya, il ne s'est produit dans tout le village qu'un seul décès, celui d'une femme qui s'était suicidée dans des circonstances obscures, probablement par ressentiment contre son mari. Venu sur le lieu peu après le drame, je ne notai chez les assistants aucune attitude qui pût être interprétée comme rituelle. C'est à peine si

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à de longs intervalles le mari de la morte et ses sœurs faisaient entendre quelques pleurs vite étouffés.

Le cadavre fut soigneusement empaqueté dans un *urku* [1], la face seule resta découverte jusqu'au soir où l'on rabattit sur elle un des coins du tissu qui l'enveloppait et l'on disposa sur lui une corde en croix. Le mari, qui n'avait pas un sou vaillant, manifestait une profonde angoisse à l'idée de ne pouvoir célébrer la veillée mortuaire. Lorsque je lui donnai de quoi s'acheter des cigarettes, de la coca et de l'alcool, il me remercia et se montra comme délivré d'un gros souci. Il s'enferma dans sa hutte en compagnie de son frère et d'un autre Indien, probablement un parent. Les proches de la femme, par rancune contre le veuf qu'ils continuaient à soupçonner du crime, restèrent chez eux. Entre le seuil et le cadavre on avait planté une tige en fer, et une petite lampe à graisse brûlait à côté du corps. Le mari et ses deux compagnons, accroupis au pied de la morte, fumaient et buvaient en toute sérénité d'âme. Le premier, cependant, entrecoupait de temps à autre ses rasades d'eau-de-vie d'un petit accès de larmes, de courte durée d'ailleurs. C'est également d'un ton dépourvu de conviction qu'il adressait à la morte les reproches d'usage. « Pourquoi es-tu partie, pourquoi m'as-tu laissé, quand nous rencontrerons-nous à nouveau ? ». A un moment donné, il alla déposer sur les pieds de sa femme une écuelle pleine d'alcool qu'il fit flamber ainsi que des feuilles de coca.

A l'aube, une grande partie des femmes du clan vint s'accroupir dans la maison mortuaire. Elles y restèrent longtemps, immobiles et silencieuses. Vers dix heures du matin, le cadavre fut porté au cimetière et enterré avec un peu de nourriture, de la coca et de l'alcool. On enfouit avec la morte son fuseau, les pots et les écuelles dont elle se servait furent cassés et jetés dans le feu avec sa cuillère et ses effets. C'est le sort que subissent les biens terrestres laissés par les Çipaya et les restes calcinés de leur avoir s'entassent à côté de l'enclos où reposent leurs corps. Le mari fit entendre encore quelques pleurs près de la tombe et rentra chez lui, escorté d'un grand nombre d'individus qui vinrent prendre leur part du banquet funéraire. La famille du veuf s'en était occupé dès le matin et avait égorgé deux moutons et mis sur le feu d'énormes bidons pleins de bouillie de *quinua*. Chez les Çipaya comme chez les Aymara, les obligations du deuil contraignent les survivants à faire de gros sacrifices et à dissiper leur maigre capital.

Passant ce même soir près de la hutte du veuf, je le vis avec un de ses enfants sur le dos et l'autre à ses côtés occupé à préparer son dîner. A

1. Tissu que les femmes portent autour du corps en guise de tunique.

[Q.94]

ma vue, il fit entendre des gémissements, trop modulés pour être l'expression d'un sentiment quelconque. Ce fut le dernier témoignage de regret que la morte reçut. Dès le lendemain, elle fut oubliée et le village, un moment troublé, s'enlisa de nouveau dans le silence et dans l'indifférence.

Mythes et contes.

Le séjour que je fis chez les Čipaya fut consacré en grande partie à recueillir le plus d'éléments possibles de leur langue agonisante. Dans l'espoir de pouvoir en constituer une grammaire, je m'employai dans la mesure du possible à rassembler des expressions, des phrases et des récits suivis. L'accomplissement de cette tâche ne me fut pas toujours aisé. Les Čipaya ne connaissent en dehors de leur langue propre que l'aymara et, à l'exception du *corregidor* et de deux ou trois jeunes gens, ne savent pas un mot d'espagnol. Pour pouvoir m'entretenir avec eux, j'ai dû presque toujours avoir recours à mon interprète aymara et l'impossibilité où je me suis souvent trouvé de pouvoir communiquer directement avec mes informateurs a été pour moi une source constante de difficultés et de malentendus. Le principal obstacle que j'eus à surmonter est cependant d'ordre psychologique : c'est la force d'inertie et la paresse mentale des Čipaya. Ils offrent à l'enquêteur une résistance sourde, faite à la fois d'indifférence et d'obstination, que les plus beaux cadeaux ne peuvent vaincre.

Le soir dans leurs huttes rondes, ils n'ont pas coutume de se réunir pour se raconter des histoires, comme le font les indigènes du Chaco. Sitôt leur dernier repas pris, ils s'enroulent dans leurs couvertures, éteignent leur misérable feu de *taquia* (excréments séchés) et s'endorment pesamment jusqu'au lendemain. Durant les fêtes, ils boivent, prient, chiquent leur coca, mais ne s'adonnent jamais aux joies de la conversation.

Quand je commençai mon enquête au sujet des contes et des mythes je reçus la réponse unanime que depuis longtemps plus personne dans le village n'en connaissait. On me conduisit auprès d'un vieillard aveugle et paralytique, l'homme le plus âgé de la tribu, qui me fit le récit de l'origine des Čipaya, mythe que je transcris ci-dessous. Tous les efforts que je fis dans la suite pour lui tirer d'autres contes se heurtèrent à son ignorance que je crois sincère.

Les quelques contes que j'ai pu noter m'ont presque tous été dictés par le *corregidor* de Chipaya, jeune Indien d'une vingtaine d'années qui, avec un autre habitant du village, était allé se présenter volontairement à Oruro pour y faire son service militaire. Il en était revenu avec quelques vagues notions d'espagnol, des habitudes de civilité comiques et une haute

[Q.95]

idée de sa science et de sa personne. Il fut mon meilleur informateur. Je n'ai pu savoir si les contes qu'il m'a dictés lui étaient antérieurement connus ou s'il était allé les demander à son père pour gagner la forte prime que j'avais promise à ceux qui viendraient me raconter des histoires d'hommes ou de bêtes. Comme on pourra s'en rendre compte, ces contes sont fortement tronqués et incohérents et constituent plutôt des réminiscences d'épisodes que des récits continus. Ce sont d'anciens mythes andins passés au rang d'anecdotes divertissantes. Je ne crois pas qu'il faille les considérer comme propres aux Çipaya et pour deux ou trois d'entre eux, leur origine aymara est évidente. Il faut ajouter qu'en dehors de leur langue, les Çipaya ne possèdent aucun élément culturel original et qu'on doit les considérer comme une tribu aymara qui a échappé plus ou moins à l'influence espagnole.

Ces textes, les premiers qui aient été réunis en dialecte çipaya, sont assez longs pour nous permettre d'en tirer plusieurs règles grammaticales. Les renseignements qu'ils nous apportent sur ce point seront complétés par les phrases courantes qui seront publiées en même temps que mon dictionnaire uro-çipaya.

L'origine des Çipaya.

Ce mythe, quoique le plus complet que je possède en langue çipaya, est probablement d'origine récente et a été emprunté par les Çipaya à leurs voisins les Aymara.

La genèse n'en est pas difficile à établir : les Aymara qui connaissaient les Çipaya ont été frappés de constater l'analogie de leur costume avec celui que portent les morts momifiés, que l'on trouve en si grand nombre dans les *chullpas* (habitations funéraires) de la région de Carangas. Ils ont également rapproché les huttes actuelles des Çipaya avec les *chullpas* et en ont conclu que les Çipaya étaient des *Cul'pa puču*, c'est-à-dire des restes, des débris de *chullpas*. Ils ont expliqué cette survivance à l'aide de souvenirs et d'éléments empruntés à la vieille religion andine. Les Çipaya ont sans doute recueilli de la bouche des Aymara cette version de leur origine et me l'ont transmise en réponse aux questions que je leur posais à ce sujet. Ce mythe n'est pas connu uniquement des Aymara. Une version en a été recueillie dans la Sierra du Pérou : « Au sujet de l'origine des *chullpas* (j'ignore si les Aymara connaissent ce mot) les indigènes de Huancané racontent qu'elles furent édifiées autrefois par les hommes pour se cacher lorsque le soleil fit sa première apparition. A l'origine, disent-ils, les hommes vivaient dans les ténèbres et grande fut leur terreur lorsqu'ils

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virent pour la première fois s'élever dans le ciel l'astre roi qui ensuite devint leur dieu[1] ».

Toki	*tiempo*[2]	*taxata*	*tuñi*	*i-tekutkiski-ja.*	*Nekstan :*	« *tuani'u* »
Ancien	temps	ouest	soleil	se levait.	Ensuite	« est à
santis	*tum*	*k'vila* ».	*Nekstanaki*	*tuanta-naka*	*tuñi*	
portes	nous	construirons ».	Ensuite	est à	soleil	
tekskuti.	*Nekstanaki*	*k'oil-kama-lus*	*toñi-ki*	*tikti.*		
se leva.	Ensuite	maison porte dans	hommes les	moururent.		
Nekstanaki	*k'oi-l*	*pata*	*tikt.*	*Tuñi*	*i-tikskal-ja.*	
Ensuite	maison (dans)	tous	moururent.	Soleil	tua	
(*tiskt-ka-ja*)		*čul'paki.*	*K'askis*		*lutkal-ja,*	
tua		chullpas les.	Eau dans		entrèrent,	
tisk'apkal-ja[4],	*nekstan*	*šetkal-ja*	*ni*	*toñiki*	(*luk'utuñi*).	
échappèrent	ensuite	renaquirent	ces	gens les	ce couple.	
Ti	*Čipaya*	*watkis*	*k'ar*	*watkis*	*tel-ja.*	
Ces	Čipaya	région dans	pelée	région dans	furent.	
K'ar	*watkis*	*k'oya-tkal-ja.*		*Pukultantoñikistan*		
Pelée	région dans	construisirent.		Deux hommes de		
mirk'al-jā	*Čipayaki.*	*Tuñi*	*teuktan*	(*teuktan*),		
se multiplièrent	Čipaya les.	Soleil	sortait,			
k'as-kis	*lutnitakal-ja.*	*Pukultan*	*tisk'apkal-ja.*	*Tuñi*		
eau dans	entraient.	Les deux	échappaient.	Soleil		
k'atanaki	*wen,*	*k'askistan*	*ulitku*	*ok'lañitakal-ja*		
entrait	la nuit,	eau hors de	sortis	ils allaient		
(*ulsnok'lañitakal-jā*).	*Šinta*	*toñiki*	*čerta-jā*	*čulpaki*		
sortis ils allaient.	Un	homme	vit	chullpas les		
ilinskis	*mastkal-jā*	(*parte*	*taak'al-jā*).			
autorités à	fut avertir	participation	donner.			

1. Mostajo (Francisco). *Apuntes etnológicos. Modalidades léxicas, usos y costumbres andinos.* « Inca ». Lima, t. I, n° 2, 1923, p. 411.

2. Ce texte est farci de mots aymara et même espagnols. Il constitue à cet égard un bon exemple de l'état de corruption du dialecte uro parlé par les Čipaya et qui, comme l'uro du Desaguadero, s'est imprégné d'aymara au point d'en être complètement défiguré et presque absorbé par cette langue. Tous les Čipaya, à l'exception des enfants au-dessous de 8 ans, sont bilingues et il en est qui n'entendent même plus le parler de leurs pères.

3. La porte de toute hutte čipaya est strictement orientée à l'est, exactement comme les anciennes demeures des Aymara ou *chullpas*.

4. De l'espagnol « escapar ».

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LES INDIENS URO-ČIPAYA DE CARANGAS

Ni	*kura*	*ttonk'alj̃ā,*	*al'anckstan*	*windiskatajā* [1].
Ce	curé	vint,	ensuite	bénit.
Toki	*tiempo*	*ubi*	*ishitak'alj̃ā*	*Watakal'akis* [2].
Ancien	temps	moutons	faisaient paître	Huachacalla dans.
Sapa	*wata*	*tti*	*usi*	*lakuitak'alj̨*	*Watakal'io-tchi.*
Chaque	année	un	mouton	faisaient cadeau	Huachacalla gens.
Tsi	*usakistan*	*mirinitakalj̃ā,*	*al'anckstan*	*tamakisi)a*
Un	mouton de	se multiplièrent,	ensuite	furent nombreux
usa.	*Tuki*	*tiempo*	*anatakalj̃ā*	*ciwičis*	*čulpaki*
moutons.	Ancien	temps	n'avaient pas	moutons	chullpas les
kañavi,	*k'ula*	*čaknitakalj̃ā*	*niki* [3].	*Ti*	*Santana*	*watkis* [4]
cañava	quinua	semaient	ceux-ci.	Cette	Sainte Anne	village dans
k'ar	*watkis*	*paresitkalj̨.*	*Toki*	*tiempo*	*Sabayakis* [5]
pelée	région dans	apparut.	Ancien	temps	Sabaya dans
tykis	*kelxni*	*Čipaya.*
là	se trouvaient	les Čipaya.

« Dans l'ancien temps, le soleil se levait à l'ouest. Les hommes dirent: « Nous ferons les portes des maisons à l'est ». Alors le soleil se leva à l'est et les gens moururent dans leurs maisons.

Le soleil tua les *chullpas*. Ces gens, ce couple, entrèrent dans l'eau, ils échappèrent et ensuite ressuscitèrent. Les Čipaya s'en furent dans cette région pelée. Ils y construisirent des maisons. Des Čipaya sont issus de ce couple. Lorsque le soleil se levait, ils plongeaient dans l'eau et échappaient. Au coucher du soleil, ils sortaient de l'eau et marchaient. Un homme découvrit ces *chullpas* et en fit part aux autorités. Le curé vint et les bénit.

Dans l'ancien temps, les Čipaya faisaient paître leurs troupeaux à Hua-

1. Cette bénédiction, comme quelques Čipaya me le racontèrent, eut pour effet de dissiper le charme et de faire abandonner aux Čipaya leur vie nocturne.

2. Huachacalla, village aymara à 40 kilomètres environ de Chipaya. Comme Sabaya, ce village est situé à l'ouest et ces indications laisseraient supposer une émigration des Čipaya de cette direction.

3. Il est exact que dans la région de Carangas, les anciennes populations préhistoriques pratiquaient l'agriculture. Entre Iscara et Huachacalla, au pied du cerro Camacha, j'ai vu entre les nombreuses *chullpas* qui s'étendent là sur près de 10 kilomètres des restes de terrasses de culture.

4. Sainte Anne est la patronne de l'église des Čipaya et est souvent invoquée dans leurs prières mi-païennes, mi-chrétiennes sous le nom de *Mamit Santana*.

5. Village aymara à 25 kilomètres environ à l'est de Chipaya.

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chaella. Les gens de Huachacalla leur donnaient chaque année un mouton en cadeau. De ce mouton sont issus les moutons (actuels des Čipaya) et ensuite ceux-ci furent très nombreux. Dans l'ancien temps, les *chullpas* n'avaient pas de moutons, ils semaient de la *quinua* et du *cañaw*. Sainte Anne apparut dans ce village, dans cette plaine pelée. Dans l'ancien temps, les Čipaya vivaient à Subaya ».

La naissance miraculeuse.

Les textes que je publie ci-dessous sont autant de fragments plus ou moins défigurés et altérés d'un mythe ancien que j'ai essayé de reconstituer en comparant ces épaves avec les trois autres versions plus complètes que nous en possédons [1]. La première en date est celle qui figure dans la *Cosmographie universelle* de Thevet [2] qui l'a recueillie chez les Indiens Tupinamba ou Tamoyo de la Baie de Rio de Janeiro en 1555; la seconde, un peu plus récente, est celle que nous a transmise Francisco Dávila [3] dans sa « Relación de idolatrías en Hurrochiri ».

J'ai eu la bonne fortune de pouvoir recueillir trois nouvelles versions de ce mythe chez les Čiriguano [4], les Toba et les Matako du Chaco argentin et bolivien.

Pour justifier la reconstitution que j'ai entreprise, je donnerai un résumé des versions antérieurement connues et chercherai à élucider le problème de l'origine de ce mythe.

Il semble probable, comme le supposait Ehrenreich [5], que ces différentes

1. Les Čipaya actuels ont certainement perdu le souvenir de la forme primitive de ce mythe. Mes deux informateurs paraissaient ne pas en savoir plus long que ce qu'ils m'ont raconté. Il est cependant possible que l'apparence incohérente et obscure des textes que je publie ici soit le résultat de la difficulté extrême qu'ils éprouvaient à en faire le récit avec suffisamment de lenteur pour que je pusse en prendre note sous leur dictée. Ils ont probablement fait un effort de simplification, passant sous silence maints détails pour échapper à la corvée que je leur avais imposée. Néanmoins tous les recoupements que j'ai tentés plus tard ne m'ont apporté que des détails insignifiants à ajouter au texte primitif.

2. Thevet (André). *La cosmographie universelle*. Paris, 1575.

3. Dávila (R. P. Francisco). *Relación de idolatrías en Huarochiri*. Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú. Lima, t. XI, 1918, (pp. 99-132), pp. 101-109.

4. Métraux (A.). *Mitos y cuentos de los Indios Chiriguano*. Revista del Museo de La Plata, Buenos-Aires, t. XXXIII, 1931, pp. 167-169.

5. Ehrenreich (Paul). *Die Mythen und Legenden der Südamerikanischen Urvölker und ihre Beziehungen zu denen Nordamerikas und der alten Welt*. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, t. XXXVII (Supplément). Berlin, 1905, pp. 94-95.

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versions dérivent d'un prototype andin qui nous a été conservé par Dávila.

Voici, résumé, le texte du prêtre espagnol :

« Coniraya Viracocha parcourait le Pérou sous l'aspect d'un mendiant pouilleux. En ce temps-là, il y avait une divinité (*huaca*) extrêmement belle, appelée *Cauillaca*. Tous les dieux (*huacas*) désiraient l'épouser. Coniraya se transforma en oiseau et vint se percher sur un *lucumo* au pied duquel reposait *Cauillaca*. Il mit un peu de son sperme dans un fruit que *Cauillaca* mangea. Aussitôt elle fut enceinte et accoucha d'un enfant. Lorsque celui-ci commença à ramper par terre, *Cauillaca* réunit toutes les divinités pour connaître le père de son fils. Les dieux apparurent revêtus de leurs plus beaux habits. Seul *Conirava* se présenta en haillons. Il avait été entendu que celui vers lequel l'enfant se dirigerait serait son père. Le bébé passa devant tous les dieux alignés et ne s'arrêta que devant *Conirava*. *Cauillaca* dépitée et humiliée s'enfuit et se jeta dans la mer où elle fut convertie en un bloc de pierre ».

Les Tupinamba de Rio de Janeiro racontèrent à Thevet le même mythe sous une forme à peine différente.

Monan, le grand héros civilisateur des Tupinamba, avait pour serviteur *Maire-Pochy* (le magicien mauvais). Celui-ci était laid et défiguré, mais possédait un grand pouvoir magique. « Il estoit grand Caraibe, quoy qu'on ne congneust point sa suffisance, grand pouvoir et excellence ».

Maire-Pochy fit goûter un poisson qu'il avait pêché à la fille de *Monan* et celle-ci devint subitement grosse et accoucha peu de temps après.

Pour connaître le père de l'enfant miraculeux, on fit venir tous les hommes du village portant chacun son arc et ses flèches pour les présenter à l'enfant et voir de qui il les prendrait, celui-ci devant être son père. L'enfant refusa l'arc de tous les assistants et ne saisit que celui de *Maire-Pochy*, ce qui provoqua l'indignation générale.

Comme je l'ai dit plus haut, j'ai recueilli là trois autres versions sudaméricaines de ce mythe.

Version čiriguano. — « *Čikere* avait une fille qui vivait vierge, sans mari. *Tatu-tunpa*, le dieu tatou, fit un trou sous la terre et la féconda. Le jour suivant, la fille de *Čikere* accoucha. L'enfant déjà grand ne faisait que pleurer et la mère ne savait qui était le père de son enfant. Comme l'enfant ne cessait de se lamenter, *Čikere* déclara qu'il allait chercher le père. Il convoqua tout le monde pour un « caouinage » ou beuverie géné-

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rale. Lorsque les gens du village furent réunis, *Cikere* annonça qu'il ne tarderait pas à savoir quel était le père de son petit-fils. L'enfant, dit-il, sera présenté à tous les hommes ici réunis et il désignera lui-même son père en cessant de pleurer.

Quand tous les hommes furent rassemblés, il passa devant chacun d'eux en tenant l'enfant entre ses bras. Celui-ci continua à pleurer. Il le présenta à d'autres, mais l'enfant ne s'arrêtait pas de geindre. Finalement il le tendit à *Tatu-tunpa*, aussitôt l'enfant se tut et *Cikere* déclara : « Celui-ci est mon gendre ».

Le premier épisode de ce mythe m'a été narré avec plus de détails lorsque les Indiens me dictèrent le mythe des deux jumeaux : Il y avait une femme qui tenait sa fille enfermée dans sa hutte et l'empêchait de sortir. *Rei* s'adressa au père et à la mère de la fille pour la demander en mariage. Le père aurait consenti si la mère ne s'y était opposée. *Rei* évincé s'en fut conter sa mésaventure à *Tatu-tunpa*, son frère. Celui-ci dit : « Bon, je vais aller la voir ». Il fit un trou dans la terre jusqu'à ce qu'il arrivât sous l'endroit où la fille était accroupie ; il réussit ainsi à la féconder. Au bout de deux jours elle était enceinte. C'est à ce moment que commence l'histoire des deux jumeaux mythiques, le soleil et la lune.

Nordenskiold[1] a recueilli chez les Ciriguano le même épisode mythique, mais avec une variante qui a pour nous un intérêt exceptionnel : Au cours d'une fête, *Aguara-tunpa* et *Tatu-tunpa* tombent amoureux d'une jeune fille. L'un et l'autre veulent l'avoir, mais *Tatu-tunpa*, en dépit de l'opposition d'*Aguara-tunpa*, réussit à la féconder en creusant un trou sous elle. Une tentative analogue faite par *Aguara-tunpa* pour parvenir près de la jeune fille échoue et *Tatu-tunpa* le sort de son trou par la queue.

Nous retrouvons donc dans la mythologie ciriguano les personnages qui apparaissent dans les textes tronqués des Čipaya : *Rei*, le tatou et le renard. On peut en induire que la forme primitive du mythe čipaya était identique à celle du mythe ciriguano moderne.

La mythologie ciriguano connaît également le thème de la rivalité entre *Aguara-tunpa* (le renard-dieu) et *Tatu-tunpa* (le tatou-dieu). Ces deux personnages s'affrontent dans divers travaux et tâchent de se surpasser par la ruse ou la puissance de leur art magique. *Tatu-tunpa* est toujours vainqueur, le renard l'éternel dindon de la farce. Dans quelques mythes ciriguano que j'ai rassemblés, le personnage de *Rei* s'est substitué à celui de *Tatu-tunpa*. C'est le cas notamment du conte où l'on voit *Rei*, méprisé

1. Nordenskiöld (Erland). *Indianerleben. El Grand Chaco (Südamerika)*. Leipzig, 1912, p. 271.

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par les paroles de sa femme qui le traitent de paresseux, faire pousser miraculeusement les plantes de son champ, alors qu'*Aguara-tunpa*, qui semblait être un travailleur zélé, en est réduit à voler des citrouilles et des épis de maïs chez son compétiteur et à les placer dans son propre champ.

Dans une version publiée par Nordenskiöld, et qui sans doute est plus ancienne que la nôtre, ce n'est pas *Rai*, mais *Tatu-tunpa* qui triomphe de son rival, le renard, grâce à une pelle magique.

Version toba. — Il y avait une femme très belle que tous les hommes voulaient épouser, mais aucun ne lui plaisait. Le *chuña* (dindon sauvage) pétrit une petite boule de miel. Perché sur un arbre, il vit une troupe de femmes parmi lesquelles il remarqua cette jeune fille. Il prit les devants et alla se poster sur un chemin par où elles devaient passer. Il attendit. Les femmes arrivèrent. Le *chuña* regardait et regardait. Il laissa tomber sa boule de miel qu'aucune de ces femmes ne vit, à l'exception de celle qui était si belle. Elle ramassa la boule et en mangea un morceau. « J'en ai beaucoup, se dit-elle, le reste, je le donnerai aux autres, à ma sœur ou à ma mère ». Elle leur tendit l'autre morceau ; elle s'aperçut alors que sa boule de miel avait diminué au point qu'il n'en restait presque plus. Elle donna ce reste à une femme qui se dit : « Il ne vaut pas la peine de manger si peu de chose ». Elle mit ce petit bout de miel dans sa sacoche et n'y pensa plus. Le *chuña* avait prévu que la femme partagerait la boule et il avait ordonné au miel de diminuer si une femme autre que celle qu'il aimait voulait en manger. Toute autre devait instantanément oublier le miel dans sa sacoche. Seule la belle jeune fille pouvait en manger. Celle-ci dormit cette nuit-là et le matin elle était enceinte. Les gens de sa famille voulaient l'obliger à avorter et lui disaient que cet enfant n'aurait pas de père. La femme refusait : « Je saurai bien un jour qui est le père de l'enfant. L'enfant, lui aussi, le saura ». Quand les femmes lui demandaient qui était le père de l'enfant, elle répondait : « C'est le miel ».

L'enfant se développait avec une extraordinaire rapidité. Il naquit un mois après la conception. La femme avait à peine coupé le cordon ombilical et enterré le placenta que l'enfant déjà grand courait de çà de là. Cinq jours après, il allait partout. Il était comme un poussin qui marche au sortir de l'œuf. Les gens disaient : « Ce ne peut être un homme, nos enfants attendent des années avant de pouvoir marcher et faire ce que celui-ci fait ».

L'enfant envoya un messager demander à tous les hommes de se rassembler. Il voulait reconnaître son père. Celui-ci deviendrait l'époux de sa mère.

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Tous les jeunes gens se couvrirent de leurs plus beaux ornements pour plaire à la jeune femme et se mirent sur un rang. L'enfant leur dit : « Jeunes hommes, apportez-moi de petites flèches, de petites *kolas*, des jouets, donnez-moi toutes ces choses ». Tous s'en allèrent fabriquer des flèches et des *kolas*. Lorsqu'ils les eurent terminées, ils se présentèrent devant la femme. L'enfant les attendait. Le premier s'avança et, présentant les flèches à l'enfant, lui dit : « Prends tes flèches, frère, comment vas-tu, ô mon fils ». L'enfant répondit : « Passe, frère ». L'homme s'en alla et il en fut de même avec tous les autres. L'enfant ne reconnaissait toujours pas son père. Le *chuña* vint en dernier : c'était un homme laid et moustachu. Il se dit : « Je vais m'approcher ». Il se dirigea vers la femme et l'enfant s'écria : « Voici papa, l'as-tu vu? Le connais-tu? Qu'il vienne! » Le *chuña* lui remit les petites flèches. Les autres partirent et le *chuña* entra dans la hutte de la femme et se maria avec elle.

Version matako. — Il y avait une jeune fille que tous les hommes voulaient épouser, on la leur refusait. Le tatou creusa une galerie sous terre jusqu'à l'endroit où elle dormait. Il lui rendait ainsi visite chaque soir. La femme fut enceinte. Son père et sa mère lui demandèrent : « Avec qui vas-tu ? » « Avec le tatou (*kounaux*) ». Ils consentirent à son mariage. Lorsqu'ils furent mariés, le tatou alla ensemencer son champ. Celui-ci était très beau. Il y poussait des haricots, du maïs, des courges et toutes sortes d'autres fruits. Au moment de la récolte, les renards lui endommagèrent tout. Ils venaient chaque jour lui voler des melons et des courges. Le tatou avait une grande courge. Il laissa quelques pousses et plaça près de la porte une trappe. Les renards devaient passer dessous et la courge tomber sur eux, mais ils virent le piège et n'entrèrent pas. La belle-mère du tatou pénétra dans le champ et fit jouer le déclic de la trappe. La courge l'écrasa. Sa fille vint pour la dégager, mais la courge était trop lourde. Elle dut attendre le maître du jardin qui la souleva comme si c'était un fétu de paille.

Il est étrange de voir apparaître dans la mythologie Čipaya les mêmes personnages que dans la mythologie Čiriguano et accomplissant les mêmes actes. Non moins curieuse est la transformation d'anciennes divinités anthropomorphisées en animaux qui ont perdu presque toute relation avec les dieux qu'ils ont remplacés. Dans un travail antérieur, j'avais attribué les caractères zoomorphes de la mythologie Čiriguano à des influences arawak. L'origine arawak possible des Čipaya permet-elle de faire à leur endroit la même supposition et devons-nous attribuer à des liens de parenté probables entre eux et les Čané les similitudes de leurs mythes

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avec ceux des Čiriguano arawakisés? Tout cela n'aurait rien d'invraisemblable, mais une solution plus simple et plus plausible s'impose. Tout autant que l'influence arawak, les Čiriguano semblent avoir subi celle des populations andines et ce sont peut-être les Kičua voisins qui ont transmis aux Čané les héros animaux de leurs mythes. Les Čané ont ensuite passé à leur tour aux Čiriguano les éléments andins de leur mythologie.

Les contes kičua et aymara ont presque toujours pour protagonistes des animaux anthropomorphisés qui se sont substitués aux anciens dieux de la mythologie, alors que celle-ci devenait un ensemble de récits amusants. C'est donc au folk-lore andin, aymara ou kičua, que j'attribue les mythes et les contes des Čipaya et c'est de cette source également que procèdent les contes čiriguano que Nordenskiöld et moi avons réunis.

Ehrenreich s'est servi de ce mythe, publié ci-dessous, pour démontrer l'origine asiatique de nombreux motifs qui apparaissent dans la mythologie américaine.

La version péruvienne a son équivalent dans un mythe siamois qui présente avec le premier des similitudes extraordinaires. Les chaînons intermédiaires qui unissent la version péruvienne à l'asiatique passent par l'Amérique du Nord où l'on a recueilli chez les Shuswap et les Nutka certains récits fabuleux qui constituent d'excellents parallèles aux thèmes sudaméricains.

Grâce aux comparaisons que nous avons entreprises et à maints indices des textes čipaya, on peut en déduire que la forme primitive de ce mythe était la suivante :

« Le tatou et le renard étaient l'un et l'autre amoureux de la fille d'un puissant personnage qui apparaît dans la version čipaya et čiriguano sous le nom de *Rei* [1].

Le tatou, grâce à la ruse ou à son art magique, réussit à rendre enceinte la fille de *Rei*. Celle-ci accoucha miraculeusement d'un enfant dont elle était la première à ignorer le père. Le tatou et le renard se présentèrent devant *Rei*, prétendant l'un et l'autre à cette qualité et lui demandant sa fille en mariage. *Rei*, pour connaître la vérité, décida de les mettre à l'épreuve. Il leur dit : « L'enfant est malade, allez chercher un puma pour qu'il vienne le soigner. L'enfant a faim, allez planter du maïs et des pommes de terre dans un champ que vous défricherez ».

1. C'est-à-dire de « Roi » en espagnol. L'influence du « Roi » de nos contes est évidente et a aboli l'ancienne divinité qui figure dans les deux versions plus anciennes.

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Aucun Čipaya n'a pu me renseigner sur la manière dont les deux prétendants réussirent à s'acquitter de la première partie de leur tâche. Probablement le tatou, plus rusé, sortit vainqueur de cette épreuve. Nous savons par contre comment il s'y est pris pour rouler le renard dans le concours de vitesse instauré par *Rei* au sujet du champ de maïs et de pommes de terre. Alors que le renard faisait de son mieux pour arracher les *tolas* qui obstruaient le terrain à cultiver, le tatou s'en fut tranquillement voir son ami le *tojo* et s'assit à côté de son trou, chiquant son *acullico* de coca. Le renard, ayant fini son travail, vint dire au tatou en éclatant d'un rire moqueur : « J'ai gagné, pourquoi restes-tu à chiquer de la coca ? » Pendant ce temps, le *tojo* avait coupé les racines de toutes les tolas qui couvraient le futur champ de son ami et ce dernier n'eut plus qu'à les tirer et à les enlever. En une heure, son champ fut prêt et il remporta sur le renard une victoire éclatante.

Rei devait être déjà favorablement impressionné par le tatou. Il n'hésita pas à lui donner sa fille à la vue du miracle suivant : le renard s'étant présenté devant l'enfant et lui ayant enjoint de lui dire « Papa », celui-ci reconnut pour père le tatou qui s'était avancé modestement derrière le renard. Le tatou devint le gendre de *Rei* ».

Première version.

Kerka : « *Tata, am mat pekuja, š-taa* ». *Hasik maščinča.*
Tatou : « Père, toi fille je veux, donne ». Ensuite elle accoucha.

Wawaki laala. « *Leona kurška kʷulsxapa, wawaki lulakuškija*
Enfant le est malade. « Puma cherche soigner pour, enfant le a faim

skʷala čakška i tara, kʷeša ».
champ sème maïs, pommes de terre ».

Keti : « *Tata Rei, am mat pekuja, š-taaʔa* ». « *Wai, taajani*
Renard : « Père Roi, toi fille je veux, donne-la ». « Oui, je la donnerai

ihaksiktakeja, maščinla wet matki, hasik, ne wawa laala,
celui d'entre eux a accouché moi fille la, ensuite, le enfant est malade

laala, leona koška kʷulʔsxapa, wai, hasiki lulakila, skʷala
est malade, puma cherche soigner pour, oui, ensuite il a faim, champ

čakška, tara, kʷesa, hasiki wawaki haksiltatakat paxjā ».
plante, maïs, pomme de terre, ensuite enfant le lequel des deux connaîtra ».

Nektanaki paxkalja kerka (*hasiki kerka paxlati wawaki*). « *Hasiki*
Ensuite reconnut tatou (ensuite tatou reconnut enfant le). « Ensuite

kerkaja wet wasiki ».
tatou moi gendre le ».

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LES INDIENS URU-ČIPAYA DE CARANGAS

Seconde version.

Ketiki	*yokis*	*txotskitkalʲā,*	*nekstanaki*	*kerkixtan*	*kittan*
renard le	terre sur	tomba,	ensuite	tatou avec	renard avec
apostitkalʲā,	*nekstanaki*	*kiti*	*ɨ-lankšku*	*atipitkalʲā,*	*nekstanaki*
firent un peri,	ensuite	renard	travaille	vainquit,	ensuite
okʷerkaki,	*okčakštan*	*parlitkalʲā*	*kerkaki,*	*nekstanaki*	*kiti*
partirent,	tojo avec	parla	tatou le,	ensuite	renard
ɨ-lankšku	*miran.*	*Wakinditkalʲā*	*kerkaki,*	*nekstanaki*	
en travaillant	acheva.	Commença	tatou le,	ensuite	
kerkaki	*ukant*	*atipičiʲā,*	*nekstanaki*	*kerkaki*	*čakčiʲa,*
tatou le	plus	vainquit,	ensuite	tatou le	sema,
nekstanaki	*ʒāš*	*mat*	*iškalʲā,*	*wawa*	*paatkalʲā.*
ensuite	homme(?)	fille	coïta,	enfant	fit.
Nekstanaki	*ketiki :*	« *Tatake*	*kitkalʲā* ».	*Ketiki*	*nekstan*
Ensuite	renard le:	« Père	dis-moi ».	Renard le	ensuite
nišwiriʲa	*watkalʲā*	*kerkaki,*	*nekstanaki*	*ni*	*wawaki*
derrière	passait	tatou le,	ensuite	cet	enfant le
	kerkančuki	*tat*	*kitkalʲā.*		
	tatou à	père	dit.		

Troisième version.

Tsektan	*ketiki*	*txotskitkalʲā,*	*nekstanaki*	*trawaxo*	
En haut de	renard le	tomba,	ensuite	travail	
katusitkalʲā,	*nektanas*	*skʷala*	*čakkalʲā,*	*nekstan*	*kirkičištan*
entreprit,	ensuite	champ	semèrent,	ensuite	tatou le
ketštan	*apustitikalʲā.*	*Ketiki*	*kerkištan*	*parlitkalʲā :*	
renard avec	parièrent.	Renard le	tatou avec	parla :	
« *Hasik*	*čum*	*lankšla*	*tonx tuni.*	*Wirki*	*kanuja* ».
« A présent	nous	travaillerons	aujourd'hui.	Moi	gagnerai ».
Nekstanaki	*kanuja*	*ketiki,*	*txasuja :*	« *χaxai,*	*kanuja* *ukant*
Ensuite	gagna	renard le,	(il) rit	« Ah, ah,	gagné plus
wirki.	*Čulikina*	*koka*	*as* ».	*Kostan*	*kerkaki* *parlitkalʲā*
moi.	Pourquoi	coca	chiques-tu ».	Dedans	tatou le parla
okčakištan.	*Nekstanaki*	*kerkaki*	*kalu*	*kali*	*wakintitkalʲā.* *Nekstan*
tojo avec.	Ensuite	tatou le	tola	arracher	commença. Ensuite
oraʲa	*mirsija*	*kerkaki*	*kalka.*	*Ukan*	*paki*
une heure	acheva	tatou le	défricher.	Plus	grand

atipiljā	*ketiki*	*atipiaja*	*akun*	*paki.*	*Okaltun*	*kerkaki*	
vaincu	renard le	vaincu	plus	beaucoup.	Fils avec	tatou le	
	sk'ala	*pokitan*	*rekusi-kalja.*				
	champ	mûr	ramassât.				

Commentaire explicatif.

Kerkaki	*t-parlitkaljā*	*oktaktun.*	*Nekstanaki*	*oktakiki*	*kutun*		
Tatou le	parle	tojo avec.	Ensuite	tojo le	d'eu-bas		
kalu	*wiri*	*lixu*	*kautkaljā*	*kutun.*	*Nekstanaki*	*kerkaki*	
tolas	derrière	toutes	arrache	d'en-bas.	Ensuite	tatou le	
kaku	*askaljā*	*ulliku.*	*Nekstanaki*	*oktakiki*	*mirtinja,*	*nuliklun*	
coca	chiquait	assis.	Ensuite	tojo le	achevo,	ainsi	
maskalja	*kerkilkis,*	*nekstanaki*	*kerkaki*	*wakinditkaljā,*	*nekstanaki*		
avisa	tatou au,	ensuite	tatou le	commença,	ensuite		
ẓatul'a	*i-mirẓkaljā.*	*Kittkistan*	*nk anti*	*pake*	*atipitkaljā.*		
un moment	acheva.	Renard le	plus	grand	vaincu.		
Nekstanaki	*ẓakit*	*wakinditkaljā,*	*nekstanakis*	*sk'ala*	*pokitkaljā,*		
Ensuite	à semer	commença,	ensuite	champ	devint mûr,		
	nekstanaki	*wawa-i-paatkaljā.*					
	ensuite	enfant il fit.					

Quatrième version.

Tuki	*tiempo*	*(toñi)*	*telxatkaljā*	*luk'ntuñi,*	*nekstan*	*kerkaki*	
Ancien	temps	(gens)	il y avait	couple,	ensuite	tatou le	
nalmat	*isintkaljā,*	*nekstanaki*	*nalmat*	*matkaljā,*			
? fille	coita,	ensuite	? fille	enfanta,			
nekstan	*matan*	*keti-ki*	*tata-kekitkaljā*	*(keti-ki).*			
après	accouchement	renard le	père (lui) dit de dire	renard le.			
Kerkaki	*watkalja*	*wiri'a*	*tata-kirkaljā*	*wawaki,*	*ni*	*wawaki.*	
Tatou le	passait	derrière	père reconnut	enfant le,	cet	enfant le.	
Keti	*ma*	*bepikistan*	*multpan*	*pekta,*	*kerkaki*	*ana*	*pekta*	*wasi.*
Renard	mère	père pas	beaucoup	aimé,	tatou le	non	aimé	gendre.

L'ascension au ciel.

Il existe une variante kiĉua de ce conte dont je reproduirai la traduction espagnole en premier lieu parce qu'elle servira à l'intelligence de

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autre version çipaya qui est incomplète et tronquée et accroissement parce que l'ouvrage où ce texte figure est une rareté bibliographique [1] :

El zorro, el cóndor y el arriero. — A un zorro *alista* conocido como el pericón de toda boda, le dieron la noticia de que se preparaba una gran festividad en el cielo, y en su porfiado empeño de hacerse, se encaminó en busca de su amigo el cóndor para que lo condujera allá.

Llegado que hubo á la madriguera de su compañero de rapiña, muy cortés y reverencioosamente le da los buenos días : « *Compadre* ! plácame saludarlo y á su vez rogarle me lleve al cielo, adonde he sido invitado para tocar la guitarra en la gran fiesta ». El cóndor que le debía favores le contestó : « Con muchísimo gusto le serviré de *cocinante*, pero Ud. me remunerará con dos llamitas tiernas, porque tan gordo como está debe pesar y sería capaz de hacerme echar los bofes ». « No solamente dos, compadre, repuso el zorro, serán cuatro ».

Cerrado el convenio, el cóndor echóse á cuestas á su *compadre*, recomendándole se abrazase bien y cogiera la vihuela con los dientes. Emprendieron el vuelo dejando abajo árboles y cerros hasta perderse en las nubes.

Hendiendo ufanos los aires, llegaron á las puertas del cielo, que se abrieron á los golpes del zorro.

Sorprendióse el portero al encontrarse con semejantes huéspedes en aquellos parajes, y preguntóles la causa de su presencia en ese lugar, á lo que repuso el zorro ser un eximio músico, y haber venido con el exclusivo objeto de alegrar á los espíritus. No dejó de hacerle gracia al viejo, la peregrina ocurrencia, é invitólos a que pasaran adelante.

Conducidos ante el coro de los espíritus, el zorro principió a *dejar oir* los preludios de un *pasa-calle*, lo que hizo que los espíritus soltasen la risa a caquinos. Como en ninguna parte faltan bromistas, á uno de los tentadores, se le ocurrió emborrachar al músico. Entusiasmado éste con la buena chicha, la fiesta pasó de punto, y el zorro borrachito pierde su gravedad y comienza a zapatear al son de la guitarra.....

Ebrio el zorro, ponía oídos de mercader á las instancias del cóndor para regresarse ; y aproximándose la noche, levantó el vuelo y se vino a tierra.

Al despertar el zorro se vió solo en esa inmensidad, sin su querida vihuela, que se le habían hurtado ; hambriento y sin una pluma de ave por rastro : en una palabra, abandonado de todo el mundo. Acongojado i temeroso comenzó á llamar y dar gritos conmovedores ; pero en vano.

1. *Tarmapap Pachahuarainin. Apólogos Quéchuas por unos Parias.* Tarma, Tip. « La Aurora de Tarma », 1906, pp. 32-41.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Buscaría de arriba abajo, y de un lado a otro como estuviese pudiera ese ser viviente, a donde sólo crecía paja. Desesperado, no pensando sino en la muerte, y que muerto, de hambre! se le ocurre que con la paja podría fabricarse una gran soga y descolgarse por ella. Dicho y hecho; en poco tiempo tuvo un cable de inmensa longitud que estimó suficiente para alcanzar tierra; ató un cabo al cerrojo de la puerta y arrojó el resto comenzando su peligroso descenso, alegre y satisfecho de haber encontrado el medio de salir con vida de ese desierto.

A medio camino tropezó con un cernícalo muy atrevido, que comenzó a revolotear a su rededor rozándole el hocico con las alas y con tono petulante a interrogarle: « y compadre? Como le ha ido en la mansión celeste? » Infatuado el zorro de haber bailado en el cielo, con mucha pena se le encara: « Desde cuando un roñoso como tú, un tan feo averiucho, puede ser compadre de un caballero? » Amostazado el cernícalo le responde á su vez: « No son caballeros aquí ni abajo, los ladrones de gallinas, hermanos del cerrillo pestífero. Como puedes tu nunca esperar al que cruza libre los aires con los que van al cielo ruer hocino? »

Grueso de rabia el zorro lanzó su imprecación altamente denigrante para el *quilicó*, que lleno de ira lo arremetió con el cubo o picotazo, y lo cortó: mas el fiero zorro á pesar de hallarse en peligro seguía insultándole: « Naria torcida! Naria de cuerpo! cuidado con no cortar la soga! »

No bien sintió el zorro que la soga se aflojaba y se hacía más vertiginoso su descenso, comenzó á dar voces pidiendo le tuvieran misericordia y le tendieran paja ó montes para recibirlo y evitar se estrellase. Nadie escuchó, y fué tan rapido su caída, que antes de que percibieran sus alaridos estaba en tierra hecho añicos.....

Une autre version de l'ascension du renard au ciel et de sa chute est publiée dans le même recueil de contes kiĉua[1]:

La lora y la zorra. — Anhelosa una zorra por conocer la luna, rogó á un cóndor le colocara una soga por la cual pudiera llegar hasta ella.

Trepaba, mirando a todas partes, ufana de poder trasportarse hasta la Mama luna, cuando escucha que alguien se reía: ja! ja! ja! ja! ja!.....

« ¿Quién será aquella disfrazada que así se burla de mí? »

Cruzaba el espacio, pesadamente, una lora lanzando sus chirridos que los tomaba la zorra por mofa; encolerizada contesta a su vez: « Ociosa lora! lora patituerta quién eres tú para burlarte de mí? »

1. p. 42-43.

[9-109]

Seguía ja ! ja ! ja ! la lora, en tanto la zorra colérica la insultaba : « Lora poltrona ! ociosa lora ! »

Rabiosa la lora, al verse ofendida, se avalanzó contra la soga y la cortó. Desesperada la zorra volaba por las nubes pidiendo á gritos la recibieran en mantas ; pero como nadie la escuchara la infeliz se estrelló en tierra ».

Je dois à Mlle María Frontaura Argandoña, de La Paz, de connaître une autre version de ce même mythe qui semble être la plus complète que nous possédions jusqu'ici. Je ne transcris pas directement le texte recueilli par ma collaboratrice, car je le crois teinté d'éléments littéraires surajoutés et qui n'appartiennent certainement pas au récit tel qu'il a été conté par son informateur indigène. En voici, résumés, les principaux épisodes :

« Les habitants du ciel étaient en fête. Le renard qui brûlait d'aller banqueter avec eux offrit au condor un mouton gras s'il consentait à le prendre sur son dos et à le conduire auprès des joyeux convives. Le condor se montra exigeant et, en plus du mouton, lui demanda de le laisser dévorer la chair de ses cuisses. Le renard consentit à ce sacrifice et le condor l'emporta dans les nues. Au ciel, le renard alla directement à la cuisine et s'empiffra des meilleurs plats. Il poussa l'indiscrétion jusqu'à séduire toutes les filles qui se trouvaient là. Lorsque le condor vint le chercher pour retourner sur la terre, le renard déclara que quant à lui il ne pensait pas s'en aller de si tôt. Il ne s'y décida qu'au bout de quelques jours quand il fut convaincu qu'il n'avait plus rien à faire. Il tressa une longue corde de paille le long de laquelle il se laissa glisser. Pour ne pas partir sans avoir l'estomac lesté, il avait ingurgité des graines de *quinua*, plante qu'en ce temps les habitants du ciel étaient seuls à connaître. A mi-chemin entre le ciel et la terre, il rencontra le perroquet avec lequel il se mit à parler. Cette conversation dégénéra bientôt en dispute et le renard couvrit d'insultes le perroquet qui, à bout d'arguments, trancha d'un coup de bec la corde de paille. Le renard vint s'écraser sur le sol. Sous le choc, les graines qu'il avait mangées furent expulsées de son ventre et se répandirent sur le haut-plateau où les hommes ne tardèrent pas à les cultiver et à s'en nourrir. Le renard, dit-on, fut transformé en une mauvaise herbe qui ressemble beaucoup à la *quinua*. Lorsqu'elle pousse sur leurs champs, les paysans la fauchent, disant : « *Suac jakhelukun acajuira, kihuna amarella* ».

La fin de cette version donne à ce conte sa signification primitive.

[p.110]

C'est un ancien mythe andin destiné à expliquer l'origine de la *quinua*. Le renard joue ici le rôle du héros civilisateur qui après être monté au ciel en rapporte une plante dont la connaissance jouera dorénavant un rôle décisif dans la vie économique des hommes. La mythologie des peuples civilisés des Andes, pour autant que nous la connaissions, fait intervenir de préférence des dieux à forme humaine. Il est assez étrange de constater que dans ce qui reste de cette mythologie chez les Indiens modernes les protagonistes à forme humaine ont été remplacés par des animaux. N'avons-nous pas là la survivance d'une littérature orale extrêmement ancienne qui coexistait à l'époque précolombienne avec la mythologie plus raffinée et plus évoluée des classes dirigeantes? Les analogies de ces contes avec certains mythes des tribus amazoniennes et guyanaises parlent en faveur de ma supposition. Je ne doute pas qu'une comparaison de la littérature populaire des Andes avec la mythologie des tribus nord-américaines ne nous donne l'occasion de constater de nombreux parallèles et de tracer de nouveaux jalons dans la distribution de certains éléments mythiques. Je rappellerai à titre d'exemple le motif de la tête volante, commun dans l'ouest de l'Amérique du Sud et qui occupe une place importante dans les traditions légendaires des Indiens des Prairies.

L'ascension au ciel.

Ketiki *iskalera* *tsitskatakaljā* *okčakaškena* *kačijā*,
Renard le échelle dressa tojo à cause il se perdit,

(*nekstan* *anašelxja* *iskalera*), *nekstan* *araxpača* *anamišan*
(ensuite ne plus était échelle), ensuite ciel ne pas messe

nonsnā *okʷta* *okčakaškena*. *Ketiki* *tsek(u)* *iskalerakis* *okʷčitakaljā*,
écouter allons tojo à cause. Renard le en haut échelle par s'en alla.

nekstan *tseku* *iskalera* *anašelxja* (*anašelxči*) *okčakaškena*, *nekstan*
ensuite en haut échelle ne pas était (ne fut plus) tojo à cause, ensuite

iskalera *txotsi* (*iskalera* *kosuk* *pʼet(i)* *skaljā*), *nekstan* *txotskaljā*
échelle tomba (échelle en bas trou était), ensuite tomba

nekstan *anašelja* *iskalerani* *okčakašekena*, *kočkis* *ketiki*
ensuite ne pas était échelle cette tojo à cause, corde avec renard

činxškatkaljā *nekstan* *koč* *kʷoksiškaljā* *tseku* *yaktatakaljā* *ketiki*
descendit ensuite corde se rompit en haut pendait renard le

karina *kʷoksija*. *Ketiki* *pampikis* *txotskitkaljā*, *nekstan* *wakčija*,
corde se rompit. Renard le pampa sur tomba, ensuite furent nombreux,

wakči *mirja* *ketiki* *mušpat* *mirja*, *nekstan*
beaucoup se multiplièrent renards les beaucoup se multiplièrent, ensuite

xwala luxjā xwalaxok anča luxjā ketiki, oktaka tañi
lama mangent lama jeune beaucoup mangent renards les, tojo attrape
ketiki, basiknekstan čula anaxelxjā, basiknekstan tutalanča
renard le, dès lors petits ne pas il y a, dès lors tous
usa ni kitiki tanja.
moutons ce renard le attrape.

Le renard avait dressé une échelle pour aller au ciel et c'est la faute du *tojo* (*Ctenomys sp.* ou *Octodon sp.*) si nous ne pouvons plus nous y rendre pour écouter la messe. L'échelle tomba par la faute du *tojo* qui avait creusé un trou dessous. Le renard essaya de redescendre sur la terre au moyen d'une corde. Celle-ci se rompit et il resta pendu. Il finit par tomber sur le sol. Les renards se multiplièrent. Ils mangent les lapins, les jeunes lamas et les moutons. C'est à cause d'eux que ces animaux disparaissent.

Le pari du condor et du renard. — Le début de ce conte rappelle beaucoup la première partie du conte kičua de la région deTarma dont j'ai reproduit la traduction espagnole.

Ketiki tuki tiempo kundurštan apustitkaljā[1]. *Kunduriki keti*
Renard le ancien temps condor avec firent un pari. Condor le renard
kuškuk okᵘkaljā sunkin kᵘatnikis. « *Kᵘat awantiñamta*
chargeant alla sur neige dans. « Comment supporteras-tu
sakis ». *Ketiki nuškitkaljā kunduriki nāktanaki nāksum ketiki*
froid ». Renard le dit condor le ensuite pour cela renard le
tāksi[2]. « *Apuštakija* (*ketiki nuškitkalja*) *ami wermi kᵘawakija*[3]
ici (?). « Nous parierons (renard le dit) moi toi crierons
kuawxawi kantatakija wer Antonio kija wetkisiki
en criant nous nous réveillerons moi Antoine appellerai moi le
Kundur-malku kekija nektanaki weril tikšnaja, nektanaki lulakija
Condor chef tu appelleras ensuite moi je meurs, ensuite tu mangeras
wer am tikšnananaki wer salulaja ». *Nektanaki malku š-kantaljā*
moi toi tu mourras moi te mangerai ». Ensuite chef se réveilla

1. De l'espagnol *apostar* : « parier ».
2. *tāksi*, ce mot me fut traduit par « pour cela ». *Tāki* signifie « ici ». Comme « pour cela » est le sens qui a été donné à *nāksum*, il me paraît probable que *tāksi* doit être rendu par « ici », « en ce lieu ».
3. *kᵘawakija* m'a été traduit par « parler », d'après le contexte, il semble plus probable que ce mot doit être rendu par « crier ».

[p.112]

uči patxuntuñ[1] *kunduriki Antunkis « Antuno » ɨ-kitkalja, nektanaki*
glace sur près condor le Antoine à « Antoine » appela, ensuite

Antunio « mal'ku » ɨ-kitkalja (Antunioki Kundur-mal'ku kitkaljā)
Antoine « chef » appela (Antoine le condor chef appela)

pusitunk k'ora nuškitkalja « mal'ku » nektanaki Antuniki kantatmankaki
quarante cris dit « chef » ensuite Antoine le au réveil

« ah » nuškitkalja salawtkalja suti wiriľaki « hum » nuškitkalja
« ah » dit s'évanouit doucement seconde fois « hum » il dit

tsiištan nuškitkalja « hum » Antonškin mal'kuškis, nektanaki tismąitkalja[2]
autre fois il dit « hum » Antoine chef au, ensuite il s'évanouit

ketiki, nektanaki tuñi tewktkanaki kunduriki keti lulit
renard le, ensuite soleil se leva condor le renard mangeant

wakinditkalja, luxtkalja kunduriki lix luxkalja, nektanaki tewkalja
commença, le mangea condor le tout mangea, ensuite se leva

nektanaki kič hamilia kundurškis pekuntkalja[3] *ketiki : « Tseku*
ensuite renard famille condor au demanda renard le : « En haut

lakxuči želatma, ɨ-kitkalja neoraki kunduri luška »
ver il est là, il dit à ce moment condor mangeant »

nuškitkalja. Nektanaki ketiki hamilianakeki nuškitkalja : « Amin
il dit. Ensuite renard le famille dit : « Toi

kuštačakila sāsgu » kitkaljā.
chargeant hier » dit.

Un jour, le renard et le condor firent un pari. Le condor prit le renard sur ses épaules et le déposa sur la neige d'un sommet. « Nous verrons bien comment tu supportes le froid, renard », dit le condor. « Ce sera là l'objet de notre pari, toi et moi nous crierons ensemble et nous nous réveillerons en criant. Je te crierai « Antonio » et toi tu me crieras « Condor-chef ». Si je meurs, tu me mangeras, mais si c'est toi qui meurs, c'est moi qui te mangerai ». Le condor se réveilla sur la neige et cria : « Antonio » Antonio répondit : « Chef ». Il cria encore quarante fois « Chef », mais à l'aube il ne dit plus que « ah » d'une voix faible, puis plus doucement et enfin il ne fit plus entendre qu'un faible « hum ». Le renard finit par perdre connaissance. Quand le soleil fut levé, le condor commença à manger le renard. Il le dévora tout entier. La famille du renard

1. *patxuntuñ*, mot composé d'une préposition aymara *pat* et de l'espagnol *junto* « près de ».
2. De l'espagnol *desmayarse* : « s'évanouir ».
3. De l'espagnol *preguntar* : « demander ».

demanda au condor où était leur parent. Celui-ci répondit : « Là-haut il y a un ver qui en est en train de le manger ». La famille du renard dit : « Hier nous t'avons vu le porter sur ton dos ».

Le renard et le canard.

Ce conte comporte deux motifs. Le premier est le récit du bon tour que le canard joue au renard en le persuadant de faire cuire ses enfants pour les rendre plus jolis ; le second, un trait de la stupidité du renard qui boit l'eau d'une rivière dans l'espoir de la mettre à sec et d'attraper ainsi un oiseau aquatique.

J'ai recueilli en 1930 chez les Čiriguano deux versions [1] d'un même conte dont le thème fondamental est précisément celui du premier motif :

« *Aguara-tunpa*, le dieu renard, avait une très jolie femme. Celle de *Tatu-tunpa*, le dieu tatou, était borgne et laide. *Tatu-tunpa* la mit dans un four. Elle cria trois fois. Il la retira à la troisième. Elle était devenue extrêmement belle. *Aguara-tunpa*, jaloux, voulut que sa femme fût encore plus jolie qu'elle n'était. Il l'enferma dans un four, mais au lieu de la retirer lorsqu'elle eut poussé les trois cris convenus, il la laissa hurler longtemps sans la faire sortir. Lorsqu'il s'y décida, elle était devenue borgne et toute noire ».

Ce conte est certainement fort répandu dans la région andine, car il a également été publié par l'auteur ou par les auteurs anonymes du petit recueil de contes et d'anecdotes kičua de la région de Tarma [2].

La huachua y la zorra. — Preguntaba á la *huachua* una reposa el porqué sus hijuelos tuvieran las patitas coloradas. « Sabrás que yo acostumbro ponerlos sobre las brazas, y el fuego se los enrojece ».

Hízolo así la zorra, que deseaba para sus hijos patitas encarnadas y los infelices cachorritos sucumbieron, no dejando más recuerdo que sus cenizas. Encolerizada la zorra buscaba á la malvada *huachua* ; pero ésta que la vió venir se puso á las espaldas sus polluelos y de un vuelo cayó al otro lado del río. Así se libró del zorro poniendo el río por medio, mientras este buscaba un paso, en la imposibilidad de vadearlo...

Le second motif de notre conte čipaya nous est familier : La Fontaine en a fait une fable. Peut-être en Bolivie est-il d'origine hispanique. Je connais deux versions d'un même conte dont il est un des principaux élé-

1. Métraux (A.). *Mitos y cuentos de los Indios Chiriguano*, pp. 174-175, note 1.
2. *Tarmapap Pachabuarainin. Apólogos Quéchuas*, pp. 123-124.

[2-114]

ments : l'un est aymara et a été recueilli par J. Tello [1] à Tiahuanaco et l'autre est kičua et fait également partie du recueil dont je viens de donner un extrait [2].

Ketiki kičtan wełliłtan ketiki. Weźliskis wawa
Renard renard canard avec renard. Canard enfants

pintiskatkalja [3] *ketiki šup ilškalja, nestan wawa*
parurent peints (jolis) ? renard bois recueillit, ensuite enfants

i-pintitina kitkalja. Nekstan uxtaskalja, nektanaki burnukis [4],
pour peindre dit. Ensuite furent mis au feu, ensuite four dans,

nektanaki wawa weltkalja, wawa pats-patskalja, nektanak wełlaki
ensuite enfants furent cuits, enfants sautèrent, ensuite canard le,

tsata kučankalja kičkis nuškitkalja wełlaki, nekstan ketiki muišpas
danser avait envoyé au renard dit canard le, ensuite renard beaucoup

tsatkalja roita roita k'alu p'it muita muita tsatkalja. Nektanaki wełlak
dansa en rond tola paille beaucoup danse. Ensuite canard le

mantitkalja [5] *šup ilškakikan kučankalja iya « i-paltija* [6] *kitkalja wawa*
envoya bois recueillir envoya encore « il manque dit enfants

pintisinskin » nuškikan ok'alja ketiki čip-čip ok'kalja. Nektanak
pour être peints » il dit s'en alla renard content il alla. Ensuite

weltkajä wawa lixn uxtkalja wawa pats-patskaljä
brûlaient enfants entièrement furent consumés enfants éclatèrent

nektanak keti šup iltkuškalja tonkalkä, nektanak wawa kala
ensuite renard bois recueillit revint, ensuite enfant tous

welttikaljä, nektanaki uxtinškuki k'askis luškalja wełlaki
furent brûlés, ensuite furent brûlés eau dans entra canard

nektanaki keti k'as tuta lixkalja k'as u.alunaka sistepi lixkalja
ensuite renard eau toute but eau tripes se gonflèrent il but

k'as anak-miriatkalja. Nektanak « P'it p'it [7] *čap-čap-ari-werču-i-apsk'ai tola*
eau ne pas il finit. Ensuite « Paille piquer pointe moi attention tola

artarakitasma? » nuškitkalja. P'it čapkalja p'it ketiki
attention pas piquer ? » dit. Paille piqua paille renard

1. Tello (Julio C.). *Folk-lore andino.* « Inca ». Lima, t. I, n° 2, 1923, p. 429.
2. *Tarmapap Pachahuarainin. Apólogos Quichuas*, pp. 50-53.
3. De l'espagnol *pintar* : « peindre ».
4. De l'espagnol *horno* : « four ».
5. De l'espagnol *mandar* : « envoyer ».
6. De l'espagnol *faltar* : « manquer ».
7. Il s'agit de la graminée *ichu* dont la pointe est effectivement très acérée.

[p. 115]
~~115~~

LES INDIENS URO-ČIPAYA DE CARANGAS

čapčilja,	*nektanak*	*ketik*	*patskalja*	*pum*	*k'as*	*k'as*	*pätskalja*
piqua,	ensuite	renard	sauta	pum	eau	eau	creva

kurpukistan [1]	*k'as*	*patskalja*	*k'as*	*liktsitakalja*	*ketik*	*p'it*	*ar*
corps hors de	eau	creva	eau	ayait bu	renard	paille	pointe

čapči	*lukitinpata*	*täksija.*
piqua	homme et femme	moururent.

« Le renard rencontra le canard. Les enfants du canard parurent joliment peints au renard. Le canard lui dit de recueillir du bois à brûler. Les enfants du renard furent exposés au feu et cuits dans un four. Le canard dit au renard d'aller danser. Celui-ci dansa beaucoup autour des buissons de *tola* et des touffes de paille. Le canard le renvoya encore une fois recueillir du bois, lui disant qu'il s'en fallait encore un peu pour que ses enfants fussent peints. Le renard partit tout joyeux. Pendant ce temps ses enfants cuisaient et rôtissaient. Lorsque leur père revint avec sa charge de bois, ils éclatèrent. Le canard, lui, alla se poser sur l'eau. Le renard, pour le saisir, se mit à boire sans arrêt l'eau de la rivière, si bien que ses tripes gonflèrent. De peur que les touffes d'*ichu* aiguisées ou les tiges de *tola* ne le piquassent, il leur faisait la recommandation suivante : « Faites attention de ne pas me perforer le ventre ». Une herbe acérée le piqua, le renard creva et toute l'eau jaillit de son corps. Le renard ainsi que sa femme moururent.

(*A suivre.*)

1. De l'espagnol *cuerpo* : « corps ».

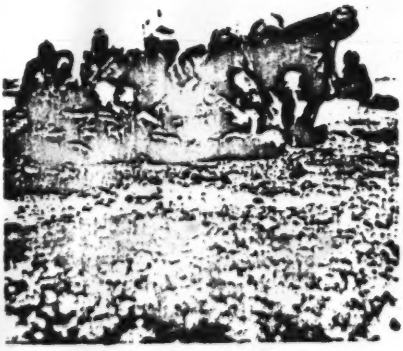
[p. 116 is blank -- Analyst]

Société des Américanistes, 1935. Planche XI.

A

B

C

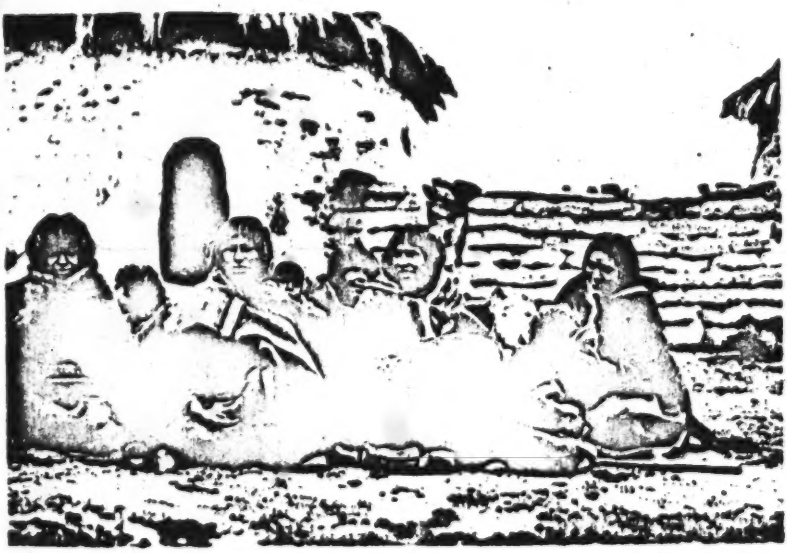


D

A. - Indien agenouillé devant un *mal'ku*.
B. - Égorgement rituel d'un mouton.
C. - Consécration rituelle d'un lama : libation d'alcool et offrande de coca.
D. - Égorgement rituel d'un lama.

[Q 416 - A] [Q. 116]

A



B

A. - Fête de la Chandeleur : libation à une bannière.
B. - Femmes Čipaya banquetant au lendemain d'une fête.

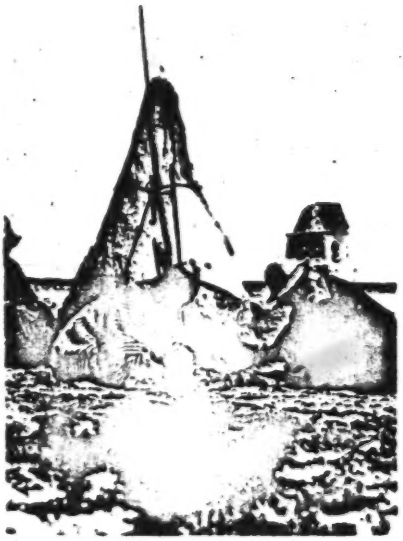
[p. 416 B] [p. 117]

Société des Américanistes, 1935. Planche XIII.

[p. 118]
[p. 416 C]

A

B



C

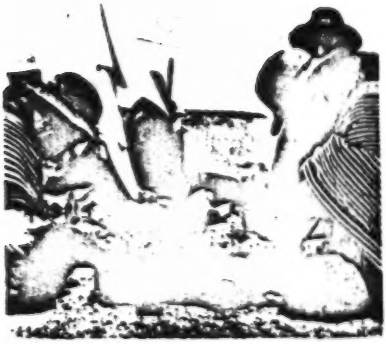
D

A. - Fête des *samiri* : l'*alfarez* et l'*alfareza* derrière les gerbes sacrées.
B. - Fête de l'*Estowan mal'ku* : magicien faisant une libation ; au fond, l'*Estowan mal'ku*.
C. - Fête de l'*Estowan mal'ku* : magicien préparant avec son assistant la Ċal'a (libation et offrandes) destinée au démon dont l'effigie dégoûtant de sang se dresse au second plan.
D. - Fête de l'*Estowan mal'ku* : le magicien agenouillé reçoit des mains de son assistant des godets dont il offre le contenu aux démons.

Société des Américanistes, 1935. Planche XIV.

A

B



C

D

A. - Fête des *Comadres* (2 février). Danse autour d'une bannière.
B - Fête des *mal'hu* : Indien battant du tambour auprès de l'effigie d'un démon *(mal'hu)*.
C. - Indien Cipaya en prière devant les cupules contenant des substances magiques.
D. - Indien Cipaya dans son attirail de fête (perruque, frondes d'apparat, etc.).

[Q. 416 - D] [Q. 19]

2: Métraux SF24 Uru

A

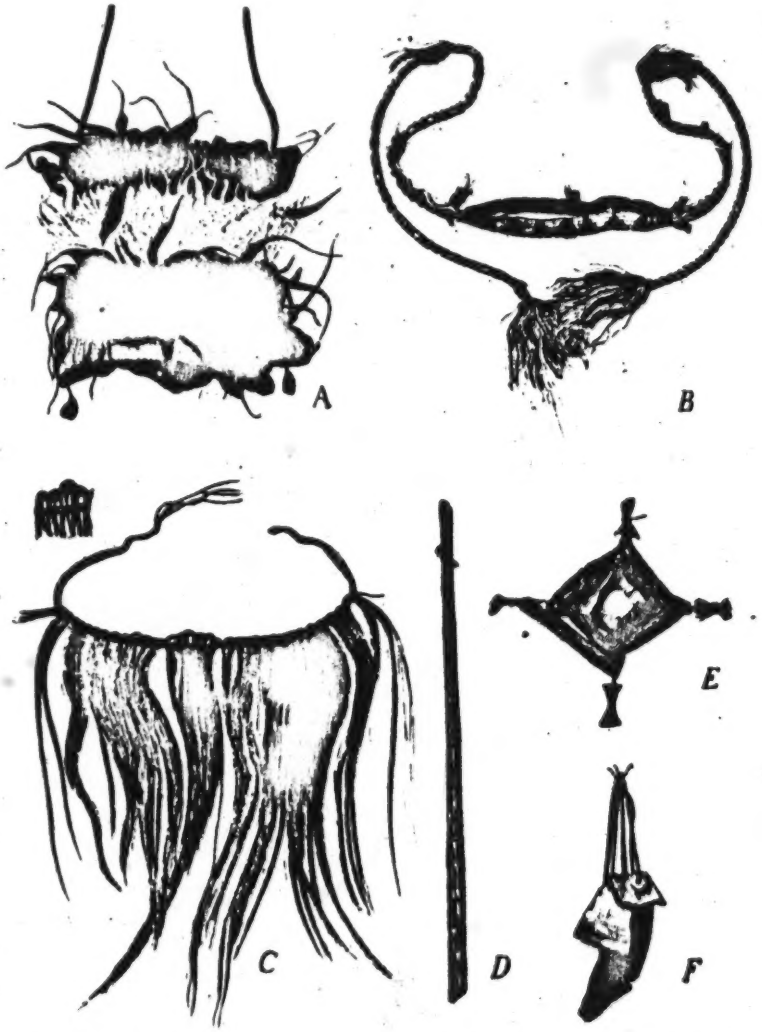
B

C

D

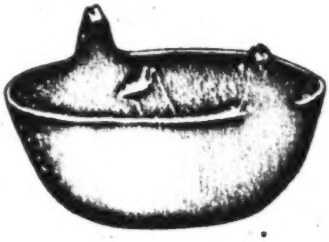
A. - Vieille femme Čipaya et sa fille.
B. - Femme Čipaya filant.
C. - Femme Čipaya.
D. - Indien Čipaya vêtu de la *camiseta*.

[p. 416 E] [p. 120]

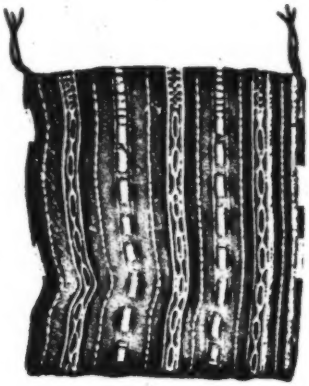


A. — Sacoche à coca recouverte d'une sorte de « velours » et utilisée exclusivement pendant les fêtes.
B. — Fronde d'apparat.
C. — Perruque portée par les hommes lors des fêtes.
D. — Bâton sacré (*kamana-para*).
E. — Croix de fil suspendue au toit des huttes.
F. — Tessons perforés servant de monnaie lors de la fête des *alasilu*.

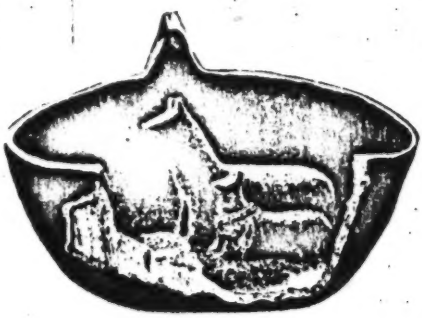
[p. 121]
[p. 416 F]

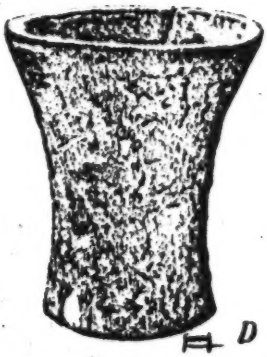


A

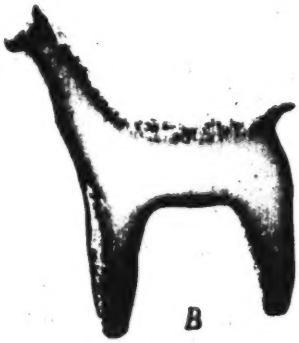


C

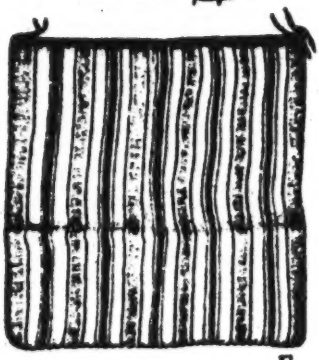




D



B



E

A. — Écuelle servant à faire des libations de *chicha*. Les animaux modelés au fond sont un lama et son petit.

B. — Petit lama en terre vénéré à l'occasion de certaines fêtes.

C. — Sacoche avec motifs rouges et jaunes (*käls*).

D. — Timbale en bois employée lors de certaines cérémonies religieuses pour faire des libations.

E. — Sacoche tissée (*käls*).

[p. 416-6] [p. 122]

2: Métraux SF24 Uru

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AU SIÈGE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ

61, RUE DE BUFFON, 61

PARIS, V^e^

1936

[title page #2]

[p. 123]

LES INDIENS URO-ČIPAYA DE CARANGAS,

PAR A. MÉTRAUX,
Directeur de l'Institut d'ethnologie de l'Université de Tucumán (Argentine).

(*suite*) [1].

(*Planches I-VI*).

La civilisation matérielle.

L'HABITATION.

Le problème de l'habitation est un des plus ardus que les Čipaya aient eus à résoudre. La nature leur a refusé tout abri naturel et tout ce qui semble strictement indispensable à la construction d'une demeure : pas un arbre, pas le moindre cactus cierge dans leur plaine pelée et pas même de terre à *adobes*. Rien que du sable, et un sol que les radicelles d'herbe rendent compact. Ici encore l'ingéniosité humaine a su vaincre tous les obstacles et résoudre toutes les difficultés. De même que les Esquimaux découpent dans la neige des blocs dont ils font leurs huttes rondes, les Čipaya taillent dans la terre des mottes qui, amoncelées les unes sur les autres, donnent des huttes en forme de ruches étrangement pareilles aux « maisons de neige » des peuples arctiques. Comme les huttes entièrement en mottes (*Pl. VI, C*) ne peuvent atteindre de grandes dimensions, les Čipaya préfèrent bâtir des maisons cylindriques (*k'oya*) qu'ils recouvrent d'une coupole de chaume. La toiture mise à part, le principe de construction de ces deux types d'habitation est le même.

Les mottes (*p'aya*) sont découpées dans le sol au moyen d'une houe. Comme le coup donné avec cet instrument est oblique, le morceau de terre détaché, qui mesure 70 cm. de longueur sur 30 à 35 cm. environ de largeur et 15 cm. d'épaisseur, a la forme d'un tronc de pyramide quadrangulaire ou tronc de parallélipipède rectangle. La moitié de l'épaisseur est entremêlée de radicelles qui font de la motte une sorte d'*adobe* très consistante. On l'utilise toujours retournée, c'est-à-dire les radicules en l'air.

1. Cf. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, t. XXVII, 1935, p. 111-128, 325-415.

[p. 155]
[p. 124]

[p.125]
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La hutte s'élève sur un soubassement qui la garantit des inondations. Ce terre-plein se compose de séries de mottes juxtaposées à plat ou de champ, qui forment le plancher. Dans la suite, les mottes sont simplement superposées sans liant ni mortier. Le mur, parfaitement circulaire, ne s'élève pas perpendiculairement, mais s'incurve légèrement de la base au sommet. Il suffit d'accentuer cette inclinaison pour avoir la hutte conique du second type, entièrement faite de mottes.

Les parements sont crépis, extérieurement et intérieurement, d'une légère couche de terre qui dissimule les irrégularités de la surface.

La porte. — L'embrasure (*tan*) de la porte (*tawks*) qui est toujours encadrée d'une bande blanche est généralement plus large en bas qu'en haut et ses angles sont arrondis. Elle ne s'ouvre pas à ras du sol, mais sur un seuil d'une trentaine de centimètres de hauteur. La porte elle-même est située à l'intérieur de l'habitation. Elle est faite de lattes de *Cereus* unies par des lanières de cuir et par des traverses et s'articule au moyen de deux pivots dont l'un, celui d'en haut, est enfilé dans une pièce de bois perforée (fig. 1, C-D).

La figure 1, E à G donne une idée de l'ingénieuse serrure à cheville des Cipaya et de son fonctionnement. Elle est taillée en bois de *Cereus* et d'un type identique à celle des Aymara qui l'ont imitée des anciennes serrures campagnardes espagnoles [1].

La toiture. — Le dôme de paille (*p'urna*) qui recouvre les huttes cipaya du premier type est de construction compliquée et ingénieuse et représente certainement le travail le plus délicat auquel ces indigènes s'astreignent. Lorsque les parois de la hutte ont atteint deux mètres de hauteur au-dessus du sol, on place sur la partie supérieure deux rangées de mottes plus grandes que les autres et dont les joints sont perpendiculaires. Celles d'en haut sont pourvues d'un orifice destiné à recevoir les extrémités des arceaux qui soutiennent la coupole de paille. La charpente de celle-ci est en effet formée par des fascines de *tola* (*toksa*, *toxsa*) solidement ligotées en boudin avec des cordes de paille (*kxaru*) (*Pl. VI, B*). Elles sont fichées dans les trous dont il vient d'être question puis reliées entre elles (fig. 1, H). Le nombre des arceaux qui constituent le squelette de la toiture est de huit et ils sont disposés en deux groupes de quatre qui se superposent et sont fixés aux croisements par de solides ligatures. Au dernier moment la charpente est maintenue par des étais en bois de

1. Sur ce sujet voir Gennep (A. van), *Études d'ethnographie sud-américaine*. Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, nouvelle série, t. XI, 1914, p. 121-133.

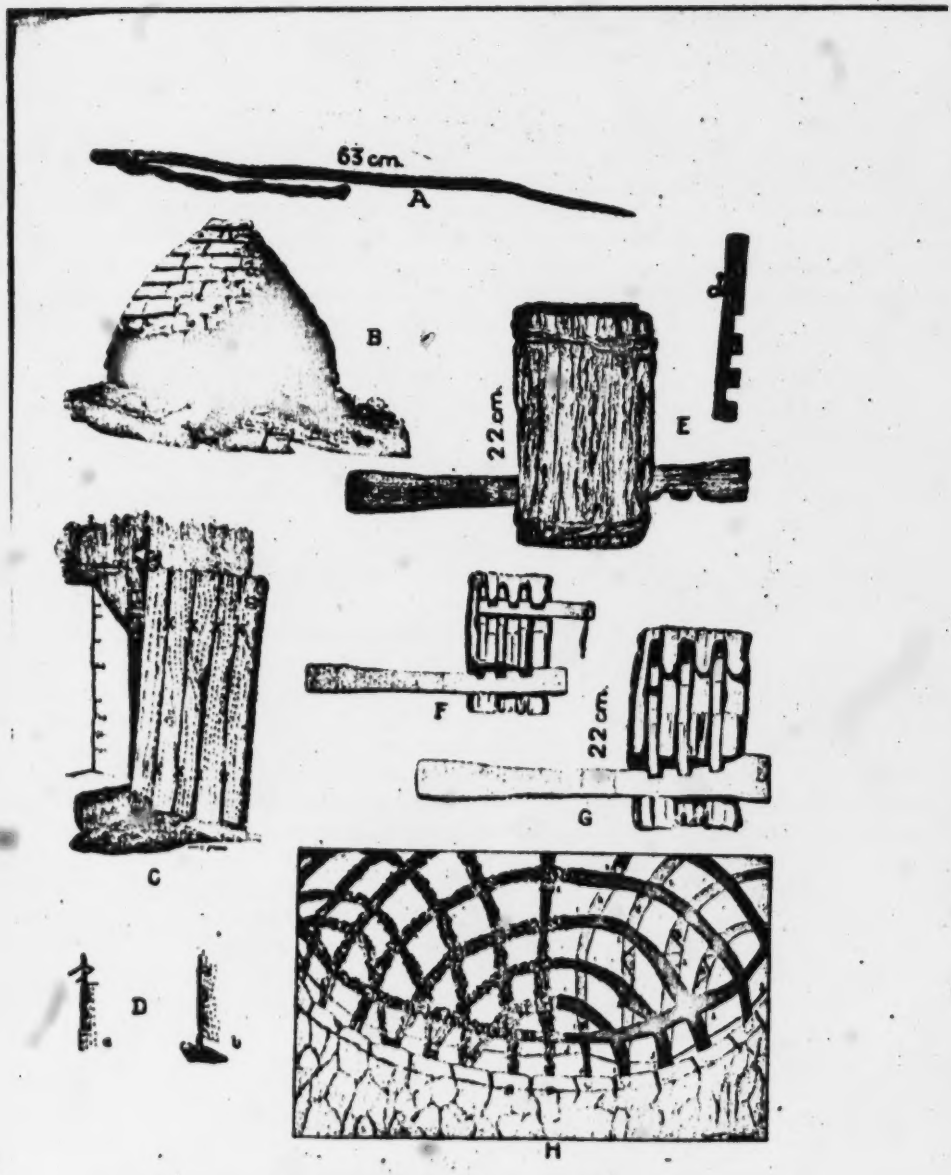

Fig. 1. — Civilisation matérielle des Čipaya. L'habitation.

A : Aiguille avec laquelle les Čipaya cousent le chaume contre l'armature. — B : Bauge en mottes de terre. — C : Porte en bois de cactus. — D : Détail de la porte, a : haut; b : bas. — E : Serrure et clé čipaya. — F, G : La même serrure vue en coupe. — H : Schéma indiquant la manière de construire la charpente de la coupole qui couvre le toit des huttes.

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[p. 126]

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Cereus pour permettre aux couvreurs de marcher sur les arceaux sans les faire effondrer.

Sur ce squelette on étend une sorte de linoleum (*pirina*) fait de paille (*p'it*) agglutinée dans de la boue, le tout constituant des plaques souples qui épousent la forme de l'armature. Sur ce revêtement mince dont la fonction est de rendre le toit imperméable, on étale la paille. Les couvreurs en reçoivent de grandes bottes qui sont hissées à la corde. Ils les étendent sur le bord du toit où ils les foulent au pied. Ces gerbes sont ensuite cousues aux fascines au moyen d'une longue aiguille de bois (*čapa*) enfilée d'une corde de paille (fig. 1, A) et maniée par deux ouvriers : l'un à l'intérieur de la hutte et l'autre à l'extérieur. L'aiguille après avoir passé au travers du linoleum fait successivement le tour de chacune des fascines et revient enserrer une nouvelle gerbe de paille. Le restant de la paille est disposé par couches successives, imbriquées jusqu'au sommet. L'adhérence de ce chaume au toit et sa résistance aux terribles coups de vent du haut-plateau est assurée au moyen d'un filet de paille qui est fait sur le toit même. Les mailles quadrangulaires ou triangulaires de ce réseau ne sont pas précisément nouées, mais constituées simplement par l'entrecroisement d'une longue corde de paille qui est raidie par une traction opérée de bas en haut au fur et à mesure de la formation du filet.

La toiture n'est considérée comme terminée que lorsque la surmonte une croix de paille qui, selon la croyance indigène, protège la maison des effets de la foudre.

L'ameublement. — L'aménagement intérieur des huttes čipaya est des plus sommaires. Le seul meuble de quelque importance est le fourneau en terre (*wit*) reproduit ici (fig. 2, C). Ces foyers sont bien compris : ils se trouvent toujours à la droite de l'entrée, contre le mur. Ils sont pourvus de trous pour les marmites et d'un compartiment où s'accumulent les réserves de *taquia*, c'est-à-dire, d'excréments séchés. Comme cette substance est le principal combustible sur le haut-plateau et l'a été de tout temps, on s'explique l'emploi de ces fourneaux dont il n'existe d'équivalent dans aucune autre région de l'Amérique du Sud. Les excréments séchés brûlent difficilement à feu ouvert et ils sont, comme le bois (*šup*), trop rares pour laisser perdre la moindre chaleur qui s'en dégage. C'est donc par commodité et par souci d'économie que les Indiens du haut-plateau en sont venus à l'idée de construire ces fourneaux, certainement fort anciens, puisque Cobo [1] qui les mentionne, semble les considérer comme

1. Cobo (Bernabé), *Historia del nuevo mundo*, por .... de la Compañía de Jesús, publicada por primera vez con notas y otras ilustraciones de D. Marcos Jiménez de

indigènes. La fumée s'échappe par la porte, mais dans quelques huttes, très peu nombreuses il est vrai, un trou dans la paroi facilite la ventilation.

D'énormes couvertures de laine (*čusi*) extrêmement lourdes, tiennent lieu de lits. Elles sont assez chaudes pour qu'une seule suffise à couvrir pendant la nuit deux ou trois personnes qui s'enroulent dedans. Au début du XVIIe siècle ces couvertures étaient d'un emploi général sur le haut-plateau. « Le lit qu'utilisent les gens de la *Sierra* et des terres froides, nous dit Cobo, est une grosse couverture appelée *chusi*, que l'on étend par terre. Une moitié leur sert de matelas et l'autre, qu'ils rabattent du côté des pieds, de couverture ou de drap. Tous les habitants d'une maison, pères et fils, dorment dans une même couverture, quoiqu'à présent sous l'influence de la civilisation, ils commencent à faire lit à part ». Les Indiens andins actuels dorment sur des bancs de terre qui font entièrement défaut à Chipaya. On peut en conclure qu'ils n'étaient pas connus à l'époque précolombienne et qu'ils ne sont qu'une grossière imitation des lits européens.

Dans quelques huttes čipaya on peut voir une table boiteuse faite de vieilles caisses. Les Čipaya ne les utilisent qu'en guise d'autel pour y placer les têtes des animaux sacrifiés ou la coca qu'ils offrent à leurs invités lorsqu'ils célèbrent une fête à domicile. En dehors de ces occasions les tables ne sont d'aucun emploi.

Quelques chevilles de bois fichées dans le mur servent de patères. Les menus objets sont rangés dans des niches ménagées dans la paroi ou sur de petites étagères de terre en forme de nids d'hirondelles (fig. 2, F).

Pour éclairer l'intérieur toujours très sombre de leurs huttes, les Čipaya ont des chandelles en suif ou, le plus souvent, de petites lampes très primitives : ce sont des écuelles (*čua*), pleines de suif dans lesquelles brûle une mèche de laine. Ce dispositif, qui ne leur donne qu'une faible lumière, porte le nom espagnol de *mecha*, indice à peu près certain que l'idée leur en est venue des créoles.

Moyens de subsistance.

Élevage. — Les Čipaya tirent presque toutes leurs ressources de l'élevage. Comme j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de le dire en décrivant le milieu

LA ESPADA. Séville, 1893. « En todas las casas, por pequeñas que sean, hay su fogón detras de la puerta, el cual es de hechura de un hornillo pequeño de barro, no más alto que un palmo, cerrado por todas partes, con pequeña boca por donde atizan el fuego, y por la parte alta, dos o tres agujeros redondos, donde asientan las ollas. Con esto gastan poquisima leña, porque nunca ponen más que dos palillos por las puntas, y como se van gastando los van atizando, que es más la leña que se consume en una de nuestras cocinas que en veinte casas de indios ».

où ils vivent, les pâturages qui couvrent leur territoire ont été obtenus artificiellement en détournant par des bras et de longs canaux les eaux du rio Llauca qui coule à 10 kilomètres du village. Au moyen de digues, ils provoquent des inondations partielles qui maintiennent par endroit une herbe courte et coriace dont s'alimentent les moutons et qui ailleurs transforment la plaine en marécages où les herbes immergées se développent mieux qu'à l'air libre. D'autres herbes aquatiques y prospèrent et elles atteignent parfois jusqu'à 50 cm. de hauteur. Tout le long de ces bourbiers et de ces lagunes s'élèvent de petites cases en forme de four et semblables, quoique toutes petites, aux maisons coniques du second type (fig. 1, B). Ce sont des abris qui servent de refuge aux truies à l'époque de la portée. Pendant la saison des pluies d'immenses étendues de plaine sont ainsi recouvertes par les eaux. Les multiples bauges qui les bordent et que le mirage agrandit et déforme donnent souvent au voyageur l'impression de circuler au milieu d'une vaste cité lacustre.

Toute la zone des pâturages est parsemée d'enclos (*uyu*) dans lesquels le soir sont parqués les moutons. Les mères sont séparées des agneaux en vue de la traite qui a lieu à l'aube. J'ai toujours été frappé par le nombre tout à fait disproportionné de ces enclos par rapport à celui des troupeaux. Sans doute les Cipaya en construisent-ils de nouveaux chaque fois qu'ils quittent une zone dont l'herbe s'est épuisée pour mener paître leurs moutons dans une autre région de leur territoire. Ces enclos, de même que les bauges, sont faits en mottes et leur ouverture est toujours tournée vers l'est.

C'est dans cette vaste zone occupée tantôt par des lagunes, tantôt par des pâturages, que les Cipaya ont leurs « maisons d'eau » (*kʷas-kʷoya*) ou *estancias* (*Pl. IV, A*) dont j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de parler. Les *estancias* sont généralement tenues par les membres les plus jeunes de la famille et par les vieillards. Ceux qui résident de préférence au village s'y rendent à des intervalles plus ou moins rapprochés pour jeter un coup d'œil sur leurs moutons et sur leurs porcs ou pour faire leurs fromages. La surveillance des troupeaux est généralement confiée aux enfants, à partir de sept ou huit ans. Leurs parents se déchargent sur eux de la besogne la plus absorbante et jouissent de ce fait de plus de loisirs, d'où le désir ardent que tous manifestent d'avoir une nombreuse progéniture.

Le bétail est une propriété individuelle. Chaque Indien a environ une vingtaine de moutons (*usa*), un nombre indéterminé de porcs (*kuti*) et quelques lamas (*xwala*). Chaque famille reconnaît ses animaux à une marque spéciale découpée dans l'oreille.

Chaque Indien a le droit de faire paître librement ses troupeaux sur

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les pâturages appartenant à sa *saya* (moitié). Aucune borne n'en marque la limite, mais les Indiens la connaissent parfaitement et tout animal qui la franchit est instantanément égorgé et mangé par les membres de l'autre *saya*. En ce cas, aucune réclamation n'est admise.

Les bergers ont, pour garder le troupeau, des chiens (*paku*) de taille moyenne, aux poils assez longs et aux crocs acérés. Ces animaux qui sont très attachés à leur maître peuvent être redoutables. J'en ai vu un poursuivre un lama et le tuer en un clin d'œil sans que son propriétaire atterré ait eu le temps d'intervenir.

La tonte des moutons (*čipla*) s'effectue au même moment dans toute la tribu. Les Indiens utilisent pour cette opération des lames découpées dans quelque vieille boîte de conserve. Quand ils ont terminé, une fête s'organise et tous, dansant et chantant rentrent au village passablement gris.

Comme tous les peuples pasteurs, les Čipaya répugnent à consommer la chair de leur bétail. Ils ne consentent à ce sacrifice qu'à l'occasion d'une fête publique ou privée où ils peuvent goûter du chair des animaux abattus rituellement. Seuls les riches peuvent de temps à autre s'offrir le luxe d'abattre une bête de leur troupeau. Même en ce cas la mise à mort du mouton ou du porc s'accompagne d'un certain cérémonial religieux.

Les lamas et les alpacas se groupent généralement au delà de la zone parcourue par les troupeaux de moutons, là où les pâturages de plus en plus pauvres vont se perdre dans la *puna* aride (*Pl. II, A*). Les jeunes lamas sont l'objet de soins maternels : on les met sous des couvertures si l'on prévoit une nuit froide et au besoin on les allaite à l'entonnoir. Un Indien de mes amis resta toute une journée à observer un lama dont le petit ne voulait pas téter.

Il est assez étrange que les Čipaya n'élèvent pas de cochons d'Inde, comme presque tous les Indiens de la *Sierra*. Il est vrai que les Aymara de Carangas n'en ont pas non plus, pour des raisons que j'ignore. Le nombre des poules à Chipaya n'est pas aussi considérable que dans la plupart des villages de la *puna*. Je ne sais ce qu'ils en font car je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'ils en mangeassent les œufs ou la chair. Si l'on y joint encore quelques rares chats on aura ainsi la liste complète des animaux domestiques que possèdent les Čipaya.

Agriculture. — Aux maigres revenus que leur apporte leur troupeau, les Čipaya joignent une agriculture très limitée et très primitive. Ils ne cultivent guère que la *quinua* (*Chenopodium quinua*) (en uro-čipaya : *kxula*) et la *cañagua* (*Chenopodium cañabua*).

Les terrains de culture (*skxâla*) qui sont communs à toute la tribu et non pas seulement à chacune des *saya* sont situés au sud-est du village

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et à l'est de la région inondée appelée les lacs. Leur superficie représente environ 300 mètres de large sur un kilomètre de long. Ce terrain très sablonneux, parfaitement plat et peu humide est divisé dans le sens de la largeur en une succession de bandes parallèles indiquées par trois séries de mottes levées servant de bornes. Chacune de ces bandes qui sont orientées est-ouest, se trouve être ainsi large d'une dizaine de mètres et longue de 300 mètres environ.

Chaque année, à la Saint-André (30 novembre), ces terrains sont répartis entre les familles à raison d'une bande par famille, par les soins et sous la responsabilité des *alcaldes*. Si leurs dires sont exacts les Čipaya pratiqueraient l'assolement.

Les procédés culturaux sont des plus primitifs. Jadis, les Indiens utilisaient pour remuer le sol des petites houes à manche coudé dont j'ai pu recueillir encore un spécimen (fig. 2, K). Aujourd'hui ils emploient les houes (*astuna*, *takisa*) à long manche de fabrication européenne. Les graines sont semées de mètre en mètre dans des trous qu'ils font avec cet instrument. Les indigènes ne semblent manifester aucun souci de la culture en ligne droite et les trous vus d'une certaine hauteur affectent l'apparence de lignes ondulées et capricieuses.

Ces champs ne sont pas irrigués et pourraient manifestement l'être sans grand travail, étant donné l'uniformité de la plaine. Quelques Čipaya à l'esprit entreprenant ont reconnu la possibilité de cette amélioration et cette question est actuellement l'objet de discussions dans les groupes d'agriculteurs. La *quinua* qui pousse dans ces champs est rabougrie et pauvre en graines. Fréquemment la récolte est nulle par suite de sécheresses excessives ou de gelées. J'ai remarqué à l'abri de plusieurs enclos effondrés quelques vagues essais de culture d'orge [1].

Le commerce. — Avec le lait de brebis les Čipaya fabriquent des fromages qui constituent leur principale industrie et la source de leur richesse. Ils en font échange contre tout ce dont ils ont besoin pour vivre et que la nature leur refuse : le maïs, la *quinua*, l'orge, les fèves, les pommes de terre, les poissons séchés, la coca et l'alcool. Ces produits leur sont apportés par des commerçants aymara ou métis qui viennent généralement de la région des Salinas, de Garcimendoza. L'économie čipaya repose donc en grande partie sur le commerce. Eux-mêmes se rendent quelquefois dans les villages aymara voisins pour écouler directement leurs petits fromages et surtout pour vendre la graisse de

1. Les Čipaya en voyage déterrent un tubercule (*tila*) qu'ils disent être la racine de la *tola* et dont ils se montrent très friands. Pour mon compte je lui ai trouvé un goût âcre et insipide. Un autre tubercule sauvage (*uruku-pera*) m'a été désigné comme étant également comestible.

Fig. 3. — Civilisation matérielle des Čipaya. Ustensiles et outils.

A : Fourneau en terre cuite des Indiens Aymara. — B : Cuillère en bois (*wiñi*). — C : Fourneau des Čipaya (d'après un croquis). — D : Herminette avec hache en forme de T. — E : Poids d'une livre en pierre employé par les Aymara de Carangas pour peser les pommes de terre et le sel qu'ils vendent à Chipaya. — F : Étagère čipaya. — G : Mortier (*ɔwaz*) (d'après une esquisse). — H : Marteau en pierre. — I : Hache avec talon en forme de T et emmanchement ancien. — J : Cuve en pierre (*takxira*) pour fouler les graines de *quinoa* (d'après un croquis). — K : Houe aymara provenant du village de Belen (Département d'Oruro).

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porc qui, après les fromages, est leur plus importante matière d'exportation. Ils font sans doute le commerce de la laine quoique je n'aie pu obtenir à ce sujet aucun renseignement précis. J'ai simplement constaté que des pièces d'étoffe commencées dans un village voisin étaient remises à des femmes Čipaya pour être achevées. Jadis quelques Čipaya allaient s'embaucher comme ouvriers dans les « *salitreras* » (exploitations de nitrates) de Tarapacá. Ils en revenaient avec quelques connaissances d'espagnol et des goûts nouveaux. Ce séjour à l'étranger avait surtout pour résultat de leur ouvrir les yeux sur leur condition misérable et d'en faire des mécontents. Depuis que les gisements de nitrate ont été abandonnés, plus rien n'attire les Čipaya au-dehors de leur « plaine pelée ».

La crise de surproduction qui sévit sur toute la terre a bouleversé la vie économique des Čipaya. Les basses cotations de l'étain au Stock Exchange ou à la bourse de New-York ont amené la fermeture des mines, le départ des travailleurs et la mévente des fromages. Les Aymara ne venant plus à Chipaya s'approvisionner en fromages, ceux-ci s'accumulent dans les huttes rondes et l'alcool et la coca manquent pendant les fêtes. En vertu de la cohésion économique de toute l'humanité, les Čipaya eux aussi surproduisent et leur angoisse actuelle est sœur de celle qui étreint le cœur des grands propriétaires de terres à blé.

Ces détails nous montrent qu'en dépit de leur isolement apparent, ces Indiens entretiennent avec le monde extérieur des relations constantes et que la fossilisation de cette tribu n'est pas aussi totale qu'on pourrait en conclure de leur civilisation matérielle.

La chasse. — La chasse et la pêche ne jouent qu'un rôle insignifiant dans la vie des Čipaya. Pour tout gibier ils ont quelques troupeaux de vigognes qui font leur apparition jusque dans le voisinage du village, des oiseaux aquatiques qui abondent dans les nombreuses lagunes qui coupent leurs pâturages et les *toxo*, sorte de petits rongeurs un peu plus gros qu'un rat. Posnansky [1] prétend que ces derniers constituent le principal aliment des Čipaya. En réalité, pendant tout mon séjour je ne vis jamais un Čipaya en attraper et lorsque je leur demandai de m'en procurer quelques exemplaires, ils me réclamèrent des sommes exorbitantes prétextant la difficulté de cette chasse. Les *toxo* sont rares sur le territoire proprement dit de Chipaya ; on ne les trouve qu'à une certaine distance de la zone herbeuse, derrière les dunes. C'est là que les Aymara viennent

1. Posnansky (Ing. Arthur), *Los Chipayas de Carangas*. La Paz-Bolivia, 1918, p. 6 ; *La lengua « Chipaya » (Carangas, Bolivia)*. La Paz, 1915, p. 2 ; *Nuevas investigaciones en Carangas (Bolivia)*. Congrès international des Américanistes. Compte rendu de la XXIe session, deuxième partie, tenue à Göteborg en 1924. Göteborg, 1925, p. 91.

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les capturer. Leur méthode pour autant que j'aie pu le comprendre par les explications qui m'ont été données, est la suivante : on tâche de déloger le *toxo* des galeries souterraines où il se tient en les ouvrant d'un coup de pelle, puis quand il est sorti on le poursuit pour l'assommer. Dans les plaines minées par les *toxo*, on peut voir la terre complètement labourée par les chasseurs.

Les Čipaya s'emparent facilement des vigognes en lançant contre eux leurs chiens, bêtes rapides et sanguinaires. Eux-mêmes parviennent à abattre ces animaux au moyen des *bolas* ou pierres de jet. Cette même arme leur permet d'abattre les oiseaux aquatiques.

Les poissons que l'on trouve dans les petites mares de la plaine de Chipaya sont trop minuscules pour que l'on puisse employer le mot pêche à leur propos. C'est plutôt par passe-temps que pour s'en nourrir que les Čipaya s'amusent à les attraper au moyen de petits paniers de joncs qui leur sont vendus par les Indiens colporteurs venus d'Andamarca ou d'Orinoca. Ces paniers à claire-voie sont, paraît-il, de véritables nasses qu'utilisent les riverains du Poopó. Les Čipaya s'en servent pour garder de menus objets (fig. 3, B).

Préparation des aliments.

C'est plutôt par acquit de conscience que dans l'espoir de présenter des faits nouveaux que je consacre quelques lignes à la cuisine des Čipaya. Leur alimentation et la préparation de leurs mets sont exactement celles qui ont été si souvent décrites à propos des Aymara et des Quichua.

Le cuticule de *quinua* a, comme on le sait, un goût amer et désagréable. Pour en débarrasser les graines, on les fait griller dans un plat, puis tremper dans une cuve en pierre (*takxira*) (fig. 2, J) que les Čipaya achètent aux gens de Huachacalla qui les fabriquent[1]. Lorsque les graines ont été amollies, une femme se met debout dans cette cuve et s'appuyant contre un mur, elle les décortique en faisant pivoter la partie inférieure de son corps (*Pl. V, A*). C'est un spectacle pittoresque que de les voir exécuter cette étrange gymnastique. Les graines soumises à ce traitement sont ensuite étendues sur une couverture et vannées à la main.

La *quinua* sert à préparer une soupe ou, réduite en farine (*akxal'ipe*), une bouillie. Des feuilles (*čañi*) de cette plante ou de la *cañagua* sont cuites dans de l'eau comme des épinards. Le maïs (*tara*) est mangé rôti (*tsars-tara*) ou bouilli de même que les fèves. Les Čipaya consomment la

1. Ces cuves sont parfois en terre cuite.

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pomme de terre (*kxila*), comme partout sur le haut-plateau, sous forme de *čuño*. Trop d'auteurs ont parlé de la préparation de ces pommes de terre exposées à la gelée et séchées, pour qu'il soit nécessaire de m'y arrêter. Ce soin serait d'autant plus superflu que le *čuño* dont les Čipaya s'alimentent est acheté aux Aymara. J'ai vu quelquefois les Čipaya faire une pâtée de *čuño* en les écrasant sur leur mortier. Celui-ci est une pierre plate (*t^{w}ax*), légèrement inclinée sur laquelle le broyage se fait à l'aide d'une autre pierre plate (*muruku*) qui va et vient (fig. 2, G).

La viande est toujours bouillie, probablement à cause du combustible qui brûle sans flamme ou qui dégage, s'il s'agit de la *tola*, une fumée âcre.

Les aliments sont servis dans des écuelles (*čua*) (fig. 3, D) ; les liquides se prennent à la cuillère (*wisl'a*) (fig. 2, B) et les solides à la main. Dans les banquets, l'hôte étend sur une couverture les mets qu'il offre à ses invités qui les emportent dans un pan de leur vêtement.

Préparation de la chicha de quinua. — Les graines de *quinua*, après avoir été décortiquées, sont rôties à nouveau. On les réduit ensuite en farine dont on prélève la valeur d'une écuelle qu'une femme mâche consciencieusement. La portion imbibée de salive est mêlée au reste de la farine qui a été étalée sur une peau. Le tout est bouilli, puis versé dans une grande cuve où l'on rajoute de l'eau chaude. On laisse le liquide fermenter pendant quatre jours. La boisson (*k^{e}esi*) ainsi obtenue ressemble à de l'eau trouble et est très légèrement alcoolisée.

Fabrication des fromages. — Si l'industrie fromagère est au premier plan de l'activité économique des Čipaya, la technique en est des plus rudimentaires. La caillette se prépare avec un morceau de tripe de foetus de lama ou de vigogne qu'on laisse tremper dans de l'eau. Il suffit de verser un peu de ce liquide dans du lait de brebis pour le caséifier. La caséine après avoir été pressée entre les mains, est mise dans de petits anneaux de paille que l'on superpose en les séparant chaque fois par un fragment d'écorce de palmier, matière qui sert d'enveloppe aux ballots de coca que les Aymara vendent aux Čipaya. Lorsque la pile de fromages, est suffisamment haute, on l'attache solidement avec une corde de laine et on les laisse s'égoutter pendant un certain nombre de jours. Ces fromages, blancs et insipides, sont assaisonnés avec du sel que les Čipaya tirent des grandes salines qui s'étendent à une trentaine de kilomètres de leur village.

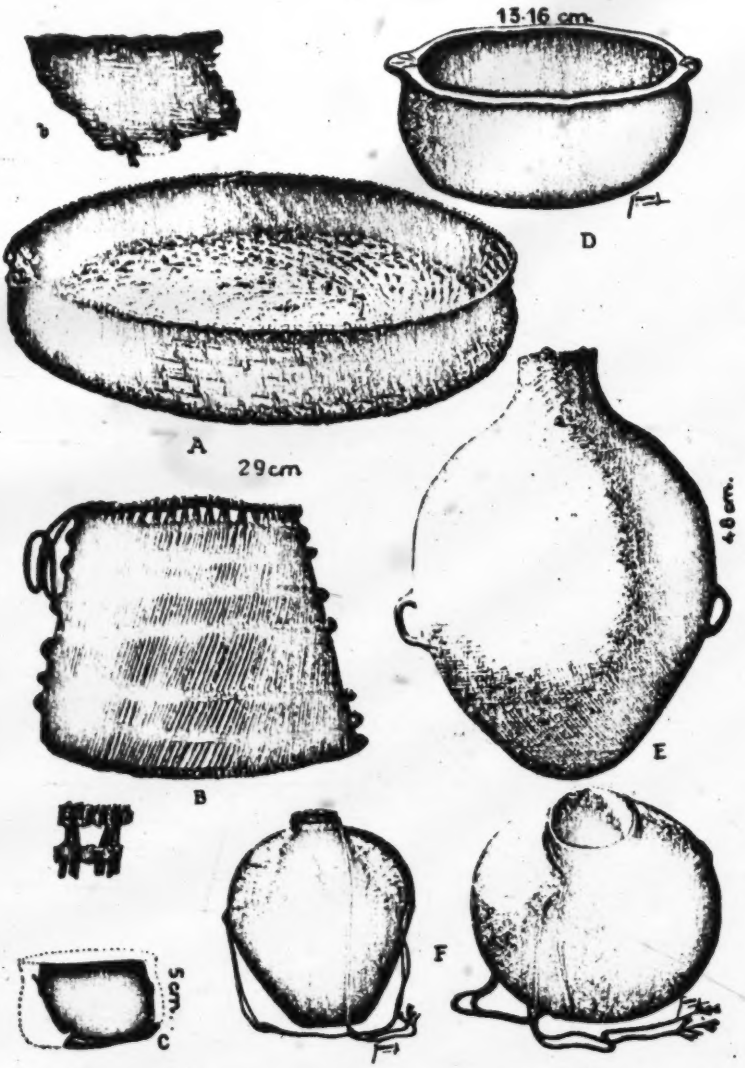

Fig. 3. — Civilisation matérielle des Čipaya. Vannerie et poterie.

A : Panier en vannerie à spirales employé comme van par les Čipaya ; b : détail de la technique. — B : Panier-nasse des riverains des marais du Poopó, employé par les Čipaya pour garder de menus objets. — C : Fragments d'une écuelle cassée cousus ensemble. — D : Écuelle (*ćas*) čipaya. — E : Cruche (*lál*) rappelant les anciennes aryballes, achetée à Chipaya mais de fabrication aymara. — F : Cruche (*lál*) de type ancien (d'après un croquis).

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Les armes.

Le petit nombre d'armes que possèdent les Čipaya est une conséquence directe de l'insignifiance de la chasse dans leur économie. Quant à la guerre, elle est pour eux un phénomène inconnu. Qui songerait à venir leur chercher querelle pour la possession de dunes de sable ou de pâturages rachitiques ? Les seules occasions de donner libre cours à leurs instincts belliqueux sont les fêtes. L'alcool qu'ils y absorbent accentue la sourde rivalité des *saya* entre elles et, réveillant les passions, les conduit à des rixes souvent sanglantes. J'ignore si dans ce cas on fait entrer en jeu d'autres armes que les bâtons et les poings.

La fronde (*kxorawa*) (fig. 4, A) qui est l'arme par excellence des Indiens du haut-plateau ne remplit à Chipaya qu'un emploi pacifique : elle sert à lancer contre les lamas ou les moutons des mottes de terre pour les empêcher de s'écarter du troupeau ou de la route à suivre. Il est possible que les Čipaya aient recours à la fronde lorsqu'ils ont quelques rixes avec les gens de l'autre *saya*, mais je n'ai jamais pu obtenir de détails à ce sujet. Une autre circonstance contribue à faire de la fronde des Čipaya un instrument inoffensif : c'est le manque de pierres pouvant servir de projectiles.

Les *bolas* des Čipaya jouent un rôle voisin de la fronde : elles leur permettent d'attraper les moutons. Le type le plus courant est celui de la *bola* ordinaire. Les pierres, au lieu d'être prises dans une gaine de cuir comme c'est le cas pour les spécimens archéologiques (fig. 4, D-E), sont pourvues d'un sillon qui empêche la corde de glisser (fig. 4, J).

Pour chasser les oiseaux aquatiques, les Čipaya emploient une corde de paille terminée par un nœud de la grosseur du poing (fig. 4, C). Cette arme correspond exactement à la *bola perdida* des anciens Patagons, avec cette différence que chez ces derniers la boule terminale était en pierre. A part cela, le principe de ces deux armes est le même. C'est la première fois que l'on trouve la *bola perdida* ailleurs qu'à l'extrémité méridionale de l'Amérique du Sud. Sa présence chez les Čipaya est un argument de plus en faveur du caractère archaïque de cet élément culturel.

Les Indiens Uro du Desaguadero chassent les oiseaux aquatiques qui pullulent dans les *totorales* avec des *bolas* dont deux poids sont en bois et le troisième une petite pierre piriforme. La corde de ce projectile est enroulée dans un fil noir très résistant. Si l'arme n'a pas atteint son but, elle flotte sur l'eau et les Indiens n'ont qu'à la recueillir avec leur *balsas*.

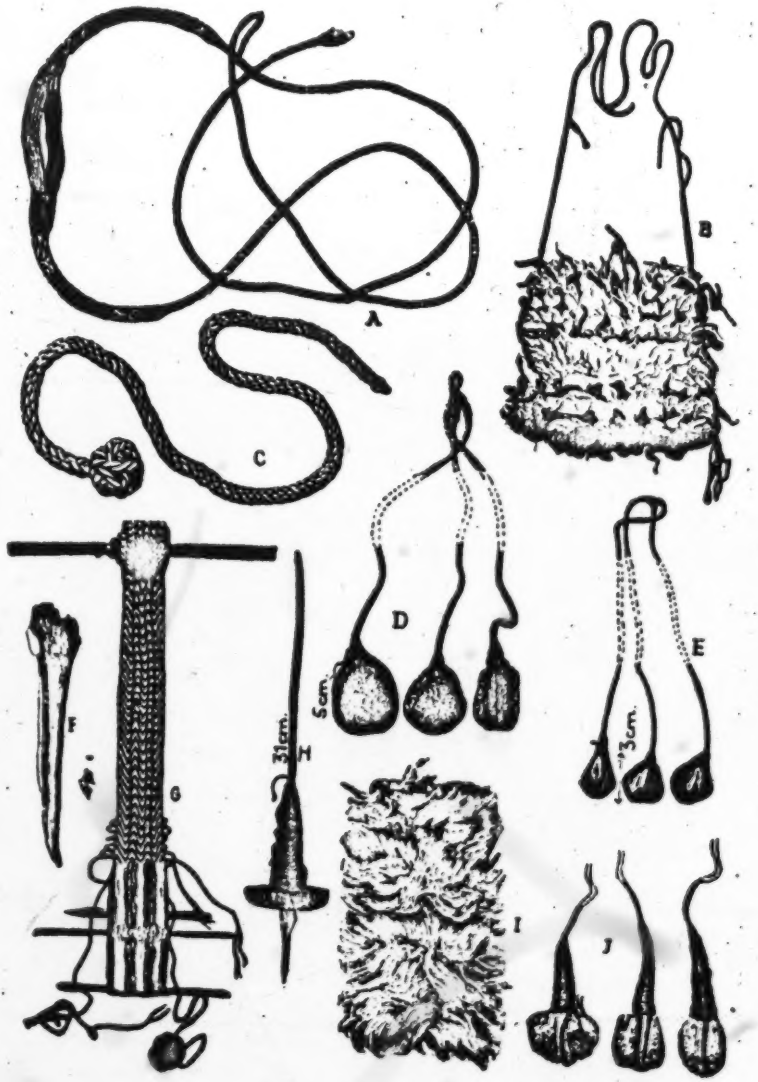

Fig. 4. — Civilisation matérielle des Čipaya. Armes et techniques.

A : Fronde čipaya. — B : Sacoche (*bäh*) recouverte de touffes blanches, noires et rouges formant une sorte de velours. — C : *Bola perdida* čipaya. — D-E : *Bolas* précolombiennes. — F : Poignard de tisserand (*wida*), en os. — G : Métier čipaya pour tisser les ceintures de femmes (*tsal*). — H : Fuseau avec peson en bois (*thorl*). — I : Sacoche (*bäh*) faite de la peau du cou d'un lama. — J : Poids d'une *bola* čipaya moderne.

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LE VÊTEMENT.

Vêtement masculin. — La pièce essentielle du vêtement masculin est une chemise carrée (*ira*) d'une étoffe de laine épaisse et rigide. C'est une sorte de sac avec des ouvertures pour la tête et les bras (fig. 5, G). Par suite de sa largeur la partie supérieure de cette chemise tombe sur les épaules presque jusqu'à hauteur du coude. Jadis, l'*ira* était l'unique vêtement des Čipaya, comme il l'est encore des jeunes garçons jusqu'à dix ans. A une date sans doute récente, les Čipayà ont adopté le pantalon qu'ils portent sous leur tunique. En faisant bouffer celle-ci à la taille, sur un cordon qui leur tient lieu de ceinture, ils l'ont transformée en blouse, tout en lui conservant sa longueur primitive qui était assez considérable pour les couvrir jusqu'à mi-jambe. L'*ira* est ce que les Čipaya font de mieux en art textile. L'ornementation de ce vêtement consiste invariablement en une bordure bleue et en petites bandes brunes et blanches séparées par des lignes noires. Aucune de ces teintes n'est à l'aniline.

Ces chemises sont tissées sur de vieux métiers indigènes selon un procédé que je ne saurai mieux décrire qu'en cédant la parole au vieux chroniqueur espagnol, Cobo [1] : « Sur les *guaras* (cache-sexe), les Indiens mettent une pièce de vêtement sans manche ni col qu'ils appellent *uncu* et nous *camiseta* en raison de sa ressemblance avec nos chemises. Chacun de ces vêtements est tissé à part, car ils ne savent pas faire comme nous de longues bandes d'étoffes puis les couper. Le tissu dont ils font cette chemise est comme une pièce de coutil. Sa largeur est de trois palmes et sa longueur de deux *varas* (1 m. 65 environ). Ils font l'ouverture du col sur le métier lui-même pour qu'ils n'aient pas besoin de couper; lorsqu'ils la retirent du métier, ils n'ont d'autre peine que de la plier et de coudre les côtés avec le même fil qu'ils ont employé pour le tissage, exactement comme s'il s'agissait d'un sac. Ils ont soin de laisser libre sur les côtés cousus un espace pour les bras. Ce vêtement leur tombe jusqu'à trois ou quatre doigts plus ou moins au-dessus des genoux ». Cobo aurait pu compléter sa description, par ailleurs si exacte, en ajoutant que de l'ouverture du cou (*ir(a)-k'ora*), on fait revenir sur lui-même le fil de la trame arrivé au milieu du tissu. En procédant ainsi des deux côtés sur une certaine longueur, on obtenait la fente voulue. Chez les Čipaya, les bords en sont grossièrement brodés avec du fil jaune, le même d'ailleurs que celui qui sert à coudre les deux côtés de la chemise. Les points de couture sont traités en ornement.

1. *Historia del nuevo mundo*, t. IV, p. 160.

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Les anciens voyageurs lorsqu'ils nous décrivent le costume des montagnards du Pérou et de la Bolivie mentionnent souvent la cape. Ce vêtement a disparu entièrement de cette région, évincé par le *poncho* dont par contre il n'est question ni au XVIe ni au XVIIe siècle. A Chipaya, la cape [1] (*yakol'a*) des âges précolombiens dispute encore le terrain au *poncho*. Ce fait vient donc à l'appui de la thèse de Montell [2], qui voit dans le *poncho* un élément culturel presque moderne, du moins pour le Pérou. La cape čipaya est faite de deux bandes d'étoffe cousues ensemble et bordées d'un liséré. C'est point par point l'ancienne *llacolla* aymara dont Cobo [3] nous a laissé la description. Au Musée ethnographique de Göteborg, il existe un magnifique tissu de la côte du Pérou qui présente les mêmes caractéristiques que les capes čipaya modernes et dont l'emploi était certainement le même. Les *ponchos* čipaya sont fort courts et ne présentent aucune particularité. Leurs seuls ornements sont des bandes de couleurs.

L'équipement masculin est complété par un passe-montagne en laine tricotée avec deux pans qui couvrent les oreilles (fig. 5, C). C'est le fameux *chullo* des Aymara. Les célèbres chapeaux de feutre (*skara*) portés par les deux sexes dans toute la région andine se répandent de plus en plus à Chipaya ainsi que les pantalons. Ils ne sont pas encore parvenus à détruire l'archaïsme pittoresque du cadre. L'étoffe des pantalons est fabriquée dans le village de Chipaya, sur un métier à pédale, de type européen.

Les sacoches (*kăls*) font partie du vêtement čipaya puisqu'elles n'en sont jamais séparées. Ces sacoches que l'on porte passées dans la ceinture, sont de plusieurs sortes. Il en est de petites aux couleurs vives avec des ornements géométriques, d'autres plus simples à lignes noires sur fond gris et enfin de grandes, couvertes d'une sorte de velours, c'est-à-dire de touffes de laine fine glissées dans la trame (fig. 4, B). Ces dernières sont les plus coûteuses. J'ai acheté également à Chipaya de petites poches

1. L'exemplaire de l'Université de Tucumán mesure 1 m. de longueur sur 87 cm. de largeur.

2. Montell (Gösta), *Le vrai poncho, son origine postcolombienne*. Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, t. XVII, 1925 ; *Dress and ornaments in Ancient Peru*. Göteborg, 1929, p. 237-244.

3. Cobo (Bernabé), *Historia del nuevo mundo* (Publiée pour la première fois avec notes et commentaires par Marcos Jiménez de la Espada). Séville, 1893, t. IV, p. 160 : « La capa tiene menos obra : hácenla de dos piezas, con una costura enmedio, larga dos varas y cuarta, y ancha vara y tres cuartas ; viene a quedar con cuatro picos o esquinas, como una manta o sobrecama, y por eso la llamamos nosotros manta, que el nombre que los indios le dan es *yacolla* ».

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en cuir, faites de la peau du cou d'un jeune lama retirée sans incision latérale et avec les poils (fig. 4, I).

Vêtement féminin. — Le costume des femmes est resté ce qu'il était il y a plusieurs siècles et c'est lui surtout qui contribue à donner à Chipaya son aspect si nettement précolombien. Ici encore se vérifie la loi générale qui veut que les femmes, dès que nous abandonnons nos centres urbains, restent plus fidèlement attachées que les hommes à la tradition et aux modes anciennes.

Sur la peau les femmes portent une chemise carrée (*almil'a*) dont la forme est identique à celle de la chemise masculine (*ira*) quoique plus étroite (fig. 5, B). Elle est suffisamment large pour que la ligne d'épaule tombe sur le bras. Les manches rapportées de couleur bleue sont cousues à la chemise. Cet accessoire est moderne comme le prouve le nom *mankasa* (de l'espagnol : *manga*, manche) dont les Indiens le désignent.

Les Indiennes Čipaya s'enveloppent le corps dans une grande pièce de tissu (*urku*) qu'elles font passer sous les bras et dont les bords, relevés sur les épaules, sont fixés ensemble avec une épine de cactus ou une épingle d'argent (*kits*, *pàz-kits*). Cette tunique est maintenue à la taille par une large ceinture invariablement décorée de chevrons bruns et noirs (*Pl. III, C*). La plupart des femmes cousent sur le côté, à partir de la taille, le pan inférieur de ce vêtement de manière à en faire une jupe. Cette innovation, d'origine postcolombienne, date des premiers temps de la conquête et a été imposée par les autorités ecclésiastiques pour sauvegarder la décence de leurs ouailles.

L'*urku* est fait d'une étoffe tissée avec beaucoup de soin, de couleur brune ou noire et côtelée. Il est toujours agrémenté en haut et en bas d'une bande beige avec des raies blanches. Un exemplaire qui se trouve au Musée d'ethnographie de l'Université de Tucumán mesure 1 m. 58 sur 1 m. 36. Sur cette tunique on jette une longue mante (*talu*), brune ou noire, qui descend sur le dos jusqu'à la hauteur des genoux et qui est épinglée sur la poitrine. Ce vêtement est encore porté par toutes les femmes dans la région andine (*lliclla*), mais tandis que les Indiennes Aymara et Quichua aiment à y faire alterner des motifs variés et des couleurs vives, les Čipaya se contentent de l'orner d'une bande blanche traversée de fines rayures sombres (*Pl. I, A, B, C*). La mante des femmes čipaya est en outre beaucoup plus longue que celle des autres Indiennes du haut-plateau. Ce n'est que sur les bords du Titicaca que j'ai rencontré quelques femmes dont la *lliclla* fût aussi grande qu'à Chipaya. Ces Indiennes venaient sans doute de quelque lointain village de l'intérieur.

Pour se protéger des rayons du soleil, les femmes čipaya posent sur

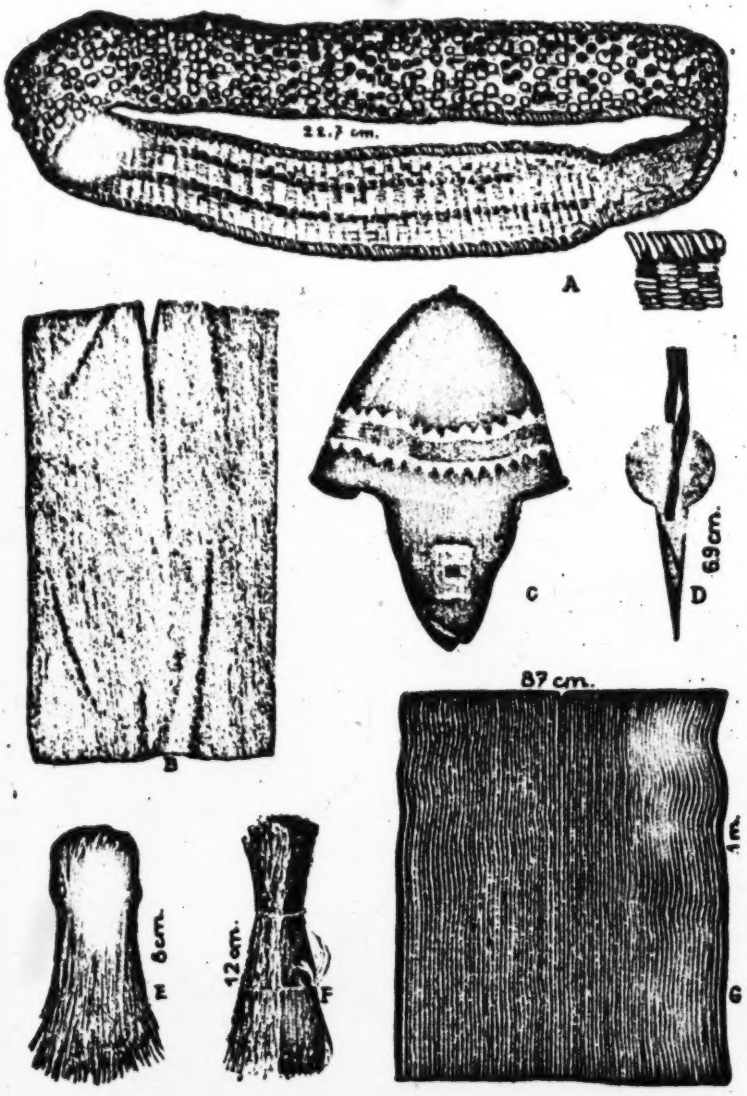

Fig. 5. — Civilisation matérielle des Čipaya. Vêtement et parure.

A : Diadème pailleté de perles de verre. — B : Chemise de femme en laine blanche (*almil'a*). — C : Bonnet en laine tricotée (*ʔul'a*). — D : Épingle (*pit-bit*) que les femmes čipaya piquent dans leurs cheveux. — E : Brosse à cheveux (*bsaro* ou *tasrada*), en raclûre. — F : Brosse à cheveux en soie de porc. — G : Tunique d'homme (*iro*).

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leur tête une serviette repliée (*sukuñs*) qui leur fait comme une coiffe napolitaine. S'il pleut, elles la nouent sous le menton ainsi que beaucoup de paysannes en Europe. Ce petit carré d'étoffe est d'un tissu identique à la mante ; comme celle-ci, il est brun ou noir bordé de deux côtés d'une bande blanche finement rayée.

La coiffure.

Les hommes coupent leurs cheveux en rond tout autour de la tête. Les femmes les répartissent en une soixantaine de petites tresses (*skuru*) séparées par une raie et qui se réunissent en deux groupes au milieu du dos (*Pl. V, A, C*). Elles forment alors deux grosses nattes entremêlées de fils de laine dont les extrémités sont reliées l'une à l'autre par des cordelettes. A ces cordons sont suspendus de petits pendentifs en bronze (*laurake*) dont le type original, conservé encore jusqu'à ce jour, est une petite statuette représentant une femme avec les mains croisées sur la poitrine (fig. 14).

Les femmes ornent en outre leur chevelure d'aiguilles en métal (*kits, pùz-kits, kxola*) dont la tête ronde et plate est perforée d'un trou d'où pend un fil de laine rouge (fig. 5, D). Jadis, probablement pour les fêtes, elles se ceignaient le front d'un bandeau dont j'ai pu acquérir un dernier exemplaire reproduit ici (fig, 5, A). Les perles de verre qui en paillettent la surface sont d'apparence ancienne. Bandeau frontal et pailleté sont deux éléments culturels tout à fait typiques de la civilisation andine.

Les femmes ne connaissent d'autre toilette que les soins donnés à leur chevelure. A la veille des fêtes, celles qui éprouvent la nécessité de refaire leurs tresses s'abandonnent aux mains de quelques amies qui commencent par leur frotter les cheveux avec une brosse (*k'ara*), faite de racines (fig. 5, E) ou de soies de porc (fig. 5, F), qu'elles trempent dans de l'urine pourrie. Ce liquide qui empeste l'ammoniaque est un excellent dégraissant, le seul qui puisse donner quelque souplesse à leur toison crasseuse. Ce singulier lavage me fit comprendre la raison pour laquelle il y avait dans un coin de toutes les huttes čipaya un récipient dont le maître de céans se servait en guise de pot de chambre et dont il gardait précieusement le contenu. Lorsque j'affirme que cette toilette est la seule que pratiquent les femmes čipaya, je n'exagère rien. Elles ne se lavent jamais leur vie durant et leur peau est recouverte d'une véritable croûte de saleté. Leurs vêtements sont également immondes et loqueteux et ce n'est guère que pendant les fêtes qu'elles mettent un *urku* ou une mante neuve.

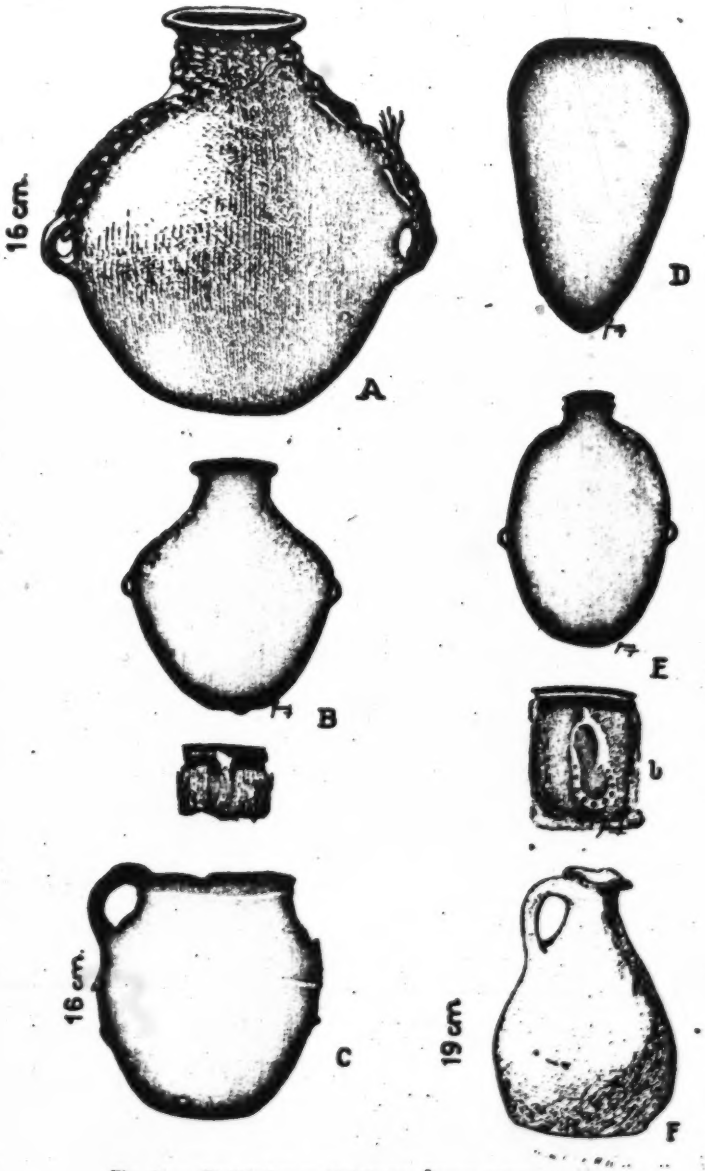

Fig. 6. — Civilisation matérielle des Čipaya. Céramique.

A : Petite cruche d'origine aymara utilisée par les Čipaya. — B : Cruche aryballoïde (ist) importée de Parinacota (province de Carangas) (d'après un croquis). — C : Petit pot (ist) importé de Parinacota. — D : Jarre importée de Parinacota (d'après un croquis fait d'après nature). — E : Grande jarre légèrement asymétrique importée de Parinacota ; b : détail d'un des ornements du goulot. — F : Petite jarre faite sans tour à potier (Chipaya).

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Les techniques.

La céramique. — La poterie des Indiens Čipaya n'est pas indigène. Elle leur vient des Aymara qui en font commerce (fig. 6). Le centre de cette industrie est situé près de Parinacota, dans la province de Carangas où se trouvent des bancs de terre argileuse. Je regretterai toujours de n'avoir pu visiter cette localité pour y observer sur place la fabrication de la céramique. Sans aucun doute j'y aurais découvert la survivance d'anciennes techniques précolombiennes puisque la forme des vases et des cruches provenant de cet endroit est exactement celle que l'archéologie andine nous a rendue familière. On y modèle encore des aryballes (*laš*) comme aux temps de l'empire incasique, et d'autres récipients qui reproduisent des types anciens caractéristiques de cette partie du haut-plateau (fig. 3, E-F). Ce n'est pas seulement dans le style de cette céramique que nous constatons l'influence des modèles précolombiens, mais la manière même dont les aryballes sont portées sur le dos est une continuation des vieilles traditions incasiques. Au moyen d'une corde en laine de lama, ingénieusement entrelacée, les femmes chargent les grandes cruches aryballoïdes sur le dos, exactement comme l'Indien représenté sur un vase du Chimu.

A côté de ces vases aux formes archaïques et qui n'ont pas été modelés à l'aide du tour à potier, les Čipaya emploient des récipients de fabrication indigène dont la technique est plus avancée, et influencée par la civilisation européenne. Ces vases sont fabriqués en série en diverses régions du haut-plateau et portent des marques de fabrique.

Les Čipaya se montrent fort soigneux de leur céramique dont chaque pièce représente pour eux un sacrifice pécuniaire, aussi beaucoup de pots d'usage courant sont enveloppés d'une gaine de protection en cuir cru (fig. 6, C).

Les noms (*maska, laš, čua yuru, oč, yakina*) que les Čipaya donnent aux différentes poteries dont ils font usage, sont toujours aymara. On peut en déduire que les Uro n'ont pas connu cette industrie ou que depuis des temps reculés ils sont à cet égard tributaires des Aymara.

Le filage. — La laine brute de mouton (*uš-čuma*) ou de lama (*xwal-čuma*) est enroulée autour du bras gauche et filée au moyen d'un fuseau (*t'eri*) (fig. 4, H). La tige du fuseau n'est surmontée d'aucun renflement. Le peson (*waiñu*) est actuellement en bois tourné, mais j'ai pu recueillir encore deux échantillons taillés grossièrement au couteau.

Pour filer, on étire un peu de laine que l'on fixe au fuseau par un

nœud coulant. Le mouvement imprimé au fuseau est communiqué par la détente du pouce contre l'index et le médius de la main gauche, soit de droite à gauche. Lorsque le fuseau s'est mis à tourner, la fileuse ou le fileur porte rapidement la main droite vers la gauche en suivant le fil (*kauni*) en formation. Ce geste a pour but d'égaliser le fil. Une fois les mains rejointes, il étire la laine et répartit le mouvement de torsion. Le fuseau est suspendu au bout du fil ou, lorsque la fileuse est assise, il tourne dans une écuelle (*Pl. V, B*). Quand une certaine longueur de fil a été obtenue on le déroule de la partie supérieure du fuseau pour l'enrouler au-dessous. Une nouvelle boucle est formée et on recommence à actionner le fuseau de la façon indiquée. Les fils obtenus par ce procédé sont généralement fort minces. Pour le tissage, il est plus avantageux d'en avoir de plus gros. Dans ce but on en tord deux ensemble au cours d'une opération analogue, mais comportant des gestes différents. Le mouvement de rotation imprimé au fuseau est donné avec le plat de la main. La fileuse qui a abandonné le fuseau à lui-même, suit le fil avec sa main droite jusqu'à ce qu'arrivé au fuseau elle l'arrête pour le faire tourner à nouveau.

Le tissage. — Le métier à tisser (fig. 4, G) se compose essentiellement de deux bâtons entre lesquels courent les fils de chaîne. Ceux-ci ne sont pas fixés directement aux bâtons, mais à une cordelette tendue le long de ces derniers. Pour tisser, l'Indienne commence par lier la partie antérieure du métier à deux courts piquets (*pat-k*ena*), fichés dans le sol, devant lesquels elle s'assied (*Pl. V, C*). Puis elle tend la chaîne en reliant l'autre extrémité à son propre corps au moyen d'une cordelette (*skos-koči, činuka*) passée autour de la taille. La levée automatique des fils de chaîne (*kauni*) se fait, comme d'habitude, à l'aide de bouclettes de fils disposées entre deux tiges de bois (*il'ava*). Leur croisement est maintenu grâce à une baguette (*tokxura*) placée derrière ce réseau. Les gestes de l'Indienne pendant l'opération du tissage se décomposent comme suit: avec le pouce de la main droite, elle appuie sur les fils de chaîne en arrière du réseau de bouclettes pour faire passer dessous les fils du dessus. Une fois ce mouvement accompli, elle glisse derrière le réseau, entre les fils de chaîne un couteau de bois (*skuas-para*) appointé aux deux extrémités. Elle le place de champ et avec un poignard en os (fig. 4, F), elle tasse et serre les fils qui viennent de se croiser. Elle lance ensuite sa navette (*k*os*) qui n'est autre qu'une baguette fendue autour de laquelle elle a enroulé le fil de trame (*kuš*). Pour croiser à nouveau les fils de chaîne, avec son poignard en os (*wiña, wikuña*), elle soulève en avant du réseau les fils de dessous, repasse son couteau de bois et fait

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de nouveau courir sa navette dans l'entre-bâillement des fils de chaîne et recommence l'opération décrite. Le tissu est commencé aux deux extrémités du métier et se termine au milieu de la pièce.

Pour tendre les fils de chaîne d'un tissu comportant des rayures de différentes couleurs, les Čipaya ont recours à un procédé fort rapide. Ils mettent chacune des pelotes différemment teintées dans une écuelle et tirent successivement sur chacune d'elles.

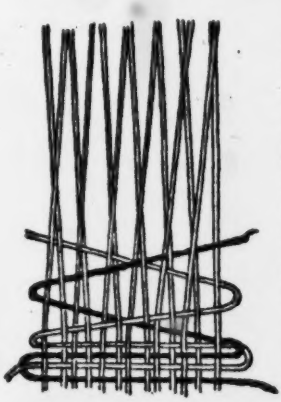

Fig. 7. — Tissage à deux trames allant en sens inverse.

Les ceintures de femme sont faites suivant une technique différente de celle des tissus ordinaires. Les fils de trame sont au nombre de deux. Ils se croisent alternativement sur chacun des côtés de la bande, comme le montre la figure 7. La femme qui veut tisser une des ceintures s'assied par terre, les jambes étendues, attache la partie antérieure du métier (fig. 4, G) à sa taille, puis étire les fils de chaîne en appuyant les deux pieds contre le bâton de l'extrémité opposée.

Le métier čipaya qui est d'un type fort simple, ne diffère de celui des autres Indiens de la *Sierra* que par l'absence des deux piquets postérieurs auxquels se substitue ici le corps de la tisserande. Les femmes čiriguano procèdent de même pour tisser leurs ceintures. Ce système est certainement plus ancien que le dispositif moderne consistant à tendre les fils de chaîne entre quatre piquets.

Les pièces d'étoffe servant à faire des pantalons sont tissées sur un métier à pédale en bois de *Cereus* de fabrication locale (*Pl. V, D*). Cet appareil, seul de son espèce dans tout le village, est entièrement semblable à ceux que l'on voit sur la *puna* de Jujuy [1]. Comme ces derniers, il est une imitation assez grossière d'anciens modèles espagnols. A Chipaya, c'était toujours un homme qui utilisait ce métier, alors que ceux de type indigène étaient strictement réservés aux femmes. Les dessins des étoffes confectionnées sur ces métiers à pédale rappellent beaucoup ceux de nos manufactures : ce sont des raies, des chevrons, des carrés, de couleur sombre oscillant entre le gris, le noir ou le brun. Ces tissus ne sont employés que pour les vêtements de coupe ou d'origine européenne, tels que les pantalons et les vestons.

1. Rosen (Eric von), *Archaeological researches on the frontier of Argentina and Bolivia in 1901-1902*. Stockholm, 1904, pl. III, fig. 1.

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L'art textile des Čipaya est assez pauvre, inférieur même à celui des Uro d'Ancoaqui. Nous avons déjà vu que l'ornementation des différentes pièces de leur costume national se réduit à des bordures blanches ou à des rayures de deux ou trois couleurs. La plupart de leurs sacoches à coca ne sont guère plus variées dans leur décoration à l'exception de quelques-unes assez petites aux couleurs vives qui sont une imitation fidèle des sacs à coca fort répandus parmi les Aymara. Les quelques rares tissus čipaya qui présentent des dessins, ne sont eux aussi que de mauvaises copies de modèles aymara courants. Le manque d'initiative et d'expérience des femmes čipaya sont à cet égard si grands qu'elles ne tissent guère de pièces d'étoffe d'une ornementation tant soit peu compliquée que si celles-ci ont été commencées dans un village aymara voisin. Elles les continuent exactement comme une petite fille dont on a fait une partie de l'ouvrage. Ces leçons de tissage données aux femmes čipaya par leurs voisines d'une autre race est un curieux exemple de la manière dont peuvent s'effectuer les échanges culturels entre tribus. Il me faut ajouter encore que les étoffes dont les Aymara confient le tissage aux femmes čipaya ne restent pas la propriété de ces dernières qui n'y travaillent qu'en qualité d'ouvrières et encore d'ouvrières bien mal payées.

La corderie. — Les cordes (*kot*, *koms*) sont en laine de lamas ou en paille, les premières tordues ou nattées. Pour les faire, les Čipaya prennent dans la main droite un paquet de laine brute qu'ils tordent à la main et qu'ils enroulent au fur et à mesure autour d'une baguette tenue dans la main gauche. Les cordes ou cordelettes de laine (*kxiya*, *tuanda*) servent de ceinture aux hommes ou sont employées pour attacher la charge sur le dos des lamas.

Les cordes de paille trouvent leur utilisation presque exclusivement dans la construction des maisons où elles lient les différentes pièces de la charpente du toit et assujettissent la paille qui le recouvre.

Ces cordes sont préparées par les femmes : elles martèlent chaque poignée de paille sur le dos de leur mortier retourné avec une pierre ronde présentant des dépressions qui en facilitent le maniement. Les tiges, une fois assouplies, sont mouillées. La femme en tord quelques-unes pour en faire un toron (*p'it-čekta*). Elle fait de même avec une autre pincée, puis imprime à ces deux torons un mouvement de rotation entre ses paumes. Pour que la paille ne sèche pas pendant le travail, elle la tient abritée sous une couverture et elle-même se mouille les mains fréquemment.

La vannerie. — La vannerie est à Chipaya une industrie locale.

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Leurs paniers circulaires (*pats patz*) et à petit bord perpendiculaire sont tous d'un seul type, quoique de taille différente (fig. 3, A). Ils se composent de petits rouleaux de paille tournant sur eux-mêmes en spirale et maintenus ensemble par des liens de cuir (fig. 3, A, b). Cette technique est celle que les ethnographes de langue anglaise appellent « coiled ».

Les petits paniers à claire-voie (*čiñi tepa*) sont, paraît-il, des nasses que les Čipaya achètent aux gens d'Orinoca ou d'Andamarca (villages situés près des rives du Poopó).

Instruments de musique.

Les instruments de musique que j'ai recueillis chez les Čipaya ont été l'objet d'une monographie détaillée due à Mr. Izikowitz, assistant au Musée de Göteborg et excellent spécialiste en la matière. Je me permets de renvoyer le lecteur à ce travail [1] dont il ne trouvera ici qu'un bref résumé.

Membranophones. — Il n'est pas une famille à Chipaya qui n'ait au moins un tambour. Cet instrument fort commun sur le haut-plateau péruvien et bolivien présente à Chipaya la particularité d'avoir une forme carrée (fig. 8, A). Il se compose d'un cadre en bois dont les côtés, faits de planchettes assemblées par des tenons, ont une vingtaine de centimètres de longueur et une hauteur de 6 à 7 cm. Cette carcasse est recouverte sur les deux faces d'une peau de mouton ou de lama tendue au moyen de ligatures passées en zig-zag à travers les trous de la membrane. Le long de celle-ci on a fixé un timbre, soit une cordelette maintenant une esquille de bois qui frappe la membrane. On joue du tambour en tenant sa poignée dans la main gauche et en le battant avec une seule baguette dont le renflement terminal est recouvert de chiffons.

J'ai pu acquérir à Chipaya un tambourin de forme circulaire (fig. 8, E). La monture en est formée par une pièce de bois flexible, recourbée en anneau dont les extrémités sont cousues ensemble au moyen de lanières de cuir. Cet exemplaire mesure 37 cm. de diamètre sur 9 cm. de hauteur.

La *tayu taxsta* (ouest) possède un tambour de grande taille fort ancien, le seul de son espèce dans le village, malheureusement les Indiens ne voulurent me le vendre à aucun prix, alléguant qu'il était la propriété de toute la communauté. Sa construction était, à ce que j'ai pu voir, semblable à celle du tambourin circulaire que je viens de décrire. Une importance toute spéciale était dévolue à ce tambour au cours de la fête

1. Izikowitz (K. G.). *Les instruments de musique des Indiens Chipaya.* Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, t. II, entrega 2a, 1932.

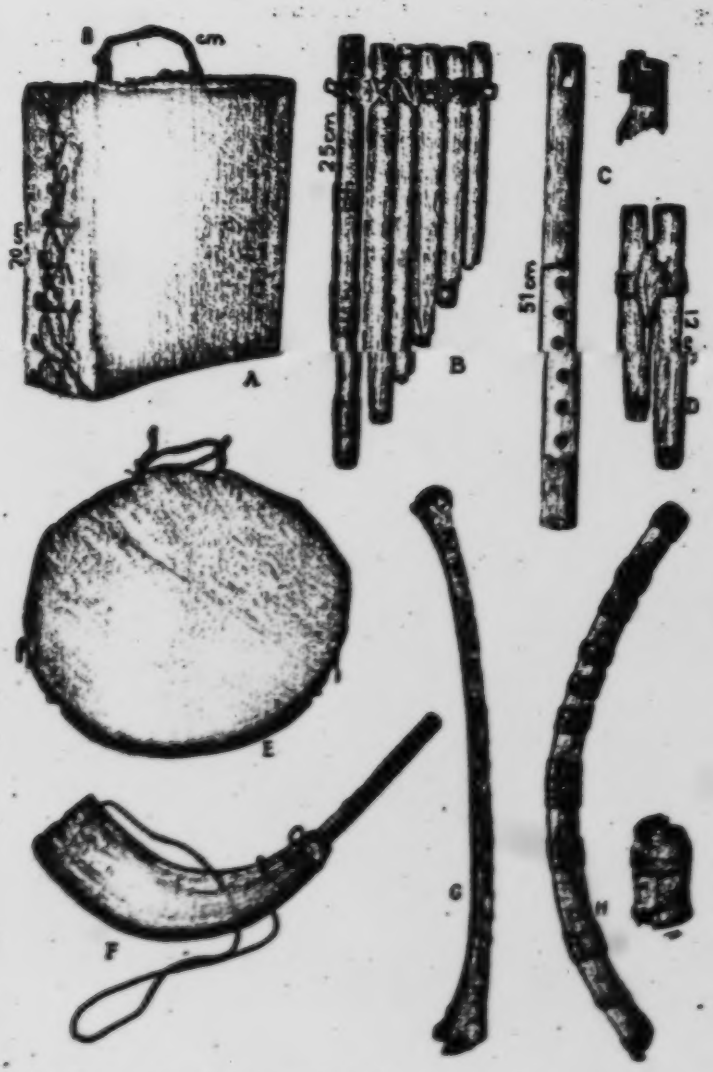

Fig. 6. — Civilisation matérielle des Čipaya. Instruments de musique.

A : Tambourin carré. — B : Syrinx. — C : Flûte, faite à bec des Indiens du haut-plateau et coupe de l'embouchure. — D : Syrinx à deux tuyaux. — E : Tambour circulaire. — F : Clarinette (flût). — G : Flûte à bec faite de l'os de l'aile d'un condor. — H : Flûte à bec assemblée.

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des *Comadres*. Pendant toute cette journée, il resta pendu à la hampe d'un drapeau et fut l'objet, en même temps que l'étendard, d'un véritable culte.

Le tambour porte en čipaya le nom espagnol de *caja*. Nous ne devons pas en conclure que cet instrument est chez eux d'origine hispanique. Quelques détails tout au plus sont postcolombiens, mais ils ne sont pas nombreux. Le « timbre », par exemple, est certainement un élément surajouté au cours des siècles qui ont suivi la conquête. Il est vraisemblable que faute de bois flexible pour faire des tambours circulaires, les Čipaya ont été obligés de les construire avec les planches de vieilles caisses et par conséquent d'en modifier le type primitif.

Aérophones.

Trompettes. — Les trompettes čipaya sont des plus rudimentaires : elles se composent d'une corne de vache sciée près de la pointe et d'un pavillon formé par la queue séchée du même quadrupède.

Ce n'est que fort rarement que j'ai vu les Čipaya se servir de cet instrument qui donne un son sourd assez semblable à un mugissement à la condition d'avoir un souffle d'une puissance exceptionnelle. Les trompettes qui figurent dans toutes les fêtes y jouent le rôle d'accessoires rituels ou décoratifs. On les dépose devant les gerbes sacrées ou sur la table devant les têtes des bêtes sacrifiées. Elles portent en čipaya le nom de *t'oti*.

Les clarinettes (fig. 8, F), qui comme les trompettes ont pour pavillon une corne de vache, comportent en plus une embouchure en roseau dans laquelle on a découpé une anche quelque peu rabotée pour la rendre plus élastique. Afin qu'il soit plus facile d'en jouer on l'a surhaussée au moyen d'un fil passant sous sa partie inférieure. On la fait vibrer en introduisant presque tout le tuyau dans la bouche. Cet instrument, nettement postcolombien est assez rare à Chipaya. Les Indiens s'en défaisaient de bon gré ne lui attribuant qu'une valeur minime. Ils en jouent pour le plaisir de faire du bruit sans aucune prétention musicale.

La quena. — On peut considérer comme typique, pour la musique indienne de l'Amérique du Sud, l'abondance des différents types de flûtes. Cette variété se manifeste même chez les Čipaya. On trouve chez eux la *quena*, différentes sortes de flûtes à bec, et enfin la flûte de Pan ou syrinx.

Quena est l'ancien mot quichua pour l'antique flûte longue du Pérou. Comme les *quena* des Čipaya sont exactement les mêmes que celles des

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Aymara ou des Quichua, nous n'avons qu'à reproduire ici ce que d'Harcourt dit au sujet de ces dernières : « Cette flûte est ouverte aux deux

Fig. 9. — *Quena.*

Fig. 10. — a : Coupe transversale d'une flûte à bec; b : Coupe transversale d'une quena.

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extrémités. Une échancrure carrée a été taillée dans une portion du bord supérieur de l'instrument. Le bord de l'échancrure est très mince, c'est contre lui que l'on souffle lorsque la lèvre inférieure ferme presque l'embouchure. On doit avancer les lèvres de telle façon, qu'un courant d'air rencontre le bord de l'échancrure. Avant que l'on ne se soit habitué à jouer de cet instrument, il est très difficile d'adapter son souffle et de trouver la position convenable d'autant plus qu'elle change suivant les tons ».

Comme les bambous et les roseaux se fendillent facilement dans ces régions essentiellement sèches, et que d'autre part la matière première pour ces instruments vient de contrées lointaines, l'on comprend sans peine le soin que les Indiens apportent à leur conservation et le prix qu'ils y attachent. Les *quena* que j'ai collectionnées sont soigneusement renforcées de lanières de peau crue et les interstices ont été recollés avec tant de soin qu'aucun souffle d'air ne peut s'en échapper et rendre la flûte inutilisable.

La *quena* (fig. 9) a six trous et un trou pour le pouce en dessous. Tous se trouvent sur la partie inférieure de l'instrument. Si nous partons de l'embouchure et commençons par le trou supérieur, la distance respective des trous calculée en centimètres est la suivante (fig. 10, b):

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	P
19,8	22,6	25,7	28,9	31,8	35,0	1,65

La longueur totale de la flûte est de 39,8 cm.

Nous ne trouvons pas la même disposition des trous sur les *quena* préhispaniques; selon toute vraisemblance il y a eu là une influence européenne.

Les flûtes à bec. — Lorsqu'on joue de la *quena*, on forme et l'on dirige avec les lèvres le courant d'air qui doit être conduit contre le bord biseauté de l'embouchure, pour s'y briser et mettre en vibration la colonne d'air dans le tuyau. Pour les flûtes à bec (fig. 11), la formation du courant d'air et la direction qui lui est donnée se produisent automatiquement, il suffit de souffler et de mesurer la force du courant d'air. L'air est amené par une « lumière » (voir la figure 10, a, qui nous montre une flûte à bec en coupe) constituée par l'espace compris entre les parois du tuyau et par un bloc d'une matière quelconque introduit par l'ouverture de la flûte. L'air passe par ce canal et vient frapper contre le rebord inférieur (lèvre).

Les flûtes à bec cipaya sont en *tola* (*Baccharis tola*). Ces Indiens les

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fabriquent eux-mêmes prenant pour modèle un exemplaire ancien qui leur donne la distance entre les trous. Ces flûtes sont faites d'une branche que l'on fend entièrement dans le sens de la longueur. Les deux moitiés sont évidées, puis réunies à nouveau de façon à ce que l'air ne puisse s'en échapper. Là où l'on n'a pu obtenir une jointure parfaite, on a bouché les fentes avec de la résine. Comme il est difficile avec les arbustes dont disposent les Çipaya de se pourvoir de branches droites, la plupart des flûtes ne le sont pas. Quelques-unes même ont la forme d'un segment de cercle, forme peut-être intentionnelle (fig. 8, H).

Dans *La Musique des Incas*, R. d'Harcourt reproduit plusieurs flûtes semblables, ainsi que des flûtes à bec droites d'une construction identique. Il n'a pu donner malheureusement aucune autre précision que « Bolivie » sur la provenance de ces instruments.

En examinant le contenu d'une des huttes que les Çipaya emploient comme magasins, j'eus la bonne fortune de découvrir une flûte à bec, faite d'un os d'aile de condor (fig. 8, G). Le bloc introduit dans l'ouverture est, comme pour les flûtes précédentes, en bois, et les trous sont également au nombre de six.

Si les flûtes douces dont nous nous sommes occupés jusqu'ici sont de fabrication locale, il n'en est pas de même des *pishul'u*, autre type de flûte à bec d'une construction plus compliquée quoique reposant sur le même principe. Les six trous sont ménagés sur une surface légèrement déprimée pour faciliter le jeu des doigts. La fig. 8, C, représente un de ces *pishul'u* que j'ai acquis à la frontière de la Bolivie et de l'Argentine. Les *pishul'u* çipaya sont identiques et proviennent sans doute de quelque ville bolivienne. Ils abondent dans tous les marchés aymara et quichua.

Les flûtes à bec faites en *tola* sont souvent munies près de l'embouchure d'un petit sifflet de forme arrondie. Malheureusement, je n'ai jamais eu l'occasion d'en acquérir un spécimen, les propriétaires de ces instruments perfectionnés s'étant toujours refusés à me les vendre.

Les flûtes à bec reçoivent en dialecte uro-çipaya le nom de *tikt*, dénomination générique pour « flûtes ». Ces instruments sont d'un emploi essentiellement

Fig. 11.
Flûte à bec.

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profane et n'ont d'autre but que d'égayer les jours de fête. Alors qu'il est très peu de Čipaya qui sachent jouer de la *quena*, presque tous les hommes possèdent une flûte à bec et prennent part au concert qui s'organise à l'occasion des fêtes. Les danseurs s'accompagnent eux-mêmes sur cet instrument tout en exécutant des figures compliquées. Il peut arriver aussi que pendant une cérémonie religieuse les Indiens fassent entendre de temps à autre une petite mélodie tout en restant assis.

Les flûtes de Pan. — Les Indiens Čipaya ont deux types de flûtes de Pan. Le premier (*maise*) est extrêmement simple. Il se compose de deux tubes d'inégale longueur, fermés à un bout et reliés ensemble avec une cordelette de laine (fig. 8, D). L'un des tubes mesure 10 cm. de profondeur et l'autre 12,1 cm. Cet instrument a été pour moi d'une acquisition particulièrement difficile. Il n'y en avait qu'un spécimen dans tout le village et en outre il était la propriété du *mayordomo*, fonctionnaire chargé de l'entretien des lieux et des objets du culte. Il ne se résigna à me le céder qu'après beaucoup d'hésitations. Avant même que j'eusse acquis cet objet, on m'en avait parlé comme d'une pièce vénérable. Je n'eus qu'une seule fois l'occasion de le voir employer : ce fut à Carnaval, fête particulièrement solennelle et nettement païenne.

Un Čipaya eut l'heureuse idée de me vendre toute une série de syrinx qui présentent quelques particularités fort intéressantes. Elles se composent d'une seule rangée de tubes de bambou (5 ou 7) clos par un nœud naturel et maintenus insérés entre deux baguettes elles-mêmes unies par un fil croisé. Chacun de ces tuyaux est pourvu sur une face d'un éclat de bambou coupé obliquement à sa partie inférieure (fig. 8, B).

Quel est le but de ce dispositif que l'on n'a retrouvé jusqu'ici sur aucune flûte de Pan du vieux et du nouveau monde ? M. Izikowitz suppose qu'il s'agit d'accessoires sans aucune valeur pratique qui se sont substitués à une seconde série de tubes. Cette hypothèse me paraît bien recherchée et je me demande s'il ne s'agit pas là de la fantaisie d'un constructeur de flûte qui aura pensé par ce moyen renforcer la ligature. Celle-ci par contre mérite de retenir notre attention : elle est en effet d'un type qui dans la région andine n'a été connu qu'à Arica, mais qui a encore une vaste distribution dans l'ouest du bassin amazonien. Ajoutons que cette ligature est toujours propre aux flûtes d'une seule série de tubes.

Les syrinx que je viens de décrire sont apparemment des exemplaires fort anciens. J'en ai vu chez les Čipaya de plus neuves et qui étaient du type courant chez les Aymara et en général chez tous les Indiens du

haut-plateau. La ligature en ce cas est faite d'un roseau enroulé autour des deux rangées de tuyaux.

Quand l'Indien qui me vendit les anciennes syrinx voulut me montrer la manière de s'en servir, il eut soin d'en prendre deux et d'en jouer en les appliquant l'une sur l'autre de sorte qu'il avait en réalité une flûte de Pan à deux séries de tuyaux.

Peu de Çipaya jouent de la syrinx, les seuls qui en fussent capables l'avaient appris des Aymara et je remarquais que pendant les fêtes c'étaient presque toujours quelques Indiens de cette race qui faisaient retentir les sons un peu rauques de cet instrument. Les Çipaya lui donnent le nom de *tàks* ou emploient le terme aymara *phusa*.

Cordophones. — Les seuls instruments à cordes des Çipaya sont des guitares manufacturées qui leur parviennent par l'intermédiaire des commerçants aymara.

Les conclusions que Mr. Izikowitz tire de son étude sur les instruments çipaya sont les suivantes :

1) Ces Indiens sont dépourvus d'idiophones et de cordophones originaux.

2) Ils ont adopté des Européens les flûtes à bec et les clarinettes.

3) A l'époque postcolombienne ils ont changé la forme de leurs tambourins qui sont devenus carrés et qui en plus ont été munis d'un timbre.

4) Les trompettes sont probablement anciennes, mais leur matière est entièrement moderne.

5) Les Çipaya ont reçu des Aymara la *quena*, vieil instrument précolombien mais dont le système des trous s'est modifié sous l'influence des flûtes européennes.

6) Ils ont deux sortes de syrinx qui paraissent d'un type plus archaïque que les flûtes de Pan andines modernes et même que les flûtes archéologiques à deux séries de tubes. Cependant la syrinx çipaya semble avoir été modifiée d'une façon ou d'une autre sous l'influence de la syrinx à double série de tubes et c'est uniquement de cette façon que l'on peut expliquer sa forme particulière. Abstraction faite des éclats de bambou appliqués contre chaque tube, ces syrinx ne sont pas sans rappeler beaucoup celles à peu près semblables qui ont été découvertes à Arica ainsi que les flûtes de Pan employées de nos jours par les Indiens du nord-est des Andes.

Quant à la petite syrinx de deux tubes, c'est un instrument trop simple pour qu'on puisse se livrer à son sujet à beaucoup de considérations. En tous les cas, jusqu'à aujourd'hui il n'a d'équivalent nulle part.

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L'influence aymara et, par son intermédiaire, celle des Européens se sont fortement exercées sur leurs instruments de musique, exactement comme sur le reste de leur civilisation. Cette pénétration s'explique fort naturellement si l'on songe qu'en dehors de la *tola*, ils ne possèdent aucune matière dont ils puissent faire un instrument de musique et qu'ils sont obligés d'importer ceux qu'ils utilisent pour leurs fêtes.

Objets dont l'emploi est purement cérémoniel.

Il est un certain nombre d'objets, que j'ai recueillis chez les Čipaya, dont l'emploi est purement cérémoniel et qui doivent être examinés dans un chapitre particulier. Ce sont, en premier lieu, les frondes d'apparat dont j'ai pu acquérir plusieurs spécimens [1]. Ces frondes sont passées au poignet ou portées croisées sur la poitrine des individus participant aux danses, lors des grandes fêtes claniques ou tribales. Un autre accessoire des Indiens en ces occasions est la perruque en crin de cheval [2].

Quelques familles possèdent encore des *k'eru*, c'est-à-dire, des grandes timbales en bois [3], dont de si beaux exemplaires ont été retrouvés au Pérou. Ces vases ne sortent de leur cachette qu'en temps de fête et servent exclusivement aux libations de *chicha*. Selon l'ancienne mode incasique, on les présente toujours par paire de même que les gobelets d'alcool. Les *k'eru* que je vis aux mains des Čipaya sont dépourvus d'ornements, mais la matière grisâtre qui y adhère est sans doute tout ce qui reste de la laque qui en couvrait la surface extérieure. Ces pièces ne sont pas faciles à acquérir car les Indiens leur attribuent une grande valeur et y tiennent beaucoup. Ils prétendent, peut-être avec raison, qu'elles datent du temps des Inca.

L'écuelle (*umaña*) dans le fond de laquelle ont été modelés un lama avec son petit [4] est destinée à recevoir la *chicha* que les Indiens répandent sous forme de libation en l'honneur de la *Pachamama*, lorsqu'ils lui demandent la fécondité des troupeaux.

Dans aucune hutte čipaya ne manquent une ou deux cannes en bois de palmier avec corde de suspension [5]. Ces bâtons (*kamana-para*) qui sont les

1. *Cf. Journal*, t. XXVII, *Pl. XVI, B.*
2. *Cf. Journal*, t. XXVII, *Pl. XVI, C.*
3. *Cf. Journal*, t. XXVII, *Pl. XVII, D.*
4. *Cf. Journal*, t. XXVII, *Pl. XVII, A.*
5. *Cf. Journal*, t. XXVII, *Pl. XVI, D.* — Chez les Quichua d'Acomayo, pour devenir *mandón* ou *campo*, il est indispensable d'avoir fait « le voyage dans les vallées pour en rapporter des palmes pour certaines cérémonies religieuses, comme les promenades après la messe, le dimanche des rameaux ». Il n'est pas exclu que les

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gardiens de la maison reçoivent un culte qui s'exprime par des libations et des fumigations. Ils sont aussi les accessoires indispensables des magiciens qui les plantent toujours devant eux lorsqu'ils vont faire une prière ou un sacrifice aux démons. Il ne faut pas oublier non plus parmi les objets du culte, les encensoirs en terre cuite qui ont la forme d'une coupe à pied et les petites cupules pour les libations.

Division du travail.

	Hommes	Femmes	
Construction de la maison..	+	−	
Corde de paille.....	−	+	
Filage.....	+	+	
Tissage.....	−	+	
Tissage avec métier à pédale.	+	−	
Cuisine.....	−	+	
Garde du bétail.....	+	+	(de préférence les enfants)
Fromage.....	−	+	
Traite des moutons.....	−	+	
Tonte des moutons.....	+	−	
Corderie.....	+	−	
Portage.....	+	+	
Irrigation.....	+	−	
Cultures.....	+	−	
Musique instrumentale.....	+	−	
Vannerie.....	+	−	
Crochet.....	+	−	
Commerce.....	+	+	
Pêche.....	+	−	
Chasse aux oiseaux.....	+	−	

Étude comparative.

L'étude comparative que je vais faire des objets et des industries Uro-Čipaya et de celles des populations andines anciennes et modernes ne saurait être exhaustive. Trop de livres me manquent pour indiquer la bibliographie complète des sujets que je me propose de traiter et je crains

bâtons en bois de palmier des Čipaya ne correspondent à ces « palmes » des Quichua. Cf. *Ordóñez* (Dr. Pastor.), *Los Varayoc*. Revista universitaria. Cuzco, año VIII, nº 29, setiembre de 1919, p. 43.

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que, faute de matériel, beaucoup de parallèles entre certaines formes de la vie matérielle actuelle des Čipaya et des vieilles races andines m'aient échappé.

Village et huttes. — J'ai déjà indiqué les similitudes étranges que présente l'ordonnance du village de ces Indiens avec celui d'une ville incasique, le Cuzco par exemple. Les *sayu taxata* et *tuanta* ont leur équivalent exact dans les *suyu* incasiques, en particulier dans les deux secteurs ou quartiers de Cuzco *hanan-suyu* et *hurin-suyu* ; quant aux alignements de chapelles ou d'oratoires, ce ne sont autre chose que des *zequi* christianisés.

A l'époque de la conquête et un siècle après encore, les Aymara vivaient dans des huttes en tout point semblables à celles des Čipaya, à l'exception des chefs qui comme le *corregidor* actuel du « canton » de Chipaya se logeaient dans des maisons quadrangulaires. C'est sous l'influence espagnole que la hutte aymara a évolué jusqu'à prendre son aspect actuel, peu différent des maisons créoles. Mais même de nos jours la hutte circulaire n'est pas exclusivement spéciale à Chipaya. Près de Toledo, à Kxulliri il existe une agglomération formée de huttes parfaitement rondes qui de loin rappellent celles des Čipaya, quoique beaucoup plus grandes. Je m'arrêtai une nuit dans ce village pour les étudier, mais malheureusement ayant épuisé ma provision de films je ne pus en prendre de photographies. Ces huttes étaient d'une architecture beaucoup plus perfectionnée que celle de Chipaya. Le dôme qui les surmontait, bien que recouvert de paille, ne reposait pas sur une charpente de *tola*, mais sur une coupole faite de 22 rangées de mottes dont je pus admirer le fini. Ces mottes qui la composaient étaient plus petites qu'à Chipaya et ajustées avec plus de soin. Étant donné la largeur, le diamètre de la hutte et sa hauteur l'édification de cette toiture a dû demander beaucoup de temps et pas mal de précision. Quand traversant ce village, si semblable à celui des Čipaya que je venais de quitter, je crus avoir découvert une nouvelle tribu uro, mon hypothèse était légitime puisque la région que je parcourais avait jadis été occupée par de nombreux îlots ethniques de cette race. Je m'enquis auprès des habitants des raisons qui leur faisaient préférer la forme circulaire des huttes au plan rectangulaire adopté partout ailleurs en pays aymara. Ils me répondirent qu'ils étaient obligés de bâtir les maisons sur ce modèle par manque de bois. Effectivement, la plaine où se dressait le village de Kxulliri rappelle beaucoup, par son dénuement, celle de Chipaya. C'est, je crois, la raison pour laquelle les Čipaya ont eux aussi conservé la hutte circulaire de leurs ancêtres. Pour construire une maison à plan rectangulaire avec un toit à deux pentes, il faut du bois,

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tout au moins des lattes de *Cereus* et cette cactée ne pousse pas partout. Les Aymara qui ont été assez fortunés pour avoir cette plante à proximité, ont pu changer le type de leur habitation primitive. Les autres, moins favorisés par la nature, ou trop pauvres pour acheter le bois nécessaire sont restés, bon gré, malgré, plus conservateurs. A mi-distance entre Oruro et La Paz, lorsqu'on voyage par le train, on voit sur la droite quelques villages dont les huttes sont rondes et de construction identique à celles de Kzulliri. D'ailleurs Forbes [1], dans sa monographie classique sur les Aymara, nous a laissé une excellente description des huttes coniques entièrement en pierre qu'il a rencontrées dans ses randonnées en Bolivie. Les lignes qu'il leur consacre pourraient s'appliquer mot pour mot aux « maisons d'eau » du second type des Indiens Čipaya. « In the out-of-the-way places I observed circular or ovale stone huts ; such have been called beehive houses, the stones forming the roof and sides not being arched, but approaching one another little by little until they meet in the form of a dome ; I found an excellent example of this construction, well and neatly put together, on the slope of the mountain of Illampu. This measured, internally, 9, 5 feet long by 5 feet broad, and 5 feet in height ; the door which was on the longer side of the oval, was straight, 3 feet high and 18 inches broad ; no chimney or other opening for smoke was visible » [2].

Il n'y a dans tout le village de Chipaya que cinq huttes rectangulaires ; elles appartiennent toutes à des hommes riches qui ont voyagé et qui ont fait venir de loin les solives de cactus qui soutiennent la toiture. Naturellement la forme rectangulaire passe pour chic, exactement comme après la conquête et il est tout naturel que les chefs soient les premiers à l'adopter. Ce serait à mon sens une erreur que de voir dans la hutte ronde des Čipaya un élément culturel caractéristique de ce groupe ethnique et susceptible de fournir une indication sur leur origine. Les Čipaya modernes ont maintenu la hutte ronde uniquement parce qu'elle était plus pratique et la seule qu'ils puissent édifier facilement et sans trop de frais dans la misérable plaine où ils sont cantonnés. Si au lieu de la *tola*, ils avaient eu quelque autre arbuste plus résistant, il y a longtemps que leurs pittoresques masures auraient cédé le pas aux mornes hangars des Aymara.

1. Forbes (David), *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru*. The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London. Londres, new series, t. II, 1870, p. 213.

2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), *The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia*. Comperative ethnographical studies, 3. Göteborg, 1924, p. 19. Signale cette forme de hutte chez les Aymara de la région de Tunari, près de Cochabamba.

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Les Indiens Uro d'Ancoaqui construisent leurs huttes sur le modèle de celles des Aymara. Jusqu'à une époque récente ils ont dû conserver la hutte circulaire, car dans leur village j'ai remarqué deux ou trois maisons qui, sans être précisément rondes, avaient du moins leurs angles sensiblement arrondis. Les bauges chez les Uro ont exactement la forme de celles des Cipaya et par conséquent des huttes du second type, c'est-à-dire de celles qui sont dispersées dans les pâturages. A la différence des Aymara ou Cipaya, les Uro recouvrent leurs huttes de nattes de *totora* qu'ils fixent par des chevilles de bois plantées dans les murs.

En face d'Ancoaqui, sur l'autre berge du Desaguadero, je vis quelques huttes d'un type nouveau pour moi et qui, je crois, n'a pas encore été décrit. Ce sont des cubes aux parois épaisses recouvertes d'un dôme en maçonnerie, moyen terme entre la pyramide et la coupole. Ces huttes étaient groupées exactement comme les *estancias* des Cipaya. Elles étaient d'ailleurs, à ce qu'il me semble, la demeure de bergers qui avaient certainement une maison au village. Ces huttes du Desaguadero rappellent les *chullpas* beaucoup plus que les huttes cipaya que l'on a rapprochées de ces édifices funéraires.

Quiconque a voyagé à mule sur le haut-plateau et a constaté la quantité fabuleuse de *chullpas* laissées par les populations précolombiennes, a dû se demander ce qu'il était advenu des habitations proprement dites où vivaient les Indiens qui sont entassés dans ces étranges sépultures. Il semble inexplicable que ce soient précisément les demeures funéraires qui aient subsisté alors que les maisons elles-mêmes ont disparu sans laisser de trace. Comment se fait-il qu'un peuple capable de bâtir des édifices aussi soignés et résistants que les *chullpas* n'ait laissé derrière lui aucun village. Chipaya nous donne la clef du problème : les anciennes huttes aymara étaient sans doute faites en mottes, matière friable dont le temps a fait disparaître jusqu'au moindre vestige. Bien que les Cipaya occupent leur habitat actuel depuis des temps reculés, on ne peut trouver chez eux aucune ruine ancienne. Il suffit qu'une hutte soit délaissée pour qu'au bout de quelques années il n'en reste rien.

Un mot encore sur la distribution de la hutte ronde : cette forme était jadis beaucoup plus répandue dans l'ouest de l'Amérique du Sud qu'elle ne l'est de nos jours. Les *Relaciones geográficas* [1] font à chaque instant allusion à des maisons rondes pour des régions où il n'en existe plus.

1. Provincia de Xauxa, t. I, p. 89 ; Province de Huamanga (San Juan de la Frontera), t. I, p. 97 ; Repartimiento de Atunsora, t. I, p. 178 ; Collao, t. II, p. 62 ; Corregimiento de Otavalo (Équateur), t. III, p. 116 ; Districto de Cuenca (Équateur), t. III, p. 165 à 176 ; Région de Quito, t. III, p. 94 ; Région de Chuquimayo, t. IV, p. LI ; etc. etc.

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Les Indiens Quichua de Cochabamba avaient encore au milieu du siècle dernier des huttes rondes entièrement en terre et en pierre et avec toiture en forme de dôme. L'une d'elles a été reproduite et décrite par Herndon et Gibbon [1] : « The ancient habitations of the Indians of this valley are rotund, built entirely of moistened clay and stone, with but one entrance. These houses are going out of fashion, though many of them are used at the present day. There are a number of ruins about the valley, supposed to be of the style of ancient times. The art of building archways was an accomplishment of the Aymara tribe, of which we found no signs near the Inca capital ».

Godet [2] mentionne également ce type de huttes chez les Indiens de Huancavelica au Pérou. Elles ont là un caractère provisoire et sont construites par les Indiens pauvres qui vivent dans la montagne. « De forme circulaire ou quadrangulaire, (leur hutte) est construite en *champa* mélangée à de grosses pierres et parfois à de l'argile. L'Indien choisit la partie supérieure, non pourrie, de cette tourbe qui recouvre les marais de toute la région. Il la détache du sol en morceaux de 15 à 20 cm. d'épaisseur, de 40 à 60 cm. de longueur sur 20 à 30 cm. de largeur. Ces morceaux sont entassés plus ou moins méthodiquement, de façon à former un mur de 1,40 à 1,80 m. de hauteur, de forme circulaire, limitant une enceinte de trois à six mètres de diamètre intérieur. Sur ce mur, épais de 60 à 80 cm., repose un toit de chaume, de forme conique plus ou moins aiguë. Une petite porte de 60 cm. de largeur et de 80 cm à 1,20 m. de hauteur permet, en se baissant, de pénétrer dans la hutte ».

Jadis la hutte ronde semble avoir alterné avec celle de plan quadrangulaire dans le nord du Pérou. Je reproduis le passage de l'article de Olson [3], qui laisse entendre que le mode de construction de ces habitations n'était pas très différent de celui que j'ai décrit pour Chipaya : « Certain villages are composed entirely of circular stone structures some ten to thirty feet in diameter with stone roofs of a corbelled dome type. Other villages show both round and square houses with similarly domed roofs. Since a domed stone roof is more in keeping with a circular than a square house, we may assume the former to be the earlier type ».

M. Otto Braun, dans une lettre au Baron E. Nordenskiöld (3-VII-

1. Herndon (Wm. Lewis) et Gibbon (Lardner), *Exploration of the valley of the Amazon made under direction of the navy department*. Washington, 1854, part. II, p. 152.

2. Godet (Ernest), *Monographie de la région de Huancavelica* (*Département de Junin au Pérou*). Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie. Neuchâtel, t. XXVII, 1918, p. 150.

3. Olson (Ronald L.), *Old empires of the Andes*. Natural history. New York, t. XXXI, 1931, n° 1, p. 10-11.

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1931), remarque que « bien que les huttes des Quichua du sud-est de la Bolivie aient un plan rectangulaire, leur grange ou leurs greniers sont toujours de forme ronde ».

Pour la distribution de la hutte ronde en Amérique du Sud, je renvoie le lecteur à la carte de Nordenskiöld [1] tout en faisant observer qu'elle est incomplète.

Les descriptions de la maison aymara des XVIe et XVIIe siècles nous prouvent que, outre sa forme, la hutte aymara avait en commun avec la hutte des Cipaya modernes, le toit en coupole ; la charpente faite de fines branches incurvées était recouverte d'une épaisse couche de paille ; la porte était toujours orientée vers l'est [2].

Les *estancias* des Cipaya expliquent la formation de ces petites unités sociales appelées également *estancias* qui sont composées de quelques

1. *The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia*, chap. I.

2. Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo*, t. IV, pp. 166-167 : « Las casas son unas redondas y otras a dos aguas ; las redondas son más usadas y comunes en tierras frias, como en las provincias del *Collao*, porque así son muy abrigadas. Las ordinarias de la gente plebeya tienen las paredes no más altas que un estado, y algunas mucho menos, sacadas en forma de un perfecto circulo desde catorce hasta veinte piés de diametro, más o menos, segun su capacidad y tamaño ; y muchas hay tan pequeñas y bajas, que quitado el techo, parece el ruedo de la pared un brocal de pozo. La cubierta destas casas redondas tiene figura de embudo ó de bóveda ; porque los maderos con que las cubren son unas veces varas derechas que estribando por las puntas unas en otras, hacen la primera figura, y otras la tuercen y encorvan para que venga el techo a quedar como bóveda. Verdad es que vemos hoy en partes algunas casas destas redondas, que eran antiguas moradas de caciques, de extraña grandeza, altas y muy capaces, con un árbol grueso, derecho y liso como de navio, hincado en medio del suelo, en cuya cumbre asienta todo el enmaderamiento. Tal es un grand Buhio que está en el pueblo de Juli, y algunos otros semejantes que yo he visto en otros pueblos del Collao. Es habitación ésta muy acomodada para el modo de vivir, ó, por mejor decir, de beber de los indios ; porque, sentados en mueda en una casa destas redondas, y arrimados á la pared, suelen estar bebiendo dias y noches ». ..... « En su enmaderamiento y cubierta no se gasta clavazón, como ni en las de atrás, porque sobre las vigas ó varas atan y tejen con cuerdas y ramales delgados un zarzo de cañas o de varillas y rama, sobre el cual, en lugar de teja ponen cantidad de *Hicho*, que he visto casas de estas antiguas, cuya cubierta tiene de grueso más de dos codos ». — *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, t. II, p. 62 : « La forma y manera de las casas son redondas, hechas de adobes con cimiento de piedra y barro, pequeñas, de quince pies de redondo, cubiertas de madera de *quinua* y *mayuyo* (*ají*) y paja, y una puerta pequeña hácia la parte donde sale el sol, sin tener ninguna casa aposentos doblados. Las casas de los caciques y tambos usaron largas y cuadradas y la madera traian de los *Yungas* ».

Sur des naïves images du livre de Huaman Poma de Ayala, publiées par Montell, *Dress and ornaments*, p. 188, fig. 86, on remarque, à l'arrière-plan, des huttes qu'une note marginale dit être les « depositos del yngo ». Elles semblent avoir une forme circulaire et un toit en dôme.

familles et dont l'ensemble constitue l'*ayl'u* ou clan local moderne. Nous n'avons pas l'équivalent pour l'époque incasique de cette subdivision à l'intérieur du clan.

Canaux. — Le système de canaux tracé par les Čipaya pour fertiliser leurs misérables pâturages n'offre rien de particulier dans une aire géographique où l'homme vit depuis de longs siècles presque uniquement grâce à ses travaux d'irrigation.

Armes. — La fronde et les *bolas* sont deux armes employées non seulement dans l'ancien empire incasique, mais presque dans tout l'ouest de l'Amérique du Sud. La fronde est devenue de bonne heure un ornement, souvent somptueux, que l'on portait comme un bandeau autour du front.

Près d'Iscara, dans les *chullpares*, j'ai trouvé enroulées autour du poignet de quelques momies des *bolas* dont deux sont reproduites ici (fig. 4, D-E).

Le vêtement. — Point n'est besoin d'insister sur le caractère précolombien de la chemise (*ira*) portée par les Čipaya. Ce vêtement était en quelque sorte le costume national de tous les Indiens andins et leurs voisins des régions plus chaudes l'ont adopté sous leur influence. Sur le haut-plateau, les Uro d'Ancoaqui (Desaguadero) sont avec les Čipaya les derniers Indiens qui portent encore cette tunique dont le nom espagnol (*camiseta*) revient constamment dans les récits des premiers conquérants. Chez les Uro, l'*ira* est supplantée de plus en plus par le simple veston et la plupart des hommes de cette tribu n'en ont plus ou s'ils en ont ne songent plus à la mettre. Sur les confins de l'empire péruvien la *camiseta* est encore en usage chez les Campa du Pérou et il n'y a pas longtemps encore chez les Čiriguano. Le Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro à Paris possède une splendide tunique bleue en coton qui provient de cette dernière tribu [1].

J'ai déjà eu l'occasion de parler de l'origine précolombienne de la cape et de sa disparition progressive provoquée par l'introduction du *poncho* à l'époque postcolombienne. L'usage de la cape s'est maintenu jusqu'à nos jours dans certaines régions écartées de la *Sierra* péruvienne [2].

1. Au sujet de la tunique, cf. Montell, *Dress and ornaments*, p. 193-200 ; pour la cape, *ibid.*, p. 200-202.

2. Alvarez (Angélica), *Ankomuki*. Revista universitaria. Cuzco, XVe année, n° 47, 1925, p. 19. — Yaban Palacio (Luis), *El Ayllu de Qquera* (*Paucartambo*). Revista de la Universidad del Cuzco. Cuzco, XIe année, n° 30, 1922, p. 91.

[p 165]

Le *chucu* ou passe-montagne des Aymara et des Čipaya est à mon avis, d'origine postcolombienne. J'ai retiré de la tête de bon nombre de momies dans les *chullpares* voisins d'Iscara et de Huachacalla, des calottes en fil dont la technique sans aucun rapport avec les mailles de tricot des bonnets modernes avait par contre beaucoup d'analogies avec celle de la vannerie dite en spirale (*coiled basketry*). Les auteurs qui font allusion aux bonnets aymara du XVIe et du XVIIe siècle ne parlent jamais des pans qui protégent les oreilles, ce qui est un argument de plus en faveur de la date récente de ce type de coiffure. Voici les descriptions les plus anciennes que nous ayons du bonnet aymara : « Traían en la cabeza unos que llamaban en su lengua *chucos*, a manera de sombreros muy altos sin falda ninguna, y para que se pudiesen tener en la cabeza, se la apretaban y aldegazaban alta prolongada lo más que podían, para memoria que habían las cabezas de tener la forma alta del volcán de donde salieron » (*Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, t. II, p. 40). « .....el tocado, el cual hasta agora ha sido unos *chucos* a manera de copas de sombreros sin falda ninguna, y de algunos años a esta parte todos lo han dejado y se ponen sombreros (*Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, t. II, p. 69) [1].

Les Indiens Uro d'Ancoaqui filaient jusqu'à ces dernières années des plumes d'oiseaux aquatiques dont ils confectionnaient ensuite des bonnets [2]. Un de ceux-ci est conservé au Musée d'ethnographie de Berlin. Le D^r^. Krickeberg, qui a bien voulu sur ma demande l'examiner avec soin et en étudier la technique, m'a assuré que si l'idée de filer des plumes est certainement ancienne, le point de crochet, lui, est typiquement européen. Cette circonstance ne nous autorise pas à ranger les tissus de plumes des Uro dans la catégorie des éléments culturels communs au nord et au sud du nouveau monde.

Moins les manches rapportées à la chemise et la couture de la partie inférieure de la tunique (*urku*), le costume féminin des Čipaya est entièrement précolombien et identique à celui que portaient les femmes de la *Sierra* au XVIe siècle. J'en veux pour preuve les passages suivants de Cobo [3] :

« El vestido de las mujeres, que les sirve de saya y manto, son dos mantas : la una se ponen como sotana sin mangas, tan ancha de arriba

1. Sur le bonnet aymara, cf. Montell, *Dress and ornament*, p. 204-205.

2. Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians*, p. 262 : « Around the lake of Titicaca I have seen socks and gloves for children made of the down of the waterfowl, which had apparently been first spun into yarn and then knitted ».

3. *Historia del nuevo mundo*, t. IV, p. 186-187.

[p. 166]

como de abajo, y les cubre desde el cuello hasta los pies ; no le hacen cuello por donde sacar la cabeza, y el modo como se la ponen, es que se la revuelven al cuerpo por debajo de los brazos, y tirando de los cantos por encima de los hombros, los vienen a juntar y prender con sus alfileres. Desde la cintura para abajo se atan y aprietan el vientre con muchas vueltas que se dan con una faja ancha, gruesa y galana, llamada *chumpi*. Esta saya o sotana se llama *Anacu* ; déjales los brazos de fuera y desnudos, y queda hierta por un lado ; y así, aunque dobla un poco un canto sobre otro, cuando andan se desvían y abren las orillas desde el *chumpi* o fajadura para abajo, descubriendo parte de la pierna y muslo. Por lo cual, agora que por ser cristianas profesan mas honestidad, acostumbran coser y cerrar el lado para evitar aquella inmodestia. La otra manta se dice *Lliclla* ; pónensela por encima de los hombros, y juntando los cantos sobre el pecho los prenden con un alfiler. Estos son sus mantos o mantenillas, las cuales les llegan hasta media pierna, y se las quitan para trabajar y mientras estan en casa. . . . . « Ciñenlo (el cabello) con una cinta del anchor de un dedo, poco más o menos, pintada y curiosa, que llaman *Vischa*, la cual les coge por la frente. Por tocado se ponen una pieza de rico *Cumbi* llamada *Pampacuna*, y no la traen tendida, sino dados tres o cuatro dobleces, de suerte que viene a quedar de media tercia de ancho ; ponenla una punta encima de la frente, y dando vuelta por medio de la cabeza dejando descubierto el cabello por los lados, viene a caer la otra punta sobre las espaldas »[1].

Une aryballe du musée de Berlin (V. A. 7896) est décorée à la base du col d'une série de peintures représentant des femmes légèrement stylisées. On pourrait se croire en présence de la silhouette d'un groupe de femmes čipaya : on distingue sans difficulté la tunique maintenue à la taille par une large ceinture, la manta tombant sur le dos, et sur la tête la serviette repliée à la façon d'une coiffe napolitaine. Cette coiffe se voit également sur les dessins assez naïfs de Huaman Poma de Ayala[2] et sur des portraits de princesses incaïques, épouses de *conquistadores*, qui sont représentées sur un tableau de l'église des Jésuites au Cuzco, si je ne me trompe. Le chapeau de feutre qui ne quitte jamais la tête des femmes quichua ou aymara a fait disparaître la serviette repliée dont il n'y a pas longtemps encore elles couvraient leurs cheveux tout comme les femmes čipaya modernes[3].

Même en cas où les documents historiques seraient restés muets sur ce

1. Sur le vêtement des femmes de la Sierra à l'époque incaïque, cf. Montell, *Dress and ornament*, p. 226-230.
2. Dans Montell, *Dress and ornament*, fig. 83, p. 178 ; fig. 87 p. 224 ; fig. 98, p. 230.
3. Montell, *Dress and ornament*, p. 228.

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sujet, l'archéologie nous apporterait la preuve que le vêtement féminin ćipaya est demeuré jusqu'en ses moindres détails ce qu'il était avant la conquête.

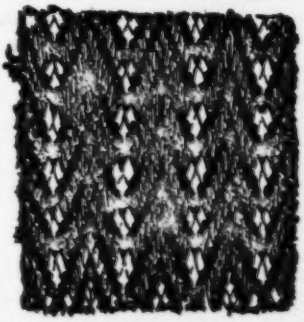

Fig. 12. — Fragment de ceinture préhispanique trouvé dans une *chullpa* près d'Iscaru (province de Carangas).

Les fouilles que j'ai faites dans les *chullpas* près d'Iscaru, à une vingtaine de kilomètres de Chipaya, m'ont donné un grand nombre de tissus identiques à ceux des Ćipaya actuels. Cette ressemblance est telle que ces Indiens eux-mêmes crurent, lorsqu'ils virent ma collection, que je m'amusais à recueillir des chiffons jetés par eux. Ils n'hésitaient jamais dans l'identification du vêtement d'où provenait chaque fragment de tissu archéologique en le comparant simplement avec leurs propres étoffes. Une ceinture de femme (fig. 12) que j'ai extraite de l'une de ces sépultures est si parfaitement semblable, par la technique, par le dessin et par la couleur, aux ceintures à la mode aujourd'hui à Chipaya (fig. 13), que je défie l'ethnographe le plus expert de noter la moindre différence entre un exemplaire moderne et un spécimen ancien. Quelques fragments d'*urku* que j'ai pu retirer de ces charniers que sont les *chullpas* attestent eux aussi que le vêtement principal des femmes ćipaya n'a pas varié depuis les âges précolombiens, au point de vue tant de la couleur que de la nature du tissu.

Les pittoresques petites nattes des femmes ćipaya sont-elles aussi une réminiscence du passé? Les *chullpas* d'Iscaru et de Huachacalla m'ont donné un grand nombre de crânes de femmes auxquels adhérait encore le cuir chevelu. La disposition des tresses et leur nombre correspondaient exactement à la mode encore existante chez nos Indiens. Les petites pendeloques représentant un personnage féminin ou *laurak'* qui ont été trouvées à Tiahuanaco nous apportent la preuve

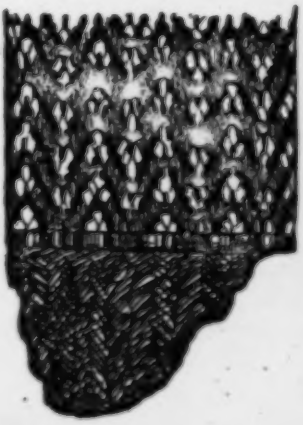

Fig. 13. — Détail d'une ceinture portée par les femmes ćipaya.

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qu'aux temps lointains de la civilisation aymara, les femmes avaient déjà leur chevelure répartie en une infinité de petites nattes. Cette coiffure était aussi celle des populations préhispaniques du désert d'Atacama : Boman a en effet publié un crâne de femme provenant de Calama et qu'il décrit en ces termes : « Les cheveux noirs et rigides sont divisés sur le sommet de la tête et forment de chaque côté de nombreuses tresses dont les extrémités

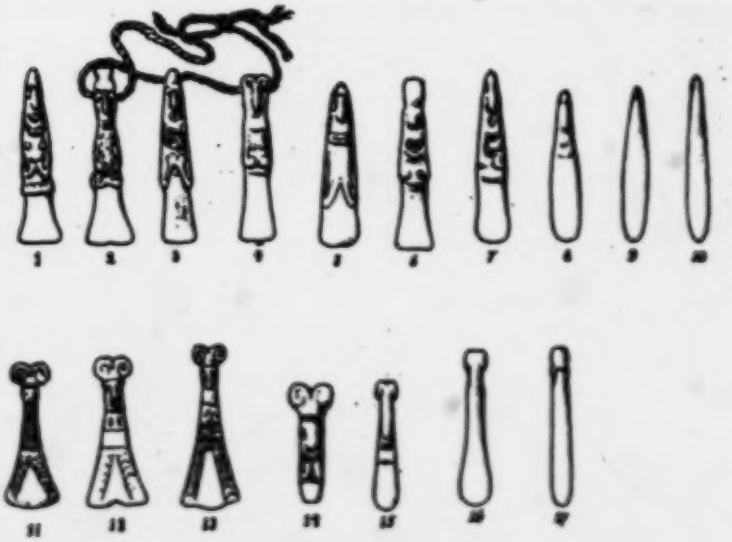

Fig. 14. — Évolution des *tupus* depuis le prototype original entièrement anthropomorphe jusqu'aux formes modernes stylisées. Chaque rangée représente une évolution particulière. Les *tupus* 8 à 10 et 15 à 17 sont modernes et proviennent de Chipaya ; les autres ont été trouvés dans des fouilles exécutées à Tiahuanaco.

sont reliées avec un fil de laine. Dans chacun de ces nœuds est placée une forte épine de cactus qui sert d'épingle à cheveux. Certains Indiens du haut-plateau de la Bolivie arrangent encore leurs cheveux en plusieurs tresses de chaque côté, de la même manière que les anciens habitants de Calama ». Les femmes du clan Ankococahua (Prov. de Espinar) au Pérou ont conservé jusqu'à ces dernières années la coutume « de se coiffer en arrière et de diviser leurs cheveux en un ensemble de tresses fines et minces, réunies entre elles par des trames en fil de coton ou de laine qui se terminent en franges, ce qui leur donne l'aspect d'un tissu dense.

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Cette coiffure s'appelle *sakapa*, sans doute à cause de la division tripartite des cheveux sur le crâne »[1].

Des pendentifs identiques aux *laurak* čipaya ont été trouvés en grand nombre sur les bords du lac Titicaca, dans la région de Tiahuanaco. La plupart des spécimens de cette provenance sont assez semblables à ceux des Čipaya, mais d'un travail plus parfait. On distingue mieux les traits et le costume du personnage féminin et on peut même constater que la coiffure est faite de petites tresses. Ces curieuses figurines ont été longtemps une énigme pour les archéologues : leur usage en a été révélé le jour où les Čipaya ont été découverts. En prenant pour point de départ deux types légèrement différents de *laurak* anciens, j'ai cherché à en indiquer l'évolution morphologique et la dégénérescence progressive (fig. 14). Chez les Čipaya celle-ci a été poussée si loin que dans quelques cas, aux *laurak* proprement dits se sont substitués de simples petites plaques de métal.

Les Čipaya sont les seuls Indiens du haut-plateau qui aient conservé cet ornement archaïque. Comme ils ne pratiquent pas la métallurgie, j'avais d'abord pensé que les *laurak* portés par leurs femmes étaient des pièces non seulement très anciennes, mais datant des temps précolombiens. Pour vérifier cette hypothèse, je fis faire une analyse qualitative de deux de ces pendentifs et de quelques spécimens provenant de Tiahuanaco. Les *laurak* archéologiques sont en cuivre allié d'étain ; l'un des spécimens de Čipaya contient en outre du zinc. Cette composition est un indice certain de son origine postcolombienne. A moins de supposer que les Čipaya aient pratiqué autrefois la métallurgie ce qui est tout à fait improbable étant donné leur habitat et leur genre de vie, nous sommes forcés d'admettre qu'ils ont reçu ces ornements des Aymara. Or, comme l'usage de ces figurines a dû disparaître de fort bonne heure chez ces derniers Indiens puisqu'aucun chroniqueur, pas même Cobo, n'y fait allusion, les exemplaires čipaya qui ont été fondus à l'époque postcolombienne, n'en doivent pas moins être fort anciens et s'être transmis dans la même famille pendant plusieurs siècles.

Le bandeau frontal dont j'ai pu obtenir un dernier exemplaire faisait lui aussi, partie intégrante de l'ancien costume précolombien. Chez les Čipaya le port devait en être restreint aux jours de fête, car la manière dont les femmes čipaya se coiffent rend inutile cet ornement qui, par contre, était indispensable aux femmes quichua pour retenir leur chevelure flottante.

1. Arguedas (Angélique), *Folklore*. Revista universitaria. Cuzco, IVe année, n° 42, 1935, p. 18.

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Le pailleté était un procédé d'ornementation qui devait avoir jadis une grande diffusion sur le haut-plateau, témoin le passage suivant de Cobo[1] : « La ropa que bordaban de *Chaquira* se tenía por la más preciosa de todas. Era esta *Chaquira* unas cuentecitas de oro y de plata muy delicadas, que parecía cosa de espanto ver su hechura ; porque estaba toda la pieza cuajada destas cuentecitas, sin que pareciese hilo, á manera de ropa de red muy apretada ». L'archéologie confirme amplement l'assertion du chroniqueur.

La distribution de la brosse de racine a été faite par Nordenskiöld[2]. C'est un des nombreux éléments culturels sud-américains qui ont leur équivalent dans le nord de ce continent. « Je possède, dit-il, dans ma collection des brosses à cheveux provenant des Mataco, des Chorotí, des Ashluslay et des Tapiete. Ces objets sont également connus chez les Araucans, les Patagons, les Peguenche et les Yaghan. Lehmann-Nitsche donne le dessin d'un objet provenant d'une fouille dans la Puna de *Jujuy* qui représente probablement une brosse à cheveux. Les brosses à cheveux des Chorotí, des Ashluslay et des Mataco, sont faites de crins de fourmilière. Les Indiens Tapiete emploient des brosses faites tantôt de crins, tantôt de racines. Elles sont assez souvent aussi fabriquées avec des branches ou avec des racines. Il est intéressant de constater que Uhle a trouvé de ces brosses à cheveux dans les fouilles de très anciennes tombes d'Arica. Il en a découvert aussi dans les excavations, plus antiques encore, de Pisagua, alors que dans les couches plus récentes qu'il attribue à l'époque de Tiahuanaco, il a rencontré des peignes. La brosse à cheveux est évidemment une des plus anciennes marques de civilisation de l'Amérique du Sud ; elle est actuellement plus répandue dans la partie méridionale de ce continent ».

Je compléterai la liste de Nordenskiöld en ajoutant les Indiens Quichua et Aymara du haut-plateau qui emploient simultanément la brosse et le peigne. Il n'est pas une échoppe du Pérou ou de la Bolivie où l'on ne puisse acquérir l'un et l'autre de ces objets. Le nom quichua de la brosse est *cuyuna*.

La perruque est un élément culturel dont l'archéologie nous révèle l'existence au Pérou depuis les temps les plus anciens. Le Musée de Göteborg en a plusieurs exemplaires qui proviennent de la côte péruvienne. Ces cheveux postiches sont distribués en petites tresses et pendent d'un

1. *Historia del nuevo mundo*, t. IV, p. 204.

2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), *Analyse ethnographique de la culture matérielle de deux tribus du Gran Chaco*. Études d'ethnographie comparée, I. Paris, 1918, p. 144-145.

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cordon exactement comme les crins dans les perruques modernes des Cipaya. En dehors du Pérou la perruque a été signalée chez les Jivaro qui l'ont peut-être empruntée aux civilisations andines, à celle de Nazca en particulier, avec laquelle ils ont de si nombreux points communs. En Amérique du Nord, la perruque n'est pas non plus un élément culturel rare. Le *Handbook of American Indians* lui assigne la distribution suivante : Crow, Assiniboin, Mandan, Mohave, Yuma et Pueblo [1].

Outils. — J'ai retrouvé près des *chullpas* de Corque un marteau en pierre exactement pareil à celui dont les Cipaya se servent pour écraser la paille destinée à faire des cordes. Les Uro d'Ancoaqui utilisent dans le même but un marteau de pierre qu'ils fixent à un manche avec de la peau crue. Cet instrument a un aspect nord-américain qui avait frappé le Professeur Nordenskiöld ; celui-ci le considérait comme un nouvel élément culturel devant être ajouté à la liste de ceux qui étaient communs à ces deux parties du nouveau monde. Je ne partage pas à cet égard l'opinion de mon maître : je considère que le manche des marteaux uro est une innovation récente, introduite sous l'influence du marteau européen. Mon opinion se fonde sur un passage fort intéressant de Cobo [2] qui raconte que les Indiens Aymara employés par les Espagnols dans les carrières se montraient complètement incapables de se servir du marteau à manche et préféraient revenir aux simples pierres rondes qu'ils tenaient dans le creux de la main. Il est donc improbable que les Uro à la civilisation si voisine de celle des Aymara aient divergé sur ce point. En outre, si cet élément culturel avait été réellement ancien, j'en aurais trouvé certainement un ou deux exemplaires chez les Cipaya restés beaucoup plus primitifs que leurs frères de race, les Uro du Desaguadero.

L'ethnographie des Cipaya explique peut-être la fonction primitive de ces « mortiers circulaires » dont de si nombreux spécimens ont été trouvés dans la *Sierra* péruvienne [3]. Ce sont des bassins en pierre aux bords perpendiculaires et dont le pourtour extérieur est souvent orné de sculptures en relief. La forme et la roche dans laquelle ils ont souvent été taillés (serpentine) semble exclure la possibilité qu'on ait pu s'en servir pour y broyer une substance quelconque. Par leur dimension et leur aspect, ils rappellent beaucoup les petites cuves de pierre également,

1. Spinden (H. G.), *Une coiffure d'apparat d'Inca*. Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, t. II, entrega 2a, 1932.

2. *Historia del nuevo mundo*, t. I, p. 324.

3. Sur la distribution de ces bassins, cf. Rivet (Paul) et Verneau (René), *Ethnographie ancienne de l'Équateur*. Paris, 1912, p. 163, pl. 9, nos 1, 2, 4, et Lehmann (Walter) et Doering (Heinrich), *Kunstgeschichte des alten Peru*. Berlin, 1924, pl. 99-101.

[p.172]

dans lesquelles les femmes čipaya décortiquent la *quinua* en la foulant. Je suis enclin à croire que tel était aussi l'usage de ces soi-disant mortiers circulaires.

Tissage. — La méthode čipaya qui consiste à attacher le métier à la ceinture au lieu de le fixer à deux piquets, comme c'est la coutume ailleurs sur le haut-plateau, est, elle aussi, une survivance des temps précolombiens [1]. Sur un lécythe de Trujillo, souvent reproduit, où l'on voit des femmes en train de tisser, on remarque qu'elles ont leur métier attaché à la taille, passé autour du corps au moyen d'une bande couverte de dessins géométriques [2]. Cette manière de tendre la chaîne est certainement un procédé ancien antérieur à celui qui est employé aujourd'hui au Pérou et en Bolivie. Était-il général à l'époque précolombienne? C'est ce que j'incline à croire sans oser l'affirmer. Il est bien possible que l'idée de planter deux piquets pour recevoir la partie postérieure du tissu soit une innovation introduite dans les siècles qui ont suivi la conquête.

Les sacoches à coca que les Indiens Čipaya portent au cours de certaines fêtes sont recouvertes de longs poils glissés entre les fils du tissu. Cette technique rappelle celle des velours qui était connue dans l'ancien Pérou où elle apparaît sur des bonnets ou des bandeaux frontaux provenant de la région d'Ica. J'ai eu l'occasion de voir à Santiago de Chili quelques coiffures trouvées dans la zone d'Atacama et dont le tissu tenait le milieu entre la peluche et le velours.

Vannerie. — Je ne connais aucun panier du Pérou ancien qui se rapproche de ceux des Čipaya, cependant leur technique en spirale est non seulement typique pour toute la zone andine, mais y est certainement fort ancienne. Cette technique, avec des modalités différentes, s'observe encore sur les paniers aymara et uro et, chose curieuse, a survécu dans la Province de Tucumán, en Argentine.

Timbales. — Point n'est besoin d'insister sur l'origine précolombienne des timbales connues sous le nom de *kxeru* [3]. Les Indiens du dépar-

1. Cette coutume n'est pas cependant générale. Ronald L. Olson, *Old Empires of the Andes*, Natural history, New York, t. XXXI, 1931, n° 1, p. 11, publie la photographie d'une femme de Marcamachay dont le métier est fixé à la taille et il nous apprend que les tisserands du haut-plateau équatorien suivent encore la même méthode.

2. Montell, *Dress and ornaments*, fig. 85, p. 185.

3. Sur les *kxeru* précolombiens, cf. A. Posnansky, *Leyendas prehistóricas sobre los « kxeru »*. Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad de Tucumán, t. II,

[p.173]

tement du Cuzco en conservent encore quelques exemplaires qu'ils se transmettent de père en fils depuis l'époque incasique. Comme les Cipaya, les Quichua entourent ces pièces d'un respect superstitieux et ne les utilisent guère que pour faire des libations de *chicha* à l'occasion de quelque fête solennelle. Ils croient que la *chicha* bue dans une de ces timbales a la vertu d'enivrer plus rapidement que celle qui est contenue dans un autre récipient [1].

Conclusion.

La revue que nous venons de faire de tous les éléments culturels Cipaya nous conduit à la conclusion suivante : il n'est dans l'industrie actuelle de ces Indiens aucun objet que l'on puisse considérer comme leur appartenant en propre ou comme représentant une survivance de leur lointaine civilisation originale. Tous leurs biens matériels sont ceux que nous connaissons des Aymara modernes ou anciens, ou d'une façon générale des Indiens du haut-plateau andin. Par leur genre de vie, celle de pasteurs sédentaires, les Cipaya ne diffèrent pas des populations primitives de « las regiones frías » que les chroniqueurs espagnols distinguent quelquefois des « serranos ». L'intérêt de la tribu des Cipaya ne réside donc pas dans l'originalité de leur culture matérielle, mais bien dans le fait que leur isolement relatif leur a permis de conserver maints objets et maintes techniques qui ailleurs ont disparu. C'est en qualité de témoins de la vie rurale incasique qu'ils nous touchent et non pas comme représentants d'un groupe ethnique isolé.

L'intelligence, le caractère et la morale.

Toute considération sur le caractère d'un groupe humain, si petit soit-il, exige un contact plus étroit avec les individus que celui que j'ai pu entretenir avec les Cipaya. L'impossibilité où je me suis trouvé, dans la plupart des cas, de pouvoir communiquer directement avec eux a singulièrement nui à mes observations. Le jugement que je porte sur les Cipaya est donc forcément sommaire et sans prétention scientifique. Les Cipaya m'ont inspiré plus de répulsion et d'antipathie que de pitié. Ni par leur physique, ni par leurs dispositions, ils n'éveillent l'affection que l'exhé-

ostrega I°, 1931, p. 93-180, et Erland Nordenskiöld, *Origin of the Indian civilizations in South America*. Comparative ethnographical studies, 9. Göteborg, 1931.

1. Herrera, p. 1.

[p.174]

graphe par pli professionnel serait porté à leur offrir. Leurs traits sont épais et grossiers et seuls quelques individus, produits de mélanges avec leurs voisins les Aymara, présentent ce beau profil au nez busqué, caractéristique de la race conquérante du haut-plateau bolivien. Leur corps court et trapu est encore alourdi par les épais vêtements de laine dont ils se couvrent. Seules leurs jambes fines et cambrées sont belles à voir au passage d'une rivière. Leur teint ne serait pas aussi foncé s'ils consentaient au moins une fois dans leur existence à se laver. La crasse et les haillons qui les recouvrent accentuent encore l'aspect pénible et misérable de cette humanité.

Intellectuellement les Çipaya se trouvent à un niveau assez inférieur : ils ont l'esprit lent et borné et répugnent visiblement à tout effort mental suivi. Sans fantaisie et sans imagination, ils n'ont pour toute littérature que quelques contes insipides et brefs qui d'ailleurs semblent tous d'origine aymara. Quelques femmes font exception à cette règle et m'ont frappé par une certaine vivacité dans le caractère et l'intelligence. Deux ou trois jeunes gens m'ont également paru mieux doués que la moyenne des membres de la tribu.

Le Çipaya ne nourrit pas d'ambition et le désir d'aucun bien terrestre ne peut le faire sortir de son apathie. Ses gestes sont lents, mesurés, sa faculté d'immobilité sans borne. Il semble poursuivre constamment un rêve intérieur toujours le même. L'ennui et le silence accablent le village. Les enfants eux-mêmes participent de cette morosité générale : ils ne s'amusent pour ainsi dire jamais et ne possèdent aucun jouet. Les hommes surveillent leurs moutons d'un œil vague ou restent accroupis dans leur hutte à chiquer de la coca ou à ne rien faire. Les femmes, si la nécessité les presse, tissent quelque étoffe grossière ou occupent leurs loisirs à se chercher mutuellement les poux ou à se faire les innombrables petites tresses de leur chevelure.

Cependant les Çipaya sont beaucoup plus sympathiques et agréables que leurs voisins les Aymara. Ils n'ont pas envers l'étranger cette méfiance morbide que beaucoup de Boliviens ont héritée des Aymara. Ils ne sont pas non plus aussi stupidement cupides et butés que ces derniers. Les Çipaya sont sans doute de tous les Indiens du haut-plateau les plus doux et les plus faciles à vivre. Malgré cette morne apathie que je viens de signaler, ils sont capables de rire ce qui n'arrive que rarement aux Aymara, du moins en présence d'étrangers. Ils savent se montrer bienveillants et mes rapports avec eux ont presque toujours été excellents. Je n'ai eu de difficultés qu'avec deux Çipaya qui au milieu d'une fête m'insultèrent

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copieusement. Leur attitude due à leurs excès alcooliques fut sévèrement jugée par l'assistance. Pendant toutes les cérémonies auxquelles je pris part, je fus l'objet d'attentions de toutes sortes et jamais on n'oublia de m'offrir de l'alcool ou de la coca. Cette générosité était d'autant plus touchante que les pauvres Čipaya payent ces produits très cher et que par suite de la crise, ils n'en avaient que fort peu. J'ai reçu souvent en cadeau de petits fromages qui m'étaient remis en témoignage de reconnaissance pour un service ou un conseil. Quelquefois ces humbles présents me furent faits sans aucune arrière-pensée, simplement par amitié.

Je n'ai jamais eu à me plaindre de leur malhonnêteté, cependant j'ai lieu de croire qu'ils ne sont pas aussi scrupuleux lorsqu'il s'agit des biens des autres membres de la tribu. Plusieurs petits faits m'ont enlevé toute illusion à cet égard. La vie à Chipaya n'est pas idyllique. La jalousie y sévit comme un démon déchaîné et malfaisant. Aucun Indien n'a osé me vendre en plein jour les objets que j'acquérais pour mes collections : tous craignaient les commentaires désobligeants de leurs proches. L'envie qui torture ces êtres renfermés et impassibles se manifeste sourdement dans de basses vengeances, dans des dénonciations mutuelles aux alcaldes et dans des querelles interminables. Quelques Čipaya semblent se rendre compte de cet état d'esprit et s'en plaignent. L'un d'eux qui avait quelque peu voyagé m'en parlait avec amertume : « Ici, me disait-il, tous se haïssent, tous s'envient, tous se volent et il ne fait pas bon vivre ».

La vie conjugale reflète souvent la brutalité et l'aigreur des caractères. Les disputes entre époux sont fréquentes et dégénèrent en volées de coups de bâton que le mari administre à sa femme ou réciproquement. Les beaux-parents prennent part à ces conflits domestiques et les enveniment. Ces querelles peuvent donner lieu à des drames : peu de jours après mon arrivée à Chipaya, une femme dans un subit accès de colère hystérique contre son mari, s'étrangla de ses propres mains.

La morale sexuelle serait, à ce que me dirent les Čipaya, mauvaise à notre point de vue. Les jeunes filles jouissent avant le mariage d'une grande liberté et aucune importance ne semble être accordée à la virginité. Les enfants illégitimes sont les bienvenus et ne les empêchent pas de se marier. Par contre les infractions à la fidélité conjugale peuvent avoir de sérieuses répercussions. Quelques femmes semblent se laisser facilement séduire et ces adultères ou ces tentatives d'adultère provoquent à leur tour des rixes et des bagarres. En général, il n'existe aucune affection apparente entre homme et femme. Les femmes ont cependant une situation privilégiée et leur autorité est incontestable. Elles s'adressent à leur mari sur un ton ferme et décidé et aucune résolution ne peut être

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LES INDIENS URU-ÇIPAYA DE CARAMBOLA

prise sans leur consentement. Les enfants ne sont jamais maltraités. Au point de vue du caractère, les Çipaya se distinguent très avantageusement des Uru d'Ancoaqui leurs frères de race qui plus qu'eux encore ont subi la pernicieuse influence aymara. Les trente derniers Uru du Desaguadero rivalisent d'hostilité et de méfiance vis-à-vis des étrangers, même bien intentionnés, et il n'est guère plaisant de séjourner parmi eux.

(*A suivre.*)

[p 307 is blank -- Analyst]

Société des Américanistes, 1936.

Planche I.

A

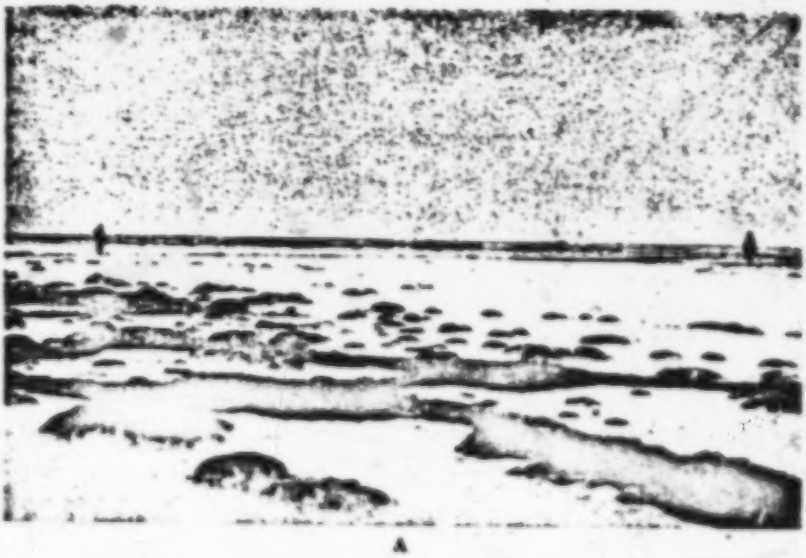
B

C

D

A. - Jeune fille čipaya.
B. - Couple čipaya endimanché.
C. - Femme čipaya venue puiser de l'eau au canal et s'enfuyant sous la tempête.
D. - Petite Indienne tenant un porcelet.

[0204-A] [9.177]



A

B

A. - Paysage de la *puna* aux environs de Chipaya.
B. - Le village aymara d'Isluga vu de la tour de l'église.

[p. 208-10] [p. 178]

Société des Américanistes, 1936. Planche III.

A

B

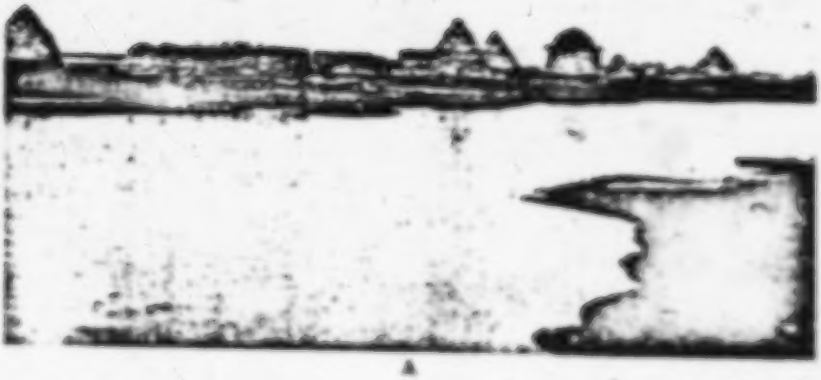
C

D

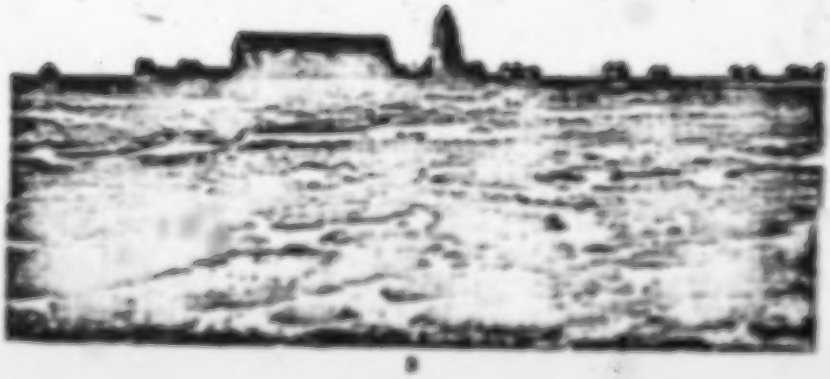
A. - Garçonnet de seize ou quinze ans, excellent informateur.
B. - Jeune femme Opaya.
C-D. - Indiennes Opaya.

[illegible] [illegible]

Société des Américanistes, 1936. Planches IV.



A



B

A. - Une des entrées de Chipaya.
B. - La petite église de Chipaya, entre les deux « cantiles ».

[9.209-D] [9.180]

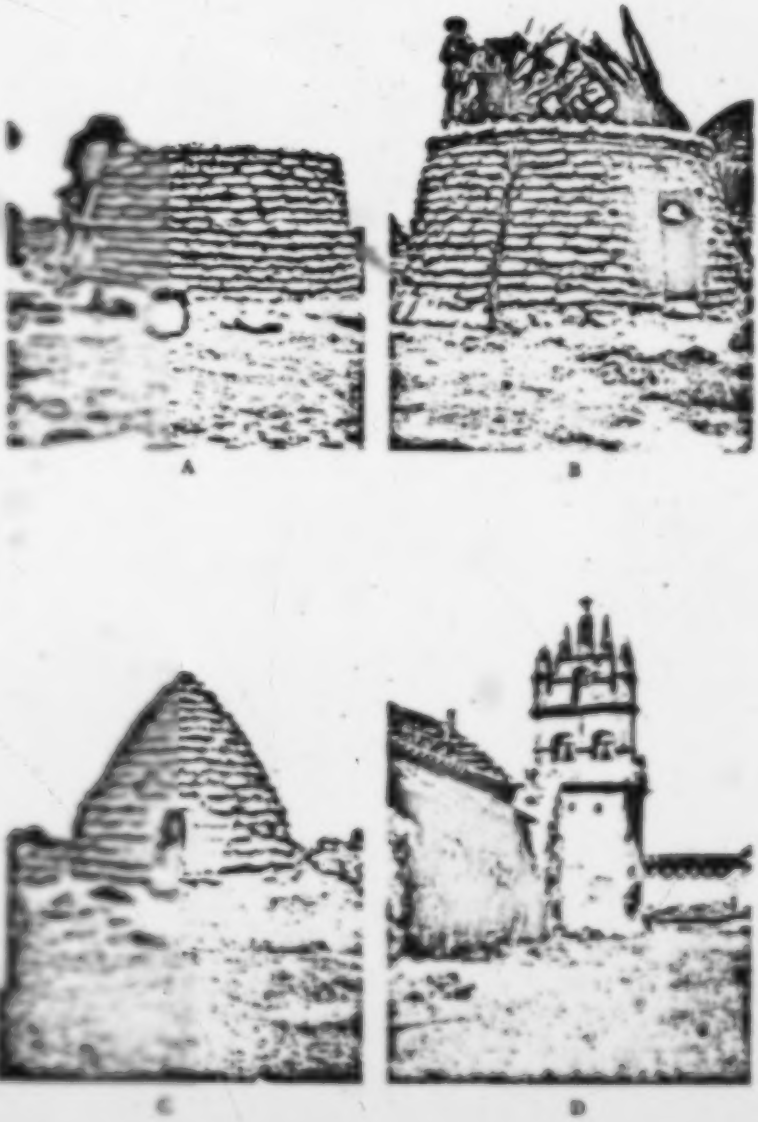
A B

C D

A. – Femme Uruna agenouillée contre un mur et broyant les graines de grami pour les décoctions.
B. – Femme Uruna filant.
C. – Femme Uruna tissant.
D. – Métier à tisser à pendage fixé sur trois de ses côtés.

[illegible] [illegible]

Société des Américanistes, 1936.



A. — Construction d'une hutte.
B. — Construction d'une hutte : les fenêtres de toit sont disposées en ovoïdes.
C. — Hutte égaya faite entièrement de roseau.
D. — L'église ruinée d'Ocuro (province de Carangas).

[p.202 F] [p.102]

LES INDIENS URO-ČIPAYA DE CARANGAS,

Par A. MÉTRAUX,
Directeur de l'Institut d'ethnologie de l'Université de Tucumán (Argentine).

(*suite*) [1].

La langue Uru
(*Dialecte de Chipaya*) [2].

Introduction.

Mon voyage à Chipaya eut pour but essentiel de sauver la langue des Uro. Rien ne m'a été plus à cœur pendant tout le temps de mon séjour que de réunir une documentation aussi complète que possible sur cette langue agonisante. Mon zèle était soutenu par la conviction que j'étais certainement l'ethnographe qui aurait, le dernier, la chance de recueillir les ultimes sons d'un parler sans doute fort ancien. Je dois avouer que les résultats n'ont pas répondu à mes efforts, et que je suis loin d'avoir obtenu les documents que j'espérais réunir. Néanmoins si mon dictionnaire et mes textes ne donnent qu'une idée partielle de l'uro-čipaya, c'est qu'il était déjà trop tard en 1931 pour rassembler sur cette langue les éléments qui en auraient permis l'étude exhaustive. Si la douzième heure fatidique dont les ethnographes allemands aiment à parler, n'a pas encore sonné pour la langue uro, je puis assurer que ses jours sont comptés. Sa disparition n'est plus que l'affaire de quelques années. Rien n'est plus décevant que d'assister à la mort d'une langue. A chaque instant on est en présence de lacunes, de trous comblés par des éléments étrangers qui donnent au parler qui s'éteint l'apparence d'un tissu rapiécé. On voudrait reconstituer les morceaux manquants, on est à la chasse des mots et des expressions, mais le plus souvent cette poursuite est vaine : le mot a disparu de la conscience de tous les individus composant le groupe. Si pénible que soit une enquête menée dans ces

1. Cf. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, t. XXVII, 1935, p. 101-136, 383-413 ; t. XXVIII, 1936, p. 135-207.
2. Recueilli par l'auteur en janvier-février 1931.

[p. 193]
[p. 337]

[P.1.84]

conditions, elle n'en donne pas moins la possibilité de faire quelques observations intéressantes sur la façon dont une langue se substitue à une autre. L'uro, tant à Chipaya qu'à Ancoaqui, est absorbé par l'aymara. J'ai indiqué dans mon dictionnaire par un astérisque les mots ou les racines d'origine aymara, par deux astérisques ceux de provenance espagnole, et par trois, les racines kitua. Si l'on fait le compte de tous les mots d'origine étrangère, on verra qu'ils constituent un pourcentage impressionnant par rapport aux mots purement uro. Ceux-ci, d'ailleurs, quels qu'ils soient, ont toujours un doublet aymara auquel on ajoute simplement une désinence uro. Selon les individus, le nombre de racines aymara qui reviennent dans leur discours est variable : les jeunes gens qui ont voyagé, sont naturellement plus disposés que les vieux à farcir les phrases uro de mots et de termes aymara. Ils connaissent le mot uro correspondant, mais oublient de s'en servir ; peu à peu ils les laisseront de côté et ceux-ci disparaîtront. L'infiltration de l'aymara est déjà si accusée que même les enfants de huit à dix ans le parlent couramment. Des Cipaya qui pour une raison ou une autre, ont été absents pendant quelques années de leurs villages, répugnent ensuite à employer leur ancienne langue ; les femmes même, qui pourtant ne sortent presque jamais de leur village, s'expriment toutes en aymara. Cette influence de l'aymara sur l'uro, date de loin. Naturellement la lutte entre les deux langues se terminera par l'élimination de celle du peuple le plus faible et le plus retardé. Dans le dialecte cipaya, des mots aussi courants que « frère » et « sœur », ont déjà disparu devant leurs équivalents aymara. Ce seul exemple en dit long sur l'état de décomposition de l'uro. Cette désagrégation n'a pas seulement affecté le vocabulaire, mais aussi la grammaire : les négations, les adverbes, les locutions adverbiales, sont purement aymara.

On sera frappé en jetant un coup d'œil sur ce vocabulaire, du grand nombre de mots espagnols adoptés par les Uro-Cipaya. Moi-même j'ai été surpris de constater cette pénétration de l'espagnol dans la langue d'un peuple qui vit très isolé et qui ne se trouve en contact direct avec aucune ville ni même un village où l'on parle espagnol. J'attribue ce phénomène aux séjours et aux voyages que les Cipaya faisaient il y a quelques années encore au Chili. Cependant, si l'on examine les éléments espagnols que contient l'uro, on ne peut les considérer comme des emprunts récents. Quand on voit des conjonctions comme « quand », rendues par le mot hybride *kuleu* (à quelle heure), on est forcé d'admettre que l'action de l'espagnol sur l'uro est ancienne et s'est exercée avec une force particulière. Il est possible que jadis ces Indiens aient habité près d'établissements espagnols, sur les bords du Desaguadero. Il

[2-105]

ne faut pas oublier non plus, que nombre d'éléments espagnols leur sont parvenus par la voie de l'aymara. C'est également par l'aymara que de si nombreux termes kitua se sont infiltrés en uro, tandisis certains semblent leur avoir été transmis par contact avec des groupes parlant kitua (ex. : vaiz : « année » ; uiri : « derrière », etc. etc.).

Les textes notés illustrent très nettement cette désagrégation complète de l'uro : les mots purement uro ne sont que des épaves qui flottent dans le contexte. Ces récits ne sont même pas le premier jet de mon informateur, qui me dictait un aymara légèrement teinté d'uro et c'est à force d'insistance que j'obtenais une version plus pure. Cette méthode avait l'inconvénient de dénaturer le récit : mon interlocuteur, obligé de s'exprimer dans une langue qui lui était devenue peu familière, avait tendance à simplifier ses expressions ou à les écourter.

L'état actuel de l'uro explique, en partie, le nombre insuffisant des textes réunis. Il est une autre raison à cette lacune de ma documentation : la vie mentale des Çipaya est si pauvre, leurs activités si peu nombreuses, qu'il n'y a chez eux, pour ainsi dire, aucune matière suffisamment riche, pour faire l'objet de récits quelque peu étendus. Des mythes ils n'en ont point, et c'est à peine si l'on peut donner ce nom aux quelques contes d'origine aymara que j'ai pu à grande peine et à grands frais réunir au cours de mon séjour parmi eux. Quand je leur demandais de me faire un exposé en uro de leurs activités, ils se dérobaient à cette corvée par quelques phrases qui effectivement résumaient leurs occupations coutumières. Mon enquête était rendue encore plus ardue par l'apathie et la stupidité de mes informateurs incapables de me faire un récit quelque peu suivi. Ils étaient là, hébétés, obstinément butés, et se refusaient péremptoirement à comprendre ce que je voulais d'eux. Cet abrutissement des Çipaya m'est apparu avec une particulière intensité lors de ma dernière expédition où j'ai eu à faire aux tribus du Chaco. Là les contes et les récits fusent, et le pauvre ethnographe est généralement obligé d'accélérer l'élan de son interprète pour ne pas être débordé. A Çipaya, les obstacles que m'opposait la mentalité désespérément bornée des Indiens étaient encore accrus par le scepticisme où j'étais devenu à l'égard presque constamment à un interprète aymara. Il n'est pas de Çipaya qui parle suffisamment l'espagnol pour pouvoir servir de drogman. Presque toujours j'ai été obligé de poser mes questions en espagnol et de les faire traduire en aymara. Comme on peut se l'imaginer, ce système compliquait ma tâche et augmentait les chances d'erreur. Je n'ai eu cependant qu'à me louer de mon interprète aymara, jeune Indien fort intelligent qui a compris très vite la nature de mon travail et m'a été un

[0-104]
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NOTES SUR L'ORTHOGRAPHE

excellent auxiliaire. J'ai cherché à éviter les contre-sens en procédant à des recoupements constants. Presque tous les mots de ce dictionnaire ont été notés par moi quatre ou cinq fois et obtenus d'individus différents à des intervalles plus ou moins longs. J'ai fait vérifier toutes les listes de mots dictés par un indigène en les soumettant à d'autres et presque toujours j'ai fait retraduire en aymara les mots tupaya que je venais de transcrire. D'autre part j'ai toujours cherché à m'assurer de la valeur exacte d'un mot, en obligeant mon informateur à l'employer dans une phrase. L'exactitude de mon dictionnaire sera confirmée par une simple comparaison avec le vocabulaire uru recueilli à Ancoraqui six mois plus tard, alors que je n'avais sous les yeux comme de mes notes prises à Chipaya.

PHONÉTIQUE.

Il est de mon devoir de reconnaître en tête de ce dictionnaire que par manque d'oreille musicale, je ne suis pas toujours sûr de l'exactitude de mes transcriptions phonétiques. J'ai fait de mon mieux, et je suis convaincu que dans l'ensemble, mes notations sont correctes. Cependant, je crains d'avoir commis quelques confusions dans le timbre des voyelles, et il est probable que certaines finesses en rapport de la prononciation m'ont échappé. Les difficultés que j'ai éprouvées à recueillir et à reproduire les sons du tupaya et de l'uru m'ont fait négliger la question de l'accent. Je tiens à signaler aussi-même cette grave lacune de ma documentation linguistique.

Les voyelles que j'ai cru reconnaître en tupaya peuvent se classer de la façon suivante :

a, a, ä, o sont « graves sonds » identiques aux sons correspondants de l'espagnol.

i est un phonème dont le timbre est intermédiaire entre i très ouvert et e fermé.

e est un e plus ouvert que le é français dans « père ». C'est presque un è extrêmement très fermé.

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LES INDIENS CHO-ÉPOTAME CARANGAS

Je crois avoir constaté en quelques cas l'existence d'un *o* (*ǫ*) dont l'articulation serait voisine d'un *o* guttural (postérieur). N'étant pas sûr de ce son, et ne l'ayant constaté qu'en quelques cas très rares, je ne l'ai pas indiqué dans mes transcriptions.

u est un phonème intermédiaire entre ouvert et *o* fermé.

Les diphtongues sont les suivantes : *aye*, *ay* (*ue*), *oy* (*ue*).

Le signe ˜ mis sous la première ou la seconde voyelle indique que celle-ci est asyllabique et n'est plus qu'une mi-voyelle. Lorsque le second élément de la diphtongue précède une autre voyelle, il est remplacé par la fricative correspondante.

Tableau des consonnes.

	occlusives		constrictives				liquides		nasales
	sourdes	sonores	sourdes	sonores	sourdes	sonores	sonores		
Labiales	*p*								
Gutturales (dentales pal.)	*k*	*g*	*h*		*x*				
Palatales			*ch*	*j*	*ll*	*ñ*		*r*	*n*
Dentales	*t* (*tr*)		*s*		*z*	(*z*)	*r*	*l*	*n*
Labiales	*p* (*pu*)					*w*			

Le son transmis par *h* est fortement aspiré, il tend vers le *x*.

p, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *l*, *y*, *r*, *s*, *z* sont identiques aux sons correspondants de l'espagnol ou du français.

ll = *ly* = *ch* = du l'espagnol.

r = *tr* = *rh* = du français.

ñ = *ny* = *gn* = français dans « *pays* ».

j = *ky* = *j* = anglais, *dj* du français.

r = une sifflante intermédiaire généralement *tz*.

w = *hu* = *w* = de l'anglais (= *ouater*).

ñ = *ya* = *l* = nasalité commune en espagnol. Il est possible que je l'aie parfois confondue avec *y*.

p = un *p*, suivi d'un léger souffle.

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h' — (je crois ne pas faire erreur) une affriquée médio-gutturale, assez très fréquent en čipaya.

Grammaire.

Les quelques règles de grammaire que l'on peut déduire des textes que j'ai réunis, apparaîtront à la lecture même de ce dictionnaire. Je tiens à signaler cependant, l'existence d'une sorte d'article suffixé *ki*, couramment ajouté aux substantifs : *ärkä* : tatou ; *ärkäki* : le tatou ; *h'tya* : maison ; *h'tyaki* : la maison, etc.

Il existe en čipaya un genre qui se manifeste dans quelques mots, en premier lieu dans l'adjectif démonstratif *ti* pour le masculin et *ta* pour le féminin, dans l'adjectif ordinal « un » *tii*, *tia*.

Le genre masculin est indiqué en certains cas par la présence d'un *a* : *aïa* (enfant mâle, garçon) ; *ai* (enfant femelle, fillette) ; *imue* : veuf ; *imy* : veuve, etc.

Vocabulaire.

Remarques préliminaires.

J'ai indiqué pour chaque verbe la racine, que j'ai cherché à dégager des différentes formes qui m'ont été transmises par mes informateurs. Pour les cas douteux, j'ai laissé au lecteur le soin de décider. Les verbes qui ne m'étaient connus que par un seul exemple ont été transcrits tels quels.

Comme j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de le dire, les mots d'origine étrangère sont marqués d'un astérisque : * pour l'aymara, ** pour l'espagnol et *** pour le kitua.

Les mots communs à l'aymara et au kitua, ont été considérés comme des emprunts faits à la première de ces langues. Les mots composés hybrides ont été séparés par un trait d'union. Des astérisques indiquent la provenance de l'élément étranger.

Lorsqu'à une seule notion correspondent des mots de racines différentes, celles-ci sont énumérées à la suite l'une de l'autre si le nombre des exemples est limité, et séparées en paragraphes, s'il est considérable.

Tout mot dont la traduction est douteuse, est suivi d'un point d'interrogation.

A

abandonner (cf. laisser).
aboyer, tuk- ; tuk'a.

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absent, il est absent : *aihieje* (litt. il est loin) ; *mahe ishishi* (litt. il est loin) ; il est absent de ce village : *mesiaeje*** *ej wachi*.

accompagner (cf. aller). Accompagne-moi : *hyaime* (?) (cf. envoyer).

accoucher, mar- ; (cf. fille, fils) *mairi, mali* ; elle accouche : *mar ilaia* ; la femme accouche : *warua mairy tsahi* ; une femme accouche : *ina tsa mai*.

accroupir, *hapai-* ; je suis accroupi : *wiril hapaije* ; le chien est accroupi : *hapai ishiia paka*. S'accroupir (cf. baisser).

accuser, *aish*** . Ne m'accuse pas de ce qui a été perdu : *wishisha awa aihiia hishiaaka*.

acheter, *hwi-* ; j'achète : *hwyaja* (*hwyaja*) *wiriki* ; qu'est-ce que tu achèteras ? : *tsahui hwyahi* ; j'achèterai un nouveau poncho : *ne punio hwyaji* ; je vous achèterai un lama : *wiji pakaia tsi ewaia hwai* ; chose achetée : *hyu*** *hwaia* (*hwyaia*).

adulatre, *tiwiri*.

âge, quel âge as-tu ? : *hwaia tiawaiaeje* (litt. combien (d'années) as-tu ?) ; *hwai wati ewaiaa* (litt. combien d'années sont tiennes ?).

âgé, Mon frère est plus âgé que moi : *wiji hila* tawiaeje wishiiawa* (cf. vieux).

agenouiller (cf. baisser).

agneau, *tsiaiʼa* (cf. mouton).

aider, *wawpiki* (?) ; quand nous construisons une maison, toute la famille nous aide, comme nous faisons en ayni : *tsiawan hwyahi ihapeje hawiʼ*** *wawpiki, wakawahi tiwi mahiia*.

hwa- (?) ; *hwaia* (cf. marcher).

aimé, *mairihia*.

aigre, *hishyʼ*.

aiguille, *tapaʼ* (cf. épine) ; mon aiguille est bonne : *wiriki tapa tyaeje* ; aiguille à tête plate et arrondie que les femmes portent dans les tresses de leur coiffure : *kis* ; aiguille en argent : *pachiki* ; aiguille en or : *pilakiʼ* ; longue aiguille en bois avec laquelle on coud entre l'ouverture du toit l'endroit en terre et en paille qui le recouvre : *hwiia, hai-hwiia* (*hai* = maison).

hairiwan, ain ; *wairain* ; *ain wachin*.

aire, Pièce (cf. salle) ; *pisa* (cf. plancher).

aimer, *pai-* (cf. vouloir).

Présent. — J'aime : *wiji paheja* ; tu aimes : *ain paheja* ; il aime : *ai hapeha* ; nous aimons : *aiwi paha* ; vous aimez : *aniwi paha* ; ils aiment : *aiwahi tapahia*. Etc. ; Je t'aime : *ain pahai* ; je t'aime beaucoup : *aniwi ain pahai* ; je me marierai, j'aime une femme : *hawaiyʼ*** , *wiriki ina hwaiwa paheja* ; j'aime beaucoup le chocolat : *wiji awia paheja tahaiaiʼ*** ; tu aimes le pain : *awia pahai tawiʼ* ; m'aimes-tu ? : *ain wiji pahi ?*

Passé. — J'aimais (hier) : *wi pahaiaja wiji* ; tu aimais : *pahaiaja ina* ;

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Il viendr : *pahaneje ni* ; *nous viendrons* : *pahaio niwa* ; *vous viendrez* : *pahaio niwa* ; *ils viendront* : *pahaio niwaha*.

Futur. — *J'viendrai* : *pahaio naje* ; *tu viendras* : *pahaio ni* ; *nous viendrons* : *pahaio niwa* ; *vous viendrez* : *pahaio niwa* ; *ils viendront* : *pahaio niwaha*.

Impératif. — *Viens* : *pahio*.

viné, chez[a].

nini, mais-ici, mais-ici, mais-ici, mais ; *il a parlé ici* : *mahiko* (*pronominal* ; *nous parlerons ici*) ; *c'est ici* : *ilio*.

ninaiko, c(l')ui, lui.

ajouter, ter- ; *ajoute* : *tarihu*.

alléviter (*cf. lâcher*).

aller, ir-.

Présent. — *Je vais* : *ahiwio* (*ahiwio, ahiwije*) *najiki* ; *tu vas* : *ene ahiu* ; *il va* : *ni hahiwihije* ; *nous allons* : *niwe ahiwihije* ; *vous allez* : *emiwi ahiwihije* ; *ils vont* : *nimaha ahiwihije*. Ex. : *Je vais à la maison* : *Ihigne ahiwio* ; *je vais vous chercher* : *ngene (?) ahiwije* ; *je vais vous en chercher* : *naje hihene ahiwihije* ; *tu t'en vas maintenant* : *hanihi ene ahiju* ; *tu t'en vas mais tu reviens* : *ene najihi mamiji ahiju* (*ahiwije*) ; *il va labas* : *ni ahiwe* ; *ni ahiwije* ; *le chien va* : *pahe ahiju* ; *le vent va là* : *nanu*[aa] *hihi ahiwihije* ; *on chemin va jusqu'à Hanchamalla* : *ij hihi M'ainhoh'a-hanna ahiju* ; *la lune va* : *napeha ahiju* ; *nous allons ensemble* : *nanu*[aa] *ahiwihije niwaki*.

Passé. — *Je suis allé hier* : *ne ahiwije najiki* (*negre ahiwiwe najiki*) ; *je ne suis pas allé au Chili* : *ene t-ahiwiwe Chile* (*pas ahiwi Chile*) ; *je suis souvent allé au Chili* : *Chile ahiwiwe nahiki* ; *je ne suis ni allé ni monté* : *nape-ahiwije* ; *il est allé hier* : *ne ahiwijamihi* ; *nous frères n'ont été allés hier, ils étaient montés* : *najihi hiha negre ahiwije, hamihije* ; *le chien allait hier* : *negre pahe ahiwije*.

Futur. — *J'irai demain* : *haha nene ahiwanji* ; *j'irai demain matin* : *haha nene nene ahiwije* ; *j'irai loin* : *allée ahiwije* ; *tu iras bientôt (tout à l'heure)* : *emiki ahiwihu* ; *tu iras certainement tu vous (?) avez mêlé (enfoui) fruitless (?) ahiwijeu ahaf'ajeiju* ; *nous irons (nous allons ?) dans la semaine* : *ij ennamihi*[aa] *ahiwihije* ; *nous irons ne va jamais* : *ini nanne ene ene irons (allons) ailleurs des lapins* : *hinjene naki ene ahiju* ; *nous irons maintenant au village* : *hanihi ene ahiju nene*.

Impératif. — *Va* : *ahi* ; *allons* : *ahiju* (*cf. nous irons*) ; *va à la maison* : *Ihigne ahiu* ; *va-t'en* : *nany ahiu nahiu* ; *va plus loin* : *nahiuk nany ahiu*.

Formes interrogatives. — *Où vas-tu ?* : *hahiwio ahiju* (*ahiwio, ahiu*) ; *quand vas-tu ?* : *halawa ahiwihije* ; *quand t'en va-t-on allé de la maison ?* : *halawa hahiwihiwe ahiwihiu* ; *quand irons-nous (?) (vous-tu) ?* : *halawa hai (?) ahiwiwe (?) (halawa ahiwik)* ; *certainement vas-tu (dans la nuit du marché)* :

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Iruiuna ahija ; où, combien as-tu d'enfants ? : *kakuñi ahi ni kikiki* ; avec quoi chasses-tu-nous ? : *kui kiki ahija*.

Locutions diverses. — Mes membres vont toujours ensemble : *uji wia wanta*[PPP] *ahi'iwaja* ; aller sur sa chemise : *kikiña ahi'ia* ; aller directement : *iyuwiñaña ahija* ; aller à pied : *iruiyuni ahija* (*iruiña-ahi'*) ; aller à quatre pattes : *iruiwa ahi'ia* (litt. marcheuse à quatre pattes) ; nous nous accompagnons (?) : *uni wuwa ahi'ia wañi* (?).

Iahuo ; aller au ciel : *uiña*[PPP] *iahuojia* ; va-t-en : *iahua*.

Ahuaiwa, jiah ; allumer du feu : *ni jahuna, ni iwahuia ni*.

wawaiña, jaui[PPP] ; va-t-en vous asseoir ! : *ewa ini jauni kiñahalala* ; j'ai vue assoupie : *uji jauni kiñaiña*.

awaw (*cf.* aigue).

awiwa, ujki (*cf.* avant, devant) ; *awiwa tawaja* : *ujki tawaja*[PPP].

awawa, awawa wa'ia pawa barrer la porte : *ahawa* ; *awawa ñuñ wa awar* : *pawiñaja*[P].

wawiña, wawi[PPP] ; *wawiña pawaña* : *ñuñ-wa* ; *wetta wawiña* : *ñuñi* (?) ; *wawiñawa ki'awiñaja wa-ka* ? : *ñuñi wawi i-wawiwa, ñuñu ñuwawaja*.

wawa, ñujki (*cf.* oreille).

wawa, wawi[PPP] *ghija* (litt. trou de derrière) ; *ñiu* (synonyme ?).

wpawiwa, ew- ; *¿wpawia* : *wpiri tawaja* ; *la maison wpawiñi wa kuka* : *ñujwa wiñiki wajja* ; *les dents de l'enfant s'wpawiwawi pas encore* : *wawa iñi awa i-wajja* ; *la montagne s'wpawiñi pas* : *ñuwa awa i-wawaja*.

wpawiwa, ñujw- (*cf.* avec) ; *wpawiña la maladie* : *ñuj'wi ñujwiña* ; *qui t'a wpawiñi ?* : *kakiñi awa ñujwiña* ; *je t'ai wpawiñi* : *wpi ini-ñujwiwi*.

a wpawiwa (*cf.* aussi).

wpawiña, iawi-pakui (litt. vendeur de nourriture).

wpawiwa, iñi-ja- ; *la vraie wpawiña boisseau de maïs* : *wawiñi awiwiñi ghija ñiwija* ; *wpawiwa wua ghija, je vais distribuer de la nourriture* : *ñawaña iña iawi i'ahi'waja* ; *wpawiña la nourriture* : *iawi iña* ; *la bière est wpawiñida à la maison avec l'eau-de-vie* : *awawiwiwiwa*[PPP] *iñiwija iawa ñujwa*.

wpawiwawa (*cf.* remplacer, servir).

wpiña-ñawawa, ñuj, wai, ñaña wiñi, ñuñ-wawa.

wpiña-wiñi, wujji (*cf.* aussi).

wpiyuwa, wawi[P] ; *wpiyuña les pieds* : *ñujña tawiña. S'wpiyuwa* (*cf.* glisser).

wwiyuwa, ñuñuñaña. P'ahi'ia wwiyuña : *ñuñiñawi* (*ñuñiñawi*)[P].

wiñawa, pawaj[PPP] ; *les arbres sont très verts* : *wawaj wañiwa*[P] *iyuñi.*

wwi-wa-wiñi, ñuwajwa[P] ; *wiñiki ñuwajwa* (litt. wwi-wa-wiñi de la plante).

wujjawi, jui[PPP] ; *wiñi kawawa ñiñiwawa kawawaj d'wujjawi* : *wawa jaa ñuwijja*[PPP] *a iyuñi.*

wujjiña, iñiki, ñuñi.

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arracher, *hal-* ; arracher les cheveux : *šava halma* ; nous arracherons maintenant : *ané hališla* ; nous arracherons les herbes : *hališlij pasiyaka*** . *ū-* ; arracher de l'herbe : *šavi ū'aja* ; arracher de l'herbe aquatique : *nanš ū'aja* ; j'arrache de la toile : *šak ū'aja*.

hyáiny (cf. causer ?).

arrêter, *herka* ; il l'a arrêté : *šanaja*. S'arrêter, *tsimna* (cf. debout) ; *tsik(i)* ; ne pas s'arrêter : *ana tsiknaa*.

arriver, *iru-*°, *irk-*.

Présent. — J'arrive : *naj irunaja* ; tu arrives : *am (aux) irunaja* ; il arrive : *ni (aux) h-irunaja* ; nous arrivons : *alun (aux) irunja* ; vous arrivez : *anlaš (aux) h-irunaja* ; ils arrivent : *ninaka (aux) h-irunaja*.

Passé. — Je suis arrivé : *irunlinja* ; tu es arrivé : *irunlamja am* ; il est arrivé : *nāš irunlija* ; nous sommes arrivés : *irunlumja* ; vous êtes arrivés : *irunlinlaka anlaš* ; ils sont arrivés : *ninaka irunlaklija*.

Futur. — J'arriverai : *najril irunaja* ; tu arriveras : *irunaja am* ; il arrivera : *ni irunajam* ; nous arriverons : *irunalaun* ; vous arriverez : *anlaš irunaja* ; ils arriveront : *ninaka irunaja*.

Phrases. — Le bois à brûler est loin, j'arrive fatigué : *aula alikija hā dēr nā irunalija* ; je suis arrivé fatigué : *naj nā irunalilinja* ; on arrive en sept jours : *palal'ka nanr irunja* ; quel malheur t'est-il arrivé ? : *hal nalki tanjanja lanamki (cf. venir)*.

arroser, *hanija, halrin*° ; arroser avec de l'eau : *Pyankitan hanija*.

articulation, *najry*** (cf. nœud). Cheville (litt. articulation du pied) : *hyā-najry* ; articulation du doigt : *ikaja*.

asphalte, *hyā*.

asperger, *tarun*° ; ((ja) *tarun*° (*f*)) ; asperger avec du sang : *xiakjitan tarunja* ; la nouvelle mariée est aspergée de sang : *xiakitan ailanjinja*° *ny hyaja*.

assassin (cf. tuer).

assoir, s', *hal-, al-* ; je suis assis : *halinja* ; il est assis : *alnji* ; je m'assierai : *halinaja* ; assieds-toi : *halitsa* ; elle tisse assise : *alika natij* ; le grimpe demeure assis : *grimpa*** *halini pala hāija*.

assez, *ankat, ankaxnā*.

[illegible]

à la corde de paille : *hiranki tsakrā*** *najkranja* ; attache cette paille avec la corde : *hātsa najkraki pīshi* ; attache avec cette corde : *hāttsa najkrāsa*. — *palitsa (?) (cf. tisser) ; tsakitsa (?), tsaskinja* (attaché ?).

attendre, *ñap-* ; attends : *ñapitsa* ; j'attends de la nourriture : *laril ñapinaja* ; on attend je t'ai attendu : *ayuchi ñapinatsja anshi* ; qui attends-tu ? : *hākim ñapi anshi* ; qu'attends-tu ? : *tsiam ñapīl* ; ma mère m'attend à la maison : *naj nat hrashi (f) ñapin*.

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attraper (cf. saisir).
auge en pierre (on y foule la *quinua* pour la décortiquer) : *tak*ira**.
aujourd'hui, *tyuxr*, *tyux*, *t*uñi* (cf. soleil).
auparavant, *tuxsnaka*, *tuxsi*.
auriculaire, *čul-loyk*ana** (litt. petit doigt).
aurore, *itsa* ; *čayk kantati**.
autre, *tsi* (cf. un) ; autre homme : *tsi tyñi* ; autre jour : *tsi nuxr* ; autre année : *tsi wata* ; autre fois : *tsiltan* ; un autre : *tsigat*.
autruche (*Rhea americana*) : *čatsu čainu* (cf. perdrix).
avant, *ema* ; être en avant : *tyčinja* (cf. ancien, devant).
avant-hier, *čuna-max*, *nipa-t*uñi*, *tuka-max*.
avare, *skuty*.
avec, *-tan*, *-stan*, *-kistan* (suffixes) ; les sacs sont faits avec de la laine : *usi čymakistan paata mata*.
avertir, *mas-* ; *masna* ; j'avertis : *masnaja* ; avertissons : *masla* ; il est parti sans m'avertir : *ana masin i-ok*tokal)ɛ*.
aveugle, *suru*, *sura* ; cet homme est aveugle : *ni tyñik suruja*.
avoir — la notion de possession que nous exprimons par le verbe avoir, s'exprime en uro-čipaya de différentes manières : 1) au moyen du verbe : *čič*, *čis* qui signifie porter ; 2) du verbe *telxla* : exister, combiné avec le pronom personnel ; 3) simplement par le pronom personnel faisant fonction d'adjectif possessif.

1) Cette jeune fille a de grands yeux : *pak* čuk čisa tur-mata* ; *pak* čuk čičɛ tuñata* ; cette jeune fille a de petits yeux : *skolta čuk čič turmata* ; il a une mère : *mä čisa* ; cet homme n'a pas de chemise : *ti tyñi ana almil'a** *čisa* ; *ti tyñi ana ir-čiva* ; quel âge as-tu ? : *k*at wat (watis) čisampta* ; quel est ton nom ? : *čul t*u čis-amtaya*.

2) Tu as beaucoup de moutons : *uta*** *wakti** *amta telxti* ; j'ai beaucoup de moutons : *wakčis wit usa*** *telxta* ; j'ai une maîtresse : *wit paxi**** *telxtɛ* ; as-tu une maîtresse ? : *am tsi paxi**** *telxkalala* ; j'aurai un pantalon : *wirkalsuna*** *telčax* ; nous aurons des pantalons : *učumta kalsuna*** *telxtaxa* ; je n'ai pas d'argent pour acheter de la quinua : *wit ana-tsi*ja pas k*ula k*aisxapa* ; je n'ai pas de père : *ana i-wit hep telxji* ; j'ai beaucoup de porcs : *anta wit kuči** *selxtɛ* ; as-tu des œufs ? : *siñj am telxlɛ*.

3) J'ai trois moutons : *wit usaki*** *čeplaja* ; j'ai trois porcs : *wit kuči** *čeplaja*.

La locution « il y a » peut se traduire assez exactement par le verbe : *telxla* : exister. Ex. : il y a peu d'oiseaux dans mon village : *uyuwathis** *skolokul'a telxji wetla*. En ajoutant le suffixe verbal *-ja*, on obtient le correspondant précis de la même locution. Ex. : *tykskija itkɛ* : il y a des dents ; il y a une grande rivière : *anta** *puxu** *puxuja** ; il y a beau-

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coup d'eau avant d'arriver au *Mal'lu* : *kʷas kuɨr ena Kondoɨk iruɨkɨtɨn*; il y a peu d'eau dans la rivière : *skɨlo kʷasl'aja ti paxa*; il n'y a personne : *anaja tɨi*; il n'y a pas d'alcool : *anaja kasikɨn alkolo*°°.

B

baguette, baguette de tambour : *tomaxa*. Baguette qui maintient croisés les fils de la chaîne sur un métier à tisser : *tɨkʷaxa*. Baguettes transversales auxquelles viennent se fixer les fils de la chaîne : *tila*.

baiser, *cul-*; baisons : *tullia*.

laisser, se baisser : *kul-*; baisse-toi : *kulɨ*; *kulɨna*.

balayer, *pɨxa*; balayer avec un balai : *pɨlantlon*° *pɨxɨna*; balayer la maison : *kʷaya pɨxa*.

baptiser, *tʷa-clʷats* (?) (cf. nom).

barbe, *tip*, *tipɨnkal-tip* (cf. menton); barbe d'homme : *kakto-kip*.

bas, en bas, *kas*, *kasi*, *kʷas*, *walɨ'a* (?) *waxa* (?); d'en-bas : *ti-kʷastaɨ*, *walɨkɨdɨra*; de bas en haut : *kas-tsaɨka*; en-bas : *tsantaɨ* (cf. Est).

bâtir, *kʷaɨ(s)*-(cf. maison); il bâtit une maison neuve : *ay kʷaya kʷaɨs*; on coupe des mottes pour bâtir la maison : *kʷaya kʷaɨsxapa pʷaya kʷalɨkija*.

bâton, *tuɨ*, *ats*; bâton pour marcher : *ats alʷlai atsɨxɨk*. Bâton sacré dans les huttes : *kamay-para*. Bâton de commandement porté par les *alcaldes* : *ɔtatala*.

battre, *kʷil-*; *kʷɨa*, *kʷilaja*, *kʷilasakija*, *kʷilasa*; je bats : *uɨr kʷilaja*; je te bats : *uɨril am kʷɨala*; il m'a battu jusqu'au sang : *xlɨk paɨnɨx kʷilɨnla*; nous nous battrons : *ɨam kʷilasla*.

xatai-; cet après-midi j'ai battu de la paille : *ti xulpʷɨt xataiaja*.

Battre du tambour : *l'alcalde* bat du tambour : *alkadre*°° *waxʷaja kaxa*.

bave, *l'axa*°.

baver, *l'ayu*° *ɨaxaxaja*° (litt. faire sortir la bave).

beau, *kaɨa* (?), *xama*°; une belle chose : *xamakaɨ*°.

beaucoup, *wakɨ*°, *aɨa*°, *tama*°, *malpax*, *matpai*; il y a beaucoup de dents : *kakilaja ilkɨli*.

beau-frère, *ɨuɨl* (?); le mari appelle le frère de sa femme : *uɨɨ*; la femme appelle le frère de son mari : *tuɨɨ* (*tʷuɨɨ*).

beau-père (père de sa femme) : *axmas*, *axmal*, *axmal-kap*.

bec, *ats* (cf. bouche).

bêler, *tkaja* (ou *k-kaja*).

belle-mère, *kaɨlɨa*° (aym. : *taɨtɨna* (?)).

belle-mère, le mari appelle la sœur de sa femme : *tax*; la femme appelle la sœur de son mari : *tax*.

berger, *auatiri*.

[1935]

bien, *ayma°*, *uaĺ°* ; pas bien : *ana-uaĺ°* ; je suis bien : *uaĺkuhay°*.
bientôt, *awiz*, *apa-kitza*.
bile, *pakuĺ*.
bitre de quinoa, *k'uz°*, *k'uĺ°*.
blanc, *tiwi*, *tiwi*. Blanc de l'œil : *tuk'-laruka-tiwi'a*.
blesser (cf. transpercer). Être blessé : *mitray°*, *aiwi°*.
blessure, *miwa°*. Blessure enflée : *kawa t-miwa°*.
bleu, *laruma°*.
boire, *lik*, *lik-* ; boire : *lika*, *likta* ; il boit : *ni-likta'y* ; nous buvons : *otaw likla* ; il boit de l'eau : *ni t-k'uar-lika* ; il a bu de l'eau hier : *aqa k'uar listinta*, ou *listinja* ; j'ai beaucoup bu (je suis très ivre) : *anda listinja* ; bois de l'eau : *k'uarton lik'* ; dans le village on boit : *uachin likti* ; je boirai un remède : *kala liktaja* ; ayant bu, ma tête me fait mal : *likta ata mista*.
bois, bois de cactus : *k'ubu* ; *tuk'-tup*. Bois à brûler : *tup* (cf. *tula*). Bois de construction : *kawa*.
boiteux, *uaxa°* ; un boiteux : *ni tyiki uaxa*.
bolas (pierres de jet) : *tiruti*.
bon, *kiza*, *ayma°*, *uaĺ°* : la viande est très bonne : *kitwi awiz° kuzaj* ; la quinoa est bonne : *k'ala kuzaj* ; un homme bon : *ayma-tuhija*.
bonjour, *uaĺkaz°*.
bonsoir, *tyĺ'g°*.
bord, *pala°*. Bord de la chemise : *alka-pala* ; bord de la rivière : *pay-ata* (litt. bouche de la rivière).
borgne, *tyĺa-tuk- xara* (litt. petit œil aveugle).
bossu, *tyig°°°* ; cet homme est très bossu : *ni tyiki tyig pawiz*.
bouche, *ata*.
boue, *xaxa*, *xlaxpa*, *xapa*.
bouger, *kix-*, *kixa* ; qui ne peut bouger : *awa t-kix ata* ; bouger quelque chose : *talaw kixkita*.
bouillie, *kazi* ; bouillie de maïs ? *kazi-xaitwa* (?), *xawa-qa*. Bouillie de quinoa : *k'ual-pichi*.
bouillir, *uaĺ'aki)a°*, *tinpi)a°°°* ; nous bouillirons : *uaĺ'akatia* ; l'eau bout : *k'uar uaĺ'akatija* (*uaĺ'aki)a*) ; faire bouillir le lait : *lak°° uaĺ'aa-kata*.
bouton, *p'uta°*.
braire, *ax* (cf. *kwa*) *ax-ta* (*k'aax°° ?*) ; *ax-tiapa°°*.
bras, *k'ar-kitwi* (cf. jambe) ; avant-bras : *k'ar-para*, *taipa°-mako*, *tila°*.
brasse (mesure de longueur) : *k'uta* ; deux brasses : *picha k'uta*.
briser (cf. casser).
brouche, *tuka* (cf. réfléchir).
brosse, *k'ura* ; brosse à cheveux : *kawaka°*.

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bru, ur, uruu'a.

brua, *bunpi*; *aurua, aurue* (*cf.* vert et iota). Brua chair : *Pele*. Brua noir : *tupali* (*cf.* noir), *ninfi*; *bunpi*; laua brua fumé : *aurup-upala*.

brûler, ar- (*cf.* feu); *aani*; *aanila*; le khoa brûle : *brua aatija*.

-aurua-; *aurualija*; la tola brûle : *tup aurupa*; ce bois se brûle pas, il est mouillé : *aru k-aualija*[??] *ej tup, ej kap aatija*.

C

cacher, *tpa-*; *kaa, kpaaja*; *kaakiky*; *kaaky*; *je cache* : *ujiril kaaaaja*; *tu caches* : *amin kaaki*; *il cache* : *ni kaaky*; *nous cachons* : *alun-dun kaapy*; *vous cachez* : *anlaka kaaki*; *ils cachent* : *ninaka kaaki*; *je cachais* (?) : *kpaaaja*; *il cachera* : *kpaaaja*; *cache* : *kaatuu*; *cachons* : *kaatia*; *il faut cacher* (?) : *kaakikia*; *nous cacherons bien* : *apun kpala*; *il se cache dans sa maison* : *k-kpya kpakija*. *Un cachette* : *kaa-kpya*.

cadeau, *faire cadeau* : *ama*; *je te ferai cadeau de cela* : *ail maja*; *je te ferai cadeau de cela* : *ujiril kpka maja*; *tu me feras cadeau de cela* : *amin k-kpka makija*; *fais-moi cadeau d'une couverture* : *tii aara k-mitua*; *fais cadeau à l'étranger* : *amumki k-ama*; *fais-moi cadeau de cela* : *kpka ma(a)*.

Passé. — *J'ai donné* : *ujiril maja*; *tu as donné* : *amin k-makija*; *il a donné* : *ni k-maaka*; *nous avons donné* : *alun-dun apmak* : *vous avez donné* : *anlak maaka*; *ils ont donné* : *ninaka maaka*.

Futur. — *Je donnerai* : *ujiril maja*; *tu donneras* : *amin k-makija*; *il donnera* : *ni k-makija*; *nous donnerons* : *alun-dun majaka*; *vous donnerez* : *anlak tak makija*; *ils donneront* : *ninaka k-makija*.

cactus, *tiir*, *uuuru*. Cactus cierge (*Cereus*) : *krpka*. Morceau de cactus : *tkiita krpka'a*.

cadet, *tiir*.

calebasse, *matil'a*[??].

calmer, *apmaaka* (litt. *endormir bien*).

canal, *larka*[??]; *grand canal* : *kapa larka*[??].

canard, *krua, krpuru*.

canne, *canne en bois de palmier portée au cours des fêtes* : *kuuuru* (*cf.* bâton).

caïpe, *l'akaa*[??].

capricieux, *makpy*[??]; *laua tete capricieuse* : *amin makpy ni ngala*.

carnassier, *alui*.

casser, *kra-*, *krpka*, *krpki*, *krakiru*, *krpkaija*, *krpkaili*; *nous cassons* : *krpki, krpaija, krpuni* (*krpaia, krpaiia*); *il est cassé* : *krpkaiky*; *cassé* : *krpua, krpkia* (*cf.* tasser).

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LES PRINCIPAUX CHANGEMENTS DE CARACTÈRES

cuisse, à cuisse de : **cisse**, **chisse** (meilleure); cuisse barbe existe à cuisse de l'eau : **bigue-kisse** *pannée*** **kisig**; à cuisse du sujet : **chisbelchisse**.

cu, **cuite**, **ci** (cuisse.), **cu** (Sisse.), **ci**; **cuisi-ci** : **ci**; **cuisi-là** : **ci**; **cuisi-là** (de la fosse : **cisidu**; **cuisi cuit** : **cilise**; **cuit** (dans la sauce du tissu, grande cuite) : **cije**. C'est : **je**.

cuisière, **cu cuisière** : **cuse-kit**(**kit**, **cuisie**) (*cf.* **cuisiuse**).

cuisière, **krup** ; **cuisié** : **krut-cruse**.

cuisiture, **cuyé**, **cuit**.

cuivreux, **cuivrie**.

chagrin, **avoir du chagrin** : **l'chouje** * (*cf.* **triste**).

chaise, **chaise d'un métier à tisser** : **krupé** (*cf.* **B**).

chaleur, **ch**.

champ, **chola**, **chrola**, **epave** (?).

chandelier, **cuki**.

chanter, **cise**, **cique** (*cf.* **danser**).

chapeau ; **chere**.

charger, **kise** (*cf.* **se**, **send**), **sejo** ; * **chargeu fromage** *entête* **19** *annonce* : **sejo kou pitoje**.

charbon, **tuk-kurbjue****.

charger, **kij** * ; **charge** : **kejise** (**chouje** ?) ; **S. se charger** : **kejisuni** ; **nous chargerons le bois et ramène vous avec au village** : **equilis kou kejeis**, **kuck chris vous**.

chas d'une aiguille, **kel-krujuki pheu**.

chat, **cuiji**.

chatouiller, **kuchuja** *.

cheval, **ci**, **krujuki** ; **trois cheval** : **cuisi ci** ; **il fait trois cheval** : **cuisi cije**, **cuisi cisi**, **cuisi cijkrujje** ; **le subtile est cheval** : **cijkuljje pheu**.

chauffer, **krje-***, **krujuse** ; **nous chauffe** : **krujuljje krjuski**.

chauve, **crjuse** * (*cf.* **gale**, **dimet**) ; **tête chauve** : **krjuse ale**.

chemin, **kik** ; **le chemin de Tranvia** : **cuselal kik** ; **c'est le bon chemin** : **ci kik cuel**.

chemise, **chemise portée sur la peau par les hommes et les femmes** : **chel-***. **Chemise extérieure**, **sorte de tunique portée par les hommes** (**ancienne**) : **ire** ; **couverture dans laquelle les hommes s'enveloppaient le corps** : **cuke****.

chenille, **kuku***.

cher (**dans le sens de coûteux**) : **cike***, **kike*** ; **très cher** : **cuse cikije**.

chercher, **krje-** ; **je cherche** : **cuyi krjuski** ; **chercheuse** : **krjuke** ; **chercheur** (?) **krjuke-pate** ; **chercher** : **krjuse** ; **chercher-le** : **krjuseuni** ; **je cherche mes lunettes** : **cuji cuyeis krjuski** ; **je suis en train de chercher mes lunettes** :

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xual kʷuril okʷujr ; va chercher des œufs pour cet homme : *ij ẖaxita xiki kʷurtu*.
cheveu, *tara*.
cheville, *kʷɨ'-muɨkʷɨ* (litt. nœud du pied).
chicha (*cf.* bière).
chien, *puku* ; jeune chien : *tulpukula, puk-tula* ; la chienne a mis bas : *uuux tir-puku* (litt. la chienne a des petits).
chiffon, *tulu, tarlu*.
chiquer, *ar-* ; chiquons beaucoup de coca : *anta tam ẖuku aula* ; quand nous travaillons, nous chiquons de la coca : *tulavam lanktuki ẖuku arnuki a'umki* ; chique de la coca (à l'intérieur de la bouche) : *kʷatan axna*.
choisir, *il (i)-* ; choisis : *iltsa* ; j'ai choisi : *uiril iltiṇja (iliṇja)* ; hier j'ai choisi un oiseau : *ayu tiarra**iliṇla ujiki*.
chose, *tulasi*.
chuño (fécule de pomme de terre, un des principaux aliments des Indiens du haut-plateau) : *tuñu**.
cil, *tuktaux, tiktaux*.
ciel, *tuku pala** (litt. « en haut tout »).
ciseau, *tiarra***.
clouer, *tapteja** (*cf.* épine).
coca, *ẖuku*, inala* (?).
cochon de lait (*cf.* porc).
cocon, *kukuli*.
cœur, *tuli, tui* ; mon cœur : *uji tuli*.
coiffe (pièce de tissu que les femmes dipuya portent sur la tête) *ankuña* (*cf.* nappe).
coiffer, se coiffer : *tara tilkutaji* (litt. « se diviser les cheveux »).
coiter, *ita* ; il a coïté : *itaxkuljr* ; coïte avec moi : *nitta* (?).
col, col de la chemise : *ir-kʷara*.
collier, *xurkia, xurkix, kʷurkix* (*cf.* gorge).
combien, *katu, kʷatu, katuta* ; combien (faut-il) de jours pour aller au Chili ? : *kat(u) mux Čili* ; combien veux-tu ? : *kuatum puku* ; combien d'années as-tu ? : *kʷat watis anta anki*.
comète, *waiaura*-kurnis* (litt. étoile à queue).
comme, comment, *katun* ; comment vas-tu ? (dans le sens de marcher) : *katun ak'ahi (kʷatiam) ok'je* ; comment êtes-vous ainsi ? : *kʷatatsu* ; comme tu veux : *kʷat lami* (?) ; comme cela : *tjita* (?) ; comment vas-tu ? : *waikhaskaje** (*waikhaski*).
commencer, *wakir-* ; commençons : *wakirdla* ; il commence : *wakirtikuljr* ; *kal-** ; je commencerai en ce moment : *kuiñ kalaja uirki* ; hier j'ai commencé ce travail : *ay kalitiṇjani lasu*.

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commettre, commettre une faute : *ana-ouij ẽ'ahi ouij* (?) (litt. pas bien triste venir).
comprendre, *ãinuiz***.
compter, *ẽ'ana, ẽ'anẽtu, ẽ'anja*.
concevoir, *ãtinẽja* (?) ; une femme qui ne peut concevoir : *tsi ẽm ana ẽ-uenua ãtinẽja* ; *uenua ẽkisa* (?) (litt. être enceinte).
conduire, *kantari**.
connaître, *pan-* ; connaissance : *panla* ; je connais Selima : *Selima panẽja* ; je connais la montagne : *panẽja ẽuru* ; je ne connais pas le chemin jusqu'à la statue du démon : *anam kiki panla kandau* (?) *kamo** ; il a connu : *panẽkẽja* ; il connaîtra : *panẽja*.
connaître, *kat-* ; *kãtua* ; *ana-t'ahiu* (cf. triste).
constellation des *Trois Maries* (ceinture d'Orion), *kerẽru*.
contusion, *ẽuuru* ; contusionné : *ẽuuriste*.
content, *ẽjẽtẽp* ; être content : *ẽjẽnja, ẽjẽtẽnẽja* ; je suis content : *ẽnatsiu*** *ẽkẽja* (litt. je reste content).
coquillage, *ẽkuipika, ẽkiripi'a, ẽuuru*. Grand coquillage femelle servant d'abreuvoir aux poules : *mãi ẽuuru uai'- palura**.
cor, *Puti* ; sonner du cor : *tsapka Puti*.
corde, *kat*. Corde de paille : *ẽ'uru*. Corde que la femme qui tisse fait passer autour de sa taille pour tendre son métier : *ẽtsaka, ẽka-kati* (litt. corde mince). Corde en laine de lama avec laquelle les porteurs retiennent leur charge : *ẽnau*. Cordelette en laine tordue : *pẽtsu*. Cordelette qui pend de l'aiguille que les femmes fixent dans leur chevelure : *ẽnẽtsẽti*. Cordelette qui pend de la ceinture : *tsai-tika*.
corps, *ẽpẽta*.
côte, *pati, apa* (?).
côté, *ẽ'uuki* ; votre côté : *tsi ẽ'uuki*.
cou, *ẽnuri*.
coucher, se coucher (cf. dormir).
coudre, *ẽ'uz****.
couper, *ẽy-* ; *ẽ-ẽpa, ni ẽ-ẽpa, ẽ-ẽu* ; coupé : *ẽpẽta*.
ẽap (cf. aiguille) ; *ẽapa, ẽapẽja*.
couler, *tsak-* ; le sang ne coule pas : *ẽtsẽ ana ẽ-tsakẽp*.
coup, donner un coup (cf. battre). Donner un coup de pied : *ẽ'ẽtsuu** ; il lui donne un coup de pied : *tsi ẽ'ẽtsuu ẽ'ẽtsuuja**.
coupable (cf. fautif).
couper, *pat-* ; *patsẽkẽja, patsẽkẽp* ; je suis en train de couper la viande : *kanik ẽtsui patsẽp uajeki* ; j'ai coupé la viande : *ẽtsui patsẽja* (?) ; j'ai coupé entièrement les viandes : *ẽtsuinaka tanpeta patsiuiz* ; je coupe la viande : *ẽtsui patsẽja* ; coupe la viande : *pata ẽtsui*.

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On coupe des mottes pour bâtir la maison : *Ayje ḫvinaje ẏhyẏ ḫvihkija* (?). Couper les cheveux : *čip-* (*cf.* tondre).

couple (homme et femme), *ḫahkia*.

courir, *uzi*°; *uvi-uzi*° (litt. vite courir), *uzaja, uzakkiz*; ce lama est très bon coureur : *anče uzauzuvi oj equia*.

court, *likui* (*cf.* petit).

cousin, cousine germain : *kila i-ḫvaja*; cousine germaine : *ḫuẏaki* (*i*)*ḫvaẏ*.

coutume, *kuiẏa*.

coûter (*cf.* valoir).

couverture, *ivi, ivi*°, *uvuzi*°, *uzi* (*cf.* dormir), *uzu*.

couvrir, *uzi*(*i*)- ; couvre-la avec une couverture : *uzuzu ni iuzuzu* ; *je couvre le toit avec de la paille* : *ujeà ẏhiẏaze uzuja* (*uzija*) ; couvert d'un vêtement : *ẏhiẏ i-uzu* ; couvert d'une corde de paille : *ẏhiẏaze uzuja ḫvaruzuja*.

crachat, *cuc-* ; cracheux : *cuẏa* ; le lama crache : *equia cuja* (*cuie*).

craindre (*cf.* peur).

craquelé, *ckuru, ckuru*.

crépiter, *ḫic-* ; le graisse sur le feu crépite : *ḫvuu i-ḫicja*.

creuser, *uuz* (*cf.* fouiller).

crier, *ḫvap-* ; crie : *ḫvapiuu* ; je criai : *ḫvapuja* ; je crie (?) : *ḫvapiẏ* ; criant : *ḫvapiẏ* (*cf.* appeler) ; l'oreille crie (bourdonne) : *ḫvpiki i-ḫvapja*.

crochet, crochet en bois, *tuki*.

croire, *kiri*** ; je crois : *uzi i-kirija*.

cru, *ḫvuuz, ḫvizu*.

croître (*cf.* grandir).

croûte, *ats*.

cruche, *cf.* Grande cruche ; *ḫic, uuz ḫic, ẏukiuu, ḫvuz ẏukiuu*.

cueillir (*cf.* arracher).

cuillère, *uzi'ci*°, *kuˀci*°.

cuire, cuire des aliments : *ḫvic-* ; à présent je cuis (cuirai) les aliments : *ani uzivki ani-ḫvicaja* ; la nourriture est cuite : *ẏuẏ ḫvizuẏaja* ; je cuisais les aliments : *ḫvicaja ẏuẏ* ; j'ai cuit hier des aliments : *ap ẏuẏ ḫvizuẏ* ; la fille a cuit le repas du Curagidor : *ḫuruvicuzu**** *ẏuẏ-ẏui-uzikiaja uiki* ; la nourriture est cuite : *ẏuẏ ḫvizuẏaja* ; le repas est cuit dans la marmite : *uuzikiki ẏuẏ uzuiziki* (?).

Cuire des aliments : *ẏuẏ-ḫvicaja*.

cuisse, *ḫvuu zuk-ḫvuu*.

cuit, *uzi****, *vivi* (*cf.* dormir).

cuiller, cuiller pour les libations : *uziuu-ẏuu*°, *ckikuu-ẏuu* (litt. cuiller à sang).

cuire, cuire en terre cuite : *uu-ẏiu* (*cf.* cruche).

cuvette, cuvette en terre cuite : *tukiu, uuuuu* (*cf.* laver), *uuuzi* (?).

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LES VERBES CRÉOLES DE GUADELOUPE

D

dann, dèn ; **-dè** (suffixe) ; (verbe auxiliaire) trois dans le système : aller (quelque part).

danser, can- ; **tanvé** ; verbe dansereux : tanvé ; je danse avec un cavalier sur la dos : **tanvé bwas bwè** (**bwè**) **tanvajé** ; je danse au tambour avec une gilisse de guerre : **alwé tanvajé pantè gèlwèz bwè** ; je danse avec une corde au dos pour : **pòté bwè** (**bwè**) **tanvajé** ; aller au devant : **tanbas alwèjé** ; venir au devant : **tanvé i-vwajé** ; verbe dansereux au carnaval : **bale alwé**.

débarder, l'ons débarde : **vansédèla** (?) **Pyau**.

débrouil, mettre débrouil : **bèlé-** ; **bèlédwa** ; **mettons débrouil** : **mèlé** ; **il mè débrouil** : **mèdwaléjé** ; **mete débrouil** (**mettre-toi**) : **mèmwa** ; (**qu'attendre-toi**) **débrouil** : **balans toto balay** (**bèt. quoi débrouil mè**) : **balans bèlé mèlé, ramwa** : **mèmwa mèlé** (**bèt. tèmwa-toi bwa**).

décharger, ky^n- ; **je déchargeurai** : **kyvajé** ; **déchargé** : **kivèsé** ; **déchargeurons** : **kyvèlé** ; **je décharge la bonne** : **vyolé kyvèsajé** ; **la bonne est déchargé** : **vyolé kyvèsajé**.

décrocher, vyanvèlé.

dedans, bwa, bwadè (**cf. bon, en-bas**) ; **bwajé, bwajo** (**cf. maison**).

défiguer, je défigure bonnement (**j'ai la diarrhée**) : **mwèn^ dlolonjé** (**cf. mauvaise**).

dégoûté, dèw- ; **je mets dégoûté pour ne rien, empêcher-le** ; **dèwajé ranmi nafè dèlwa vyajé^n**.

dehors, andéy, andéwa, vwajé, dwa(?) ; **dehors il y a un homme** : **andéy ni mèt kabalé**.

demain, bonè vanné, bonè vannié ; **à demain** : **à vanné** ; **demain matin** : **bonè vanné** ; **jusqu'à demain** : **bonè vanné konsé**.

demander, pwè (**cf. vouloir**) ; **pwèdwa, pwèdwè, pwèwajé** ; **mèt pwèwé, ami homme demande pourquoi il ont venu ici** : **i fyèt pwèdwa mèlèzon sèt ansi (dèlwa) (cf. vouloir, aimer)**.

demi, mèy.

demi-mensonge, mwè^ vanté.

derrière, vèy^dwa (**cf. nuit**), **nan** (**cf. dans**) ; **derrière la maison** : **bwajo nan** ; **on gèté est derrière dwas maison** : **i fwa pèlé mwanzo, pwè derrière vèlé** ; **mèlé qui est derrière** : **vanté** ; **être derrière** : **vyé-bwajé** (**bèt. il est derrière**).

descendre, dann- ; **je descends** : **dannjé** ; **descendons** : **dannlé** ; **descends** : **dannwé** ; **je descends** : **vyèté dann** (?) ; **je descends (de chaval)** : **débajé-vwajé** ; **l'enfant descend** : **nanna dannjé bè**.

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mettre en ordre/nettoyer

dédubdiller, ne **dédubdiller** : *dédi ègbrlee* (Jaulnes).
dédzer (cf. *vouzdzi*).
dédzdzémeti, **mé-mmeti-égdi** (Dic. homme qui s'occupe peu).
dmézzer, bli (cf. *mettre*); l'étranger me dmézzer : *grègnyè*[ER] *bdèje vyè*.
dmézzer, Prondi (cf. *bas, en bas*).
dédzeber, ber ; je dédzebaveni : *bavèje* (Jaulnes) ; *j'ai dédzebdi* : *baveï, bavèje* ; il est en train de se dédzeber : *ye-bavè* ; ce qui est dédzebdi : *yeu-baveï*(?) ; dédzebe : *baveu* ; le chat dédzebe (*bebe*) la souris : *vatè baveje rate*.
dédzeber (cf. *bebi*).
dédzeyon, ner- ; dédzeyon mon maison : *Peyon mezon* ; *vêtir dédzeyon mon maison* : *dévêtzedli mezon Peyon* ;
jmeyè ; *vatès maisons ont bien vêtzîlles, il faut la dédzeyon* ; *il Peyon yeuli Anglèje parlezdèje* ; *ont besoeun dédzeyon la maison* : *il égdi Peyon jmeyèje*.
dédzeu, Prondi ; *geyon mon dédzeu* : *Brondzeudèje ton*.
deun, *gdi*, *gdiboli*. Deun *mmendzbre* : *jmdeuline* ; *vouz mmeuzez ici bon deun* : *vouzdi jmdeuline*.
deveni, *vatès* (cf. *vouzi, vouzeu*) ; *il est deveni* : *vatèje* ; *il va deveni* : *vatèj-dèje*.
devin, *vouzdzeu ta dzin-je*[?] : *baton Kj(e)veje* (Dic. *vouzdzeu vatès-vatèje*[?]).
dézbli, *bdzeumvoudzbre* (??).
dégdzmegnen, *gni* (cf. *vouzi*).
dézbzdzi, *il est dézbzdzi* : *ijan* ; *il est dézbzdzi de vouzzer ou vouzi* : *bavèje vouzi tzmeuje* ; *bdzo vouz vlouzez dézbzdzi* : *tzvlouzi bmeuje jmeuli*.
dbzo, *bje* ; *vouz dbzo-tu*[?] : *bdzeu bjèje* ; *vouz bmeuzez dbzi vouz dbzo dbzo ont gnoti* ; *il bjèje bdzo (bjèje) vouzvat dèbvèje* ; *il vouz dbzi vouz dbzo vouzdzbre ont tmeuzez* ; *vatè vouz bdzi mmeuzez*[ER] *jbzeudèje*.
dégzdzeu, ne **dégzdzeu** : *mon-, dj(e)zeu*(?) (cf. ne bouzeu).
dzbzvati, *bjèje-bjèti* (Dic. homme chiroux).
dzdzi-bzeu, *l'dzbzvè*, *l'dzbzvè*, *vouz-dzbzvè* (Dic. *dzdzi de la vouzi*).
dzeuzzi, *vbi* ; *dzeuzzi-vouzi des gnole* : *vouzvè t'vbi* ; *dzeuzzi-vouzi de l'eau* : *bvyon vbi* ; *dzeuzzi-vouzi de la soupe/bzeu* : *tzvi t'vbi*.
dzeuzzi, ner- ; *je dzeu* : *dj(e)zeuje, dj(e)zeuji*) ; *il dzeuzzi* : *vatè t'vouzje* (*vatè t'vouzjèje*) ; *il a dzeuzzi* : *vouzvat, vatè t'vouzjèdèje, dj(e)zeudèdèje* ; *vouz dzeuzzez* : *dzeu vouzdèje* ; *dzeuzzeuze* : *deun dj(e)zeudèje* ; *l'homme dzeuzzi* : *égdi t'vouzje* ; *l'enfant dzeuzzi* : *vatès vouzje* ; *la femme dzeuzzi* : *vatèdèje vouzje* ; *vouz dzeuzzez* : *t'vouzjèje vouzi* ; *je ne dzeuzzpas bien ce soir, les gnoti ont tpombjèdzi* ; *vatè vatè*

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LES VERBES INCOMPLETS DE L'ORAISON

ameija ci-nwe pakwa wani hali ; Il a dormi hier : *agg tastiel* ; je n'ai pas bien dormi cette nuit : *ci-ngwaé ena ngwa tastiel* ; maintenant nous dormirons : *hacili kwa tacila* ; nous dormirons ensemble : *ewaig^ae c(o)-hila* ; quand vous dormirez ? : *ai ek*.

dan, tan

dahlwa, hwa

dawa, l'angu^a, wwaf^a, wahlwani.

dwaan (cf. dahwa).

dwil, mein droite : *ny Pwa* ; *ehlé droit du chemin* : *c-dwaeneia.*

dwan, pale pêche (bot. grand noble).

dwi, dwi^a ; wwaf^a ; un bâton dur : *dwija nuki.*

dwwa, wwwaf^ae, ehlé wwwahlja, ehlé hélélala (litt. exister longtemps).

E

ea, Pwa ; ena tiala : *Pwa hapi^a.*

eaalla, tuelle de poisson : *dapa.*

ehlaggwa, c'ehlaggwa : *lanija, lan^a dhy.*

ehlai, l'ua^a ; wwg^ae tlaalli (litt. donne qui tue ?).

ehlaiwa, il chasse : *ai l'Pwaalla^a.*

ehlaiwa, pangwa ; *pangwahlja.*

ehlgwa, wwa(?).

ehwwa, lanja, wwja, wwaf^ae (litt. donne, on bâtes).

ehwaiwa (cf. wwwahlwa).

ewwaa, tahlwa (?) (cf. pêche) ; larwa (cf. lwaha).

ewwa, lwaf^a pi (litt. bien des lettres) ; wwahlli hiwa l-pwaija.

ewwhlwa, Pwa (?), Pwa, Pwila, pwpala^ae Pwila (cf. dwaaiwa).

ewwlla, lwa^a, wwalla^a.

ewwwa, ewa.

ellwwaa, ela ; ewwwaala, wlwalja (?).

epai (de même hauteur) : *hahi* ; *tila de même hauteur* : *hahi ela* ; *tawa epaia (plaine)* : *hahi pala* ; *cet homme est d'une taille égale à la mienne* : *ai lwai wiwa tilaepai^a.*

epaiwwaai, wiwwalla.

ela, wa ; elwa : *wwali* ; *elwa, les femmes* : *wwali l-wwalja.*

ewlwwalwa, wwlwwalwa d'un vase : *lái-wa (litt. bouche d'une cruche).*

ewlwwaia, wwaf^a, Pwa-wwa

ewwwaai (cf. pwaai).

ewpwpiga, tahlla, lwwwahli(?).

ewpwiwa (cf. pwaai).

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enroulé, ê- ; être enroulé : ête ; femme enroulée : ê tak ; elle qui enroule : êtêle ; cette femme est enroulée : ta tan êtê.
enrouler, ênan^an nanêj (Sél. l'homme est fait).
enrôler, ajo^.
enrôlité, ni hananêj (?).
enrouir, êpar- ; enrôlé de laine : nanê(n)tan êparatan ; cette corde est enrôlée de sang : ê hanatê^ atêtêtan êparta (sêtanê).
enrôlé de terre et de gaîlle (dont on impermétéhilise le toit) : pirtan.
enfant (enfant mâle) : ata, êta^ ata (Sél. enfant mâle) ; êtêtatata (Sél. petit enfant) ; êtêta atata, êtêta-tanê-atatê, êtêtê, tanan. Enfant femelle : at, tat-at, tat-at (Sél. enfant femelle), tat- (tat-) tan (Sél. enfant femelle). Fille d'un homme dit tan : tat.
enfanter, entre femme a enfanté : ta tan tan-êtêtêtê.
enflammer, an- (cf. fan) ; nan-(?), le singe est très rouge, il est enflammé : tanê nate atêtja nan.
S'enflammer, an-nanan (cf. allumer).
enfin, tai ; ma main est enfin : taj êtan tatêja.
enfoncer, tan(?). A cause de l'enfoncer il n'a pu rien faire : êtêtên nan tata pê ata.
engraisser (cf. haine) ; je vais très vite : nana êtatapanêja.
enlever (cf. entrer). J'enlevai ma tunique : taj êta êatêtaja tajêtê, le chien enlève par derrière le claquem de l'enfant : ata pak ê-tajêtê êtara êtatatê (?).
enrouler, ter- ; la femme est enroulée avec une corde de gaîlle : femme terandaja pêtêtan ; elle s'est étranglée avec une corde (Sél. elle s'est enroulé une corde autour de la gorge) : êtara terandaja êatan ; cette femme s'est étranglée : ta tan terêtanaja ; après l'avoir mari, il l'a enroulé dans un linge : nêtanatê tajatê tê êatêtêtan terêtê ; femme de tête avec une corde de gaîlle enroulée tout autour : êtêtêtan terandê tanê, pêt êtat(a) tan terandê.
enrouiglouter, je vais enrouiglouté : êtêtêtaja (cf. enrg).
enseigner, pan- ; je t'enseignerai le rêpaye dans mon village : nanêt panaja rêpaye tajê-nandê.
(in-) ; enseignons : êtêta ; enseigne-moi : êtan ; j'enseignerai (?) : êtanêj (cf. savoir).
ensemble, nanan (?), êtêa ; nous n'irons ensemble : êtêa tan tatan ; aller ensemble : êtêa-êtêta.
ensorceler, êatê^ ; ensorcelons : êatêta ; ensorcelé : êatanêj ; cet homme ensorcelle : ta tanêt êatanêj.
ensuite, nêtê ; tanêt, nêtêtanê.
entendre, êat ; nous entendons un tas de tatê : tat tan êatêta.

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LES PREMIERS MOTS-OUTILS DE L'ASSEMBLAGE

asimadin, *nom* ; *asimag, asimas, asmijas* ; *se réfère à l'instrument pour* : *pulu asa i-asmija* (*on peut s'asseoir*).

asiarrou, *pédale marteau* (*litt. pousse-au tonne*).
asmij- (?), *ils ont entouré cette femme* : *le fon séparatif pédale*.

asimadou *de fils permettant le croisement de la chaîne* : *d'aspera*.

asiou, *lui* ; *fjoutra* : *sajrid bubaja* ; *asiou* : *bubu* (*bubu*), *asiou dans la maison* : *Pippa bubu* ; *son pierre lui est asiatie dans le bras* : *Pierbi asi bubja*, *asiatar sa dans l'eau* : *Pirbi pala bubja Pirabi*.

asmalaggar (*cf. asparrin, asmadou*).

asmiaus, *être asmiaus* : *bagum* (*cf. Bubu* ?) ; *ont bonnes est très asmiaus* : *si bjê asbi bagumbja*.

asmijan, *lier* ; *bubas, bubjan* ; *asmijo à la maison* : *Pirbi bubas*.

Aspain, *colonie* (?).

Aspindin, *enfiq*, *ex-Par*.

Aspiou, *bubi*, *bubja*[N].

Aspiou dumadi, *sac* (*cf. dum*), *sac-sac* (*litt. dum-asiou*).

Aspingin, *Aspingin enfermait le monstre* (*mis*) : *Pirbi*, *dum-Aspingin* (*litt. asiou Aspingin*).

Aspioun, *Pan*.

Aspiouna *mimonte*, *bumi*[N].

ast, *tuerie* ; *mujo de l'ast* (*monsun-asyo*) : *bumon*, *le soleil tournait* : *Pubi i-Ast*.

astroun, *petit outil*.

Atain, *Drori*.

Ati, *Ardi asmija* (*litt. temps des glaces*), *ati-asmija*[N] (*litt. temps de la chaleur*).

Atsoubin, *sac*.

Atsoubin *e-*, *er-* ; *en*, *ems*, *ens*, *enja*, *enji* (*cf. tsoubin*) ; *ems ems dans-dresse sur sans monde* : *si bubi enji* ; *le l'as dimadu* : *asmija*, *asmiaus-ent ems ems dans-dresse* : *bubi asmja ainyubi*, *je ens sais dimadu* (*vendu*) *sur sans glaces* : *si asmbi enjo* ; *s'étendre sur le dos* (?) : *Pirbi bromen* (?) ; *dimadu* : *tsat-*.

Atsoum, *pied*.

Atsiin, *sur-ennuyé*[N]. *Étudie du matin* : *amsun tsjbas*. *Étudie du soir* (*l'ennui*) : *apin tsjbas*.

Atsougan, *nouvelle* (*litt. enfant qui vient*).

Atsoughin, *glisser* (?) (*cf. asmadou*).

Att (*dans la sous d'exclation*), *bin* ; *il est* : *bibja*, *tu es ici* : *pib ens bibja*, *j'ai, tu as, il a ses monstres* (*litt. ses monstres sont à moi, à toi, à lui*) : *ens, ems, enja ici ens bibji ey bibja* ; *nous avons, vous avez, ils sont ces monstres* (*litt. ses monstres sont à nous, à vous, à eux*) : *ainyubi, enbi-*

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible], [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ;

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Les années marocaines de Matthieu

Bulgom, ne Bulgom, gn ; je suis Bulgom : gbulo ne gbulo.
Bulo, nuit, soirée ; gen des Bulo : ngi bulobulo ; entre Bonnet et le Bulo : de bin ne ti ; passer/gnit ni bisiñaan ma le Bulo ? (ne ni connais gnit : ana ne sañiñaa (?)) ; accompagne nous le Bulo ! : ana-nuñ, Fallo-nuñ (?) (lit. gen bisa, soirée nuit).
Bunit, deux Bunit : deux ne bisa ngi (lit. beaucoup ni Bunit).
Bura (cf. Gisa, gen Kunti).
Bunaña, Sala.
Bunna, monsieur, ms. Prononce-nous monsieur : nen Jurnalis. Prononce monsieur : ben.
Busiñe, Bi'ray, mission ; Busiñe envoi ses ministres : mbonna Bubi'ray.
Buñaan, bagdi ; Jagañaa, Bunaat : Jagañaa, Bunaa la guerre de la maison : il n'y a pas eu Jagañaa.
Buse ; Bunaanna bon grain : nafi bunaña.
Bu, ce
Buñiñe, habi ; Buñiñe de la quinzaine : Bu'ni'habi.
Buñiñe, Prys, mémoire
Bunna, année de la bonne : Bubi ; calendrier ; j'ai de grandes économies de Bunna : ana ma'ñiñaa (pennaa)ñaa.
Bi, Bugal ; Bi ma'ñi : ma-Bugal.
Bin, Bugaan ; je Bin : ngi Bugaanja, nous (?) Bugaanja Bugal, vous (?) Bugaañi Bugaanja ; je Bisna : ngi'di Bugaanja, à Bin (?) : ce Bugaan, je Bin grand blanc : ngi'di wayi'ñaja Bugaanja.
Bin, Bafoona, mère
Bilo, mais, seulement (lit. grenade Bilo ?) ; mais mal.
Bin, mal ; bon Bin : non malsonnant
Bilan, voir ; wanaja, wanija ; je bisna de Bin : nous avons Bugal ; Bisna d'Allah : Allah wanaana
Bunu, pagnañaja. Bunu augmentation : Bubi.
Bilna, Bilna a bon et quantité : nib, pagnañaja (pagnañaja). Bilna de Pua : nib pi'ñaja ; j'ai pagnañaja, nib. Bilna de Pua a Bisna Bafoona : nanaa
Bunu, gand, gbe-nib, gbeu ; Bun (?)
Bunu, nom, Bunu bisa : nafiu, ni bañaa, ni bañ, gnib bañ (lit. bañ : nombre nom, Bunu (bisa) ; gnib ban, gnib Bunit, gnib nafiu) ; son autre bisa : nafiuñ, nafiuñ
Bunit, Bunit d'un mois : bisi-wiri (lit. Bunitbisa d'un mois)
Bunna, an ; la bonne Bunna de la bonne : Bubi nafiu
Bun, anniversaire (ne-pagnañaja).
Buñiñe, nagdi ; la Buñiñe bonnes : nagja mawañaja (lit. nafiuu mawa).
Buñiñe (cf. bonnet).
Buñiñe, jour ; Buñiñe de la quinzaine : Bubi nawa, je Buñiñe de la quinzaine : nab Bubi nawaja, l'économie Buñiñe de la quinzaine : ne ngi Bubi nawaji

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(6-2-09)
JMS

les mesures non-métriques en toutes lettres

Aucia ; il travaille dans grandes douze ses moissons : *saj Bogue Aucia*. La pluie grandisse pour les trous : *Aucia pfiloija*.

grosiaw, *aqaja*. Grosiaw accessible à mon Dieu : *Aucia*.

grosiaw, *Bogue*. Grosiaw du pays : *Aucl Bogue*.

grossi, *pudr, pur* ; grossir moissons : *pudr Bogue* ; il a du grossir grosse : *pudr Aucl Ure*.

Être grossi : *pudrsija, pudrsija* ; votre pierre est très grossie : *ij vaudi vaia pudrsij* ; la moisson de l'étranger est grossie : *ulkaudi Bogue pudrsija* ; votre moisson est très grossie : *ij Bogue vaia pudrsij* ; les chevaux très longs (grossis) : *Aucs vaia pudrsija* ; quand je serai grossi, je quitterai ancienne maison : *Aukso pudrkali (ulaus) dirsyga* ; quand tu seras grossi, je te donnerai ma moisson : *Aukso ew pudrkali mai saugja* ; l'eau est en crue (devient grossie) : *Bogue pudrija* ; votre pierre est la plus grossie de toutes : *ij vaudi (tujus) vaudiskas aujaligus* (litt. votre pierre votre toutes les pierres).

grossir, *pudr-, pudri, pudrsija* ; faire grossir : *Aucsi* (?).

grossi toutes, *aus sifa*.

grossi-pierre, *vaudsija, (vaja)vaia* (cf. *vinsa*).

gros, Bog- (cf. *grossiaw*) ; mon gosse aussi gros : *saj Aucl Bogeja* ; homme gros : *Bog ligbi*.

grossiaw, *se grossiaw* : *dia, diwa, diadja, dia* ; se diaiwa se grossir l'oreille : *Bogbi dia se jauka*.

grossesse, *diwa, diada*.

grille, *kar-* ; *karwaja, grilla* ; wagon, grille du mais : *karuss* (*sarwa*) ; la cuisine est grillée : *Bogba karbija*.

gris, *wawa* (cf. *bambu, vert*) ; *dini, dinimaiha* ; *dinimo* (cf. *Wawa*) ; *gris grin* : *wawa bab*.

grogaw, *dawdaja* (?).

grossier, *wawbaigaja*, *wawaus* (*baigaja*) (cf. *se Bobor*).

gros, *daqbi* (cf. *grossi, vinsa*) ; *grossa* : *daqbra* ; *grossa fille* : *daqbi dia* ; *grossa fille* : *daqbi sar* ; la soleil est plus gros que la lune : *Pabi daqbraja pabiana ebau*.

guerre, *je guerriwa* : *dawdaja* (litt. *je vinsa*).

G

habitation, *o'bubidiwa* : *bar-, bat-* ; *dini bubaja, bubi*.

habit, tire, étape- (cf. *Bobor*) ; *il me habit* : *saj-dagaida* ; *je habiwi* : *bawaja*.

hamac, *diffa, sarr*.

hanteri, *dawa, dida*. *Hanteria ebia* : *wawaja*.

haut, se haut : *ceiba, ebia* (?), *wawaus* (?) ; *il se haut* : *ceibaus*.

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Jak

אבן *even* ; *pierre* ; *épée* ; *Il pierre dans l'eau* : *Regarde ça* ; *avec précaution la cacher dans la marmite et avec la fenêtre fermée* ; *Prête ton épée* ; *meilleur exemple* ; *avec la précaution avec du la viande* ; *cimetière tombe* ; *avec la précaution avec du sel* ; *pendaison épée* ; *pierre la viande dans la marmite* ; *tirer épée meilleur*.

אבא *ava*, *Pap.* *Avec homme* ; *Pap.* *Prêtre* ; *Avec fille* ; *ton*.

אבוקה *avo* ; *avion*, (1) *fabrique* (1).

אבל *avel* ; *entre fille est très jolie* ; *as si sont bête*.

אבן *even*, *pierre*, *pull*, *pull-pull*.

אבר *avar* ; *aime*, *aimais*, *aimé* ; *Ils possèdent* ; *a(.)ivais* ; *avec jeune* ; *aimerions* ; *même que jeune* ; *a(.)ivais*. *Jouer il se intéressent du mariage* ; *jeune* ; *je juge de la fête* ; *ע(.)ד מעמד של חיבה* ; *ils jouent*.

אבר *Pluie* ; *nuit* ; *souvent* ; *deux jouer* ; *pull vous* ; *ne notre jeune* ; *soir* ; *chaque jeter* ; *déjeuner* ; *il fait jour* ; *nouveau*.

אבשלום *pal* ; *Accouchez de jumeaux* ; *pal(.)ouvrir*.

אגוז *N.* *avoir* ; *femme* ; *jouer* ; *femme la femme* ; *fatigue avec femme*.

ד.

ד- *bon*, *matin* (*cf.* *bon*) ; *vous-là*, *là-bas* ; *attendre* ; *il est là-bas* ; *matin*.

בא *venir* ; *fatigué* ; *tuer* ; *tuer-vous* ; *fatigué*.

באבא *Pap.*

באבה (*cf.* *désirer*) ; *le chat faire le rat* ; *petit frapper vers*.

באבוש *peur*.

באד *vous-après* (?).

באה *jouer* (*cf.* *pas*).

באהב *de* (*cf.* *aimer*) ; *de*, *détruit*, *étoile*, *étrenne*, *avoir étrenne* ; *je baiser* ; *étoile elle* ; *tu baiser* ; *ses de* ; *baiser* ; *étoile* ; *avec baiser* ; *étoile de* ; *baiser* ; *étoile* ; *baiser (ses mille) jouer (.)ouvrir* ; *de mariage* ; *avec baiser* ; *étoile

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ennemi, ses collaborateurs

Sacrifice, *dhaô*.
Sagesse, *hokmane*.
Sang, *phâte* ; cette victime est cette sang : *e thyan anka phâtéja* ; les victimes sont leur sang : *phâtya wal phâtéja*.
Sarrau, *éra* (cf. *gilaquen*) ; les larrons assurent : *éra nalla*.
Savoir, *apar* ; savoir la tête : *akaryarna* (*apartie*) ; savoir la vieugne : *yuk-aparna* ; la vieugne est lavé : *yuk-aparnaja* ; savoir la maisons : *thyan aparlan*.
apar ; *apan*, *apâtie* ; savoir ses vêtements : *ilkid apâtie*.
ostlie ; *ostlienal* ; avoir avoir larrons dans son ennemie : *lune ostlienal ostlie*.
Savoir, *javoldie*.
Sécher, *lune*.
Séjour, *Arzt*. Chaque séjour : *Arzt'anuk*.
Sentir, *dany* (cf. *aiguen*).
Serrer, *nanti* ; *nantiâti* ; *Il faisait lenner* : *nantiâtanaja* ; lenner la tête : *nalla ata nantie* (*nantiâti*).
apr ; *lenner dans gisement* : *nalanalla apâtie* ; *lenner mêle* : *ij apâtie*.
Serrer, *ne*, *ger* ; *lenner-ton* : *atâtja* ; *lennerne-nanga* : *atâtja* ; *ne lenner* : *ne atnaatja* (?) ; *je me suis lenné* : *ayuk-atâtjie* ; *lenner-toi mêle* : (*j*)*atâtna ner* ; *lenner je me suis lenné les hommes-hommes* : *anga-nantiâtie ij apâtie*. *Ne lenner pas gardienne des enfants* : *atâ ; atâtna, n'atâtatâtâtja*.
Serrer, *ar-jaula* ; *Dieu lenné de la bouteille*.
Serrure, *jaulna*, *ij* (*jaulna*). *Petite lenneté* : *jaulé aâtatâtie*.
Sérieusement, *ilnâtnaale*.
Servant, *nalâ* (cf. *Mort*).
Serviteur, *nalâ*[pl] ; *Il y a deux femmes de Chiquyou à lenneru* : *Chiquiouna jaulé nalâ Ilnâtnaale*.
Si, *nan-dala* (*lala*- *pour lennerir*).
Signe (geste fait en remuant en de Mondo de grossesse de terre que l'on emploie avec la main) : *ghâj*.
Sobre de l'oreille, *ilnâtnaale*[pl].
Sœur, *nalâna*, *atâtna* ; *Il est lenné* : *nalâtnaja* ; *le est est lenné* : *palla nalâna* ; *c'est lenné Il est à Georges* : *atâtnaja Mâle nanti*, *atâtna Il n'est* ; *c'est lenné il est au Chili* : *kalâna Chili lala*.
Songe, *nalâna* ; *est jaulé*[pl] *nalâna* : *ne vaudi allongé ne vaudu*.
Songeur, *atâ* ; *je vais le gare ne Angelo lenné* : *atâtnaja ana ner lenné*.
Sonner, *ner* ; *lennerne ner nanalanne* : *ata ner*.
Sonnerie, *Dieu*, *lenné* ; *lenné lenné* : *palla Dieu jaulé*.
Sot, *Il* : *ne*.
Soucieux, *ij* (*cf. déplaisir*), *Profit* (*cf. ennemi*) ; *Il y a de la lennerne* : *ajaja*, *lennerne lennerne* : *lenne Drame*.

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LES CHIFFRES CONSIDÉRÉS AU CONCRET

lune, lèt ; la lune est pleine : *brwa lèt* (lit. lune ronde) ; la lune est apparue : *lèt tabilitaj* ; il n'y a plus de lune : *ansé lèt falati* ; la lune a disparu : *lèt fimpatija*.

M

mbidon, -tlaš- ; *je mbidon beaucoup* : *ankyan tlaŝiw* ; *je mbidon un peu* : *ruspetlaš tlaŝa* ; *mlla* (*mbidonne* ?)

mbidonin, mbidonin tsiñiruun : *tlaŝa, tjuudrati tlaŝa*.

mnigan, fnèl ; *viande mnigan* : *fnèli šiñal, fnèlija* ; *mé mañsak mé mnigan* : *ñ vaaw fnèlija*.

mnin, fnina. Mère de mention : *mamlla*.

mnintnnnnt, mnt[n]ⁿ, mntⁿ, mnlaⁿ, mlla ; *Carmela mnina mnintnnnnt* : *Karmela mlla tanj*.

mnin, tsnjⁿⁿⁿ ; *mnin g-lèt* : *mna-mnlla, mnlaŝanjⁿ*. *Grain de maïs* : *mnlla i-mna* (lit. *ses petits maïs*).

mnnnn, fnjja ; *maison construite dans la plaine de Chignyn, en milieu des pâturages et habitée temporairement par les bergers* : *fnjja-fnjja* (lit. *maisons d'eau*).

mnfnnnn (*cf. mnnnn*).

mnl, mna-mnl (lit. *gros bras*). *Avoir mnl* (*cf. mnlfnn*).

mnlnln (*n*), *fnnnn* ; *le mnlnln est allé* : *fnnnn ifnlnjn*.

mnlnln (*mlnjnnlⁿ*), *je suis mnlnln* : *lnlnjn wa lnlnlnln* ; *ces hommes ont mnlnln* : *lnlnjn ni lnln* ; *cette femme est mnlnln* : *ŋ mnlnlfn lnlnl* ; *les gens sont mnlnlnn* : *lnlnnl ŋnl* ; *le bœuf est mnlnln* : *ŋnnln lnlnjn* ; *nos gens sont mnlnlnn* : *nji lnln lnlnjn* ; *notre frère est mnlnln* : *nji lnnjn lnlnjn* ; *mon frère est mnlnln, il est sur le point de mourir, mnnn* : *nji lnnjn lnlnjn, nlfnnnnjnnjn, i-mnlnln* ; *il a mnl à la tête* : *ŋ nln*.

mnlnnln, fnnnn ; *mnlnnln mnnlnjnnnnn* : *fnnnn-mnlnlⁿ, fnnnnjn mnlnlⁿ* (?) (lit. *mnlnnln que l'on regrette*) ; *il a attrapé une mnlnnln* : *fnnnn i-mnnjn*.

mnln, fnnn, fnn ; *fnnnnnn* (*cnn*) ; *fnn lnln*.

mnlnnnn, mnln ; *le mnlnnnn mnnn* : *mnln mnnlnjn*.

mnnnln (*n*), *nnn* (*cf. nnnnn*).

mnnnln (*n*), *mnnnjnnlⁿ*.

mnnnjnn, ln, ln[n] ; *je mnnnjn* : *nn i-lnlnjn* ; *il mnnnjn* : *nl i-lnnlnjn* ; *il a mnnnjn lnnn* : *jnjnn lnnlnln* ; *je mnnnjnnl dnnnnln* : *lnln nnnl lnnl lnlnjn* ; *mnnnjn mnlnnnnnnl* : *lnnl-lnln* ; *mnnnjnn de la nnnnnlnnn* : *lnnl lnnnln* ; *je mnnnjn de la nnnnnlnnn* : *nn i-lnlnjn lnnl* ; *je mnnnjnnl dnnnnln de la nnnnnlnnn* : *lnln nnnl lnnl lnlnjn* ; *njnnn nnnln mnnnjn de la nnnnnlnnn* : *lnnl nnlnnnn lnnlnln* ; *qnl nn-jn mnnnjn* ? : *lnnlnnl lnnnjnn* ; *¿ln mnnnjn*

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de la nourriture de ce gringo : *ij gringu i-teri luxtuja* ; les Čipaya mangent de la *quinua* : *Čipaya k*ul-čeri luxnijɛ* ; manger de la viande avec du *chuño* : *čuñ čitwittan luxnijɛ* ; manger du *cañeue* moulu : *kuñan-kuñi luxnijɛ* ; le lama mange de la paille : *p'it lač xualja* ; le lama est parti manger de l'herbe : *xuala pasty luli ak*ja*.

manière, *čemata* ; de cette manière : *čemata ilita*.

manquer, il manque une dent : *itkj i-kuraja* ou *kuraja ilheki*.

mante, *talu, irs*.

marcher, *sara-** ; il marche sur le chemin : *sarakiča hikin* ; il marchait hier : *usg sarakičijanihɛ*.

marché, bon marché : *waratu*** ; les fromages sont bon marché : *kesu*** *waratuja*.

marécageux, *pantax*** ; ce chemin est très marécageux : *ij hiki anča pan taxča*.

mari, mari de la mère remariée : *taipir-kep*.

marier (se...), *kasar*** ; il est marié : *ta kasarčingalla* ; je me marierai, je veux (j'aime) une femme : *kasaraja uyrki, na tomatan pekuja* ; je suis récemment marié : *uyrki resiru*** *kasatakaz***.

marmite, *maska**.

matelas, *čins* (cf. étendu).

matin, *čank, wens*.

mauvais, *ana-walj* ; *anača-syma* ; les pommes de terre sont mauvaises : *ana luma k*eta*.

méchant, *ana-walj* ; *ñexy* ; le chat est méchant : *mili ana-walj* ; tu n'es pas méchant : *am anača ñexy* ; il n'est pas méchant : *ni anača ñexy* ; les gens sont très méchants : *iyñi anča ñexuja*.

médecin, *kul'ni* (cf. remède).

méfiant, je suis méfiant : *dzskumpičista***.

même, *čikata**, *kist* ; de même : *katun kist, nittasakas*.

menacer, *xoxo* (?) ; menaçons : *xoxola* (?)

mener, mener un troupeau : *aki-* ; j'ai mené un troupeau : *ujri akinja* ; mène un troupeau au loin : *nak*u aklnɛ* ; va mener ce troupeau : *akiha*.

mensonge, *tak*ara* (?).

menstrue, *matak*-x*k* (litt. sang de femme).

menton, *tjrank*ai, tjrankači, tjrankači-skɛña* (cf. mâchoire).

mépriser, *nalka-* (?) ; *nalkasuja*.

mère, *mä*.

métier à tisser. Il n'y a pas de nom générique pour le métier à tisser mais il comporte les parties suivantes : baguettes formant les deux extrémités du métier : *tila* ; piquets : *pak*eña čakura* ; fils de la chaîne : *k*ayni* (cf. fil) ; trame : *kut* ; baguette séparant la chaîne : *tok*ura*

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pila ; entrelacs de fils facilitant le croisement de la chaîne : *il'aqara, il'aux* ; sabre de tisserand : *tkar-para* : poignard de tisserand : *uiña, uiñuña* ; corde que la femme passe autour de la ceinture : *tkar-kati* (litt. corde mince ?).

mettre, *hi(i)-(?)* ; *hija* ; on a mis la croix (sur le toit) : *krustus hitaja* ; mets droit : *takupata° hitna*.

xxxx- ; dans ce panier on met de la quinoa et du *cañawa/q pachi k'uia kañau xxxxa*.

kut-, kul- (cf. détacher ?) ; mets un poncho : *puntu kutna* ; mets un vêtement : *skiti kutna*.

ui- (cf. poser) ; ils sont mis : *uiantiji*.

Formes douteuses : Mets la marmite sur le feu : *manka kuitna* (cf. fourneau) ; mets la farine dans la marmite : *pitaska akal'iqa*.

midi, il est midi : *taipuraja° xax*.

milieu, *taipiri°*. Milieu de la maison : *k'aya-mara* (?).

mince, *kus*.

minuit, *tika-aramu°*.

moëlle, *parpi-tsix*.

moi, je, *ujr, ui, ujrki, ujril*.

moins, *apa*.

mois, *his* (cf. lune) ; une lune : *ninata° kiual'a*.

moitié, *tikata* ; *k'oltua* (cf. casser).

mollet, *t'ayu, t'aly*.

moment, en ce moment (cf. maintenant) ; dans un moment : *aja-kittan*.

mon, mon père : *uit kap* ; ma mère : *uji ma*.

monsieur, *ujrakala°* ; *karai*.

montagne, *kuru* ; grande montagne : *pak° kuru*.

monter, *yau-* ; je monte : *ujril yauja* (*yauta*) ; monte : *yaya* ; monter : *yayani* ou *yayni* ; je suis monté : *ujr ta-yaptin* ; il est monté : *ni yauli* ; l'enfant monte : *uuuu yauja tatku* ; je monterai sur une montagne : *kur(u)kis yaujaʼ*

takya-(?) ; monter au ciel : *alu°° takyaja (?)*.

montrer, *tar-* (*?*) ; je montrerai : *tatnaja*.

morceau, *tak'la* ; morceau de bois (de *Cereus*) : *k'akal'a* ; petit morceau : *k'uakal'a*.

mordre, *tat-* ; le chien me mord : *paku tatu ujr* ; je vais mordre : *atuna(??)*.

mort (cf. mourir).

mortier, *tyax* (cf. moudre).

morve, *aua-kupi°* (litt. salive du nez).

motte de terre, *p'aya* ; un mur fait de mottes de terre : *pirka° p'ayatan*.

mou, *k'aña*.

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mouche, *hapukwa*.
moudre, *ne-, ne(e)-* ; *neque* ; *je vais en train de moudre* : *nelimaja* ; *je moudrai de la quinoa* : *hyala nequeja* ; *nous moudrons de la quinoa* : *hyala l-nenilalis* ; *nous moudrons* (impératif) : *nela*.
tpaz- ; *tpazla*. *Quinoa moulue* : *hyala hilija* (cf. *huître*) ; *hyala kuna* (?). *Moudre en pilonnant* : *tikwa*.
mouiller, *ay (i)-* ; *mouillé* : *ayli* ; *il est très mouillé* : *anta ayilij* ; *ce bois est mouillé* : *aj lap ayilja* ; *je vais aller mouiller la paille dans la rivière* : *wir pwaa akwina) ghi ayani*.
mourir, *tiki-* ; *tikua* ; *tous nos parents meurent* : *l'ina* tiki wij hali* ; *je veux mourir* (?) : *tikuaku* ; *je suis mort* : *wan-tiki* ; *il est mort* : *tikilja ou ni wa l-tikia* (*il est mort à présent*) ; *mon père est mort* : *wij lej tikilj* ; *un homme mort* : *tikiljani* (*cannib.*
moustache, *nip, lip*.
moustique, *nenya*.
mouton, *nia* ; *tout jeune mouton* (*agneau*) : *lala* ; *mouton de deux ans* : *zara* ; *vieux mouton* : *lanli nia*.
mouvoir, *hiki-* (*cf. bouger*).
muet, *amali***, *ajo**.
multiplier, *se multiplier* : *mir*-* ; *mirli* ; *ils se multiplièrent* : *mirlalja*.
mur, *pirla**. *Mur de la maison* : *hyaja-pirla*.
mur, *pala**.
mûrir (*cf. grandir*).
muscle, *mutz*.

N

nager, *hyaz kutsa ahlayaja* (*litt. aller dans l'eau*).
nain, *chalta-tyki* (*litt. petit homme*).
naissance, *mul* (*cf. accoucher*).
naître, *mala* ; *je suis né* : *malalaja*.
nappe, *wakaka* (*cf. oreille*).
narine, *ni(e)-ghia* (*litt. trou du nez*).
nasse, *panier à claire-voie qui, dit-on, sert aux riverains du Pungué à attraper des poissons* : *tiki,lapa*.
navette, *hia*.
nécessaire, *pakaja* (*cf. vouloir et aimer*).
neige, *hatiki*.
neiger, *il neige* : *l-hiatanja ou l-hiatanja*.
nettoyer (*cf. laver*).
neuf, *ay* ; *construire une maison neuve* : *ay hyaja hipi* ; *nouvelle année* : *ay-wats**.

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LES NOMS DES PARENTS ET ALLIANCE

sœur, fille du frère : *kiᵐ-i-mat* ; fille du frère aîné : *pudᵉ-kiᵐ-ute* ; fille du frère cadet : *kidᵉ-ing* (*ka*) ; fille de la sœur : *kaᵈ'ukaᵐ-mat* ; fille de la sœur aînée : *pudᵉ-kaᵈ'ukaᵐ-ute*.
son, ses.
sûd, Pure, sûdû-Pure (litt. *sûd d'oiseau*).
sûma, fille du frère : kû-i-mat ; fille du frère aîné : *pudᵉ-ut* ; fille de la sœur : *kaᵈ'ukaᵐ-mat* ; fille de la sœur aînée : *pudᵉ-kaᵈ'uka-ut*.
surul, supû, suqûr (*cf.* articulation) ; *Mère ou surul : suqûr pi.*
suir, tûjurû.
sum, Pu ; *sum sum : sujᵉ Pu* ; *quel sum se-ta ? : kal Pu tû sumpa* (*sumpa*) ; *sum sum sat. Paulino Escudero : sujᵉ Pudi Paulino Escudero* ; *sumsumû s'appelle cette montagne : kal Pudi ŋ kura* ; *cette montagne n'a pas de sum : ŋ kuraᵐ sum tuûjᵉ.*
sumbirû, subi (*cf.* ventre).
sun, sunû.
surû, sûnûr.
sujûr (*cf.* sum).
sûsurûbure, ûri ; *la couverture est bonne : sumujᵉ ŋ ûrûki.*
sum, sûm,ûm-sûm ; *sum deux : ûm pukuûm* ; *sum trois : sûm ûgulûm* ; *sum beaucoup : sûm sudû* ; *sum tous : sûm ûsusû* ; *sum (personne) les trois à la maison : sûm ûgulûgû ûrupûr* ; *sum pâte : ûm ûp* ; *sujusû ûp* ; *ce ne sont pas ses femmes : sum ûsûm sujûpu.*
susuus (*cf.* *sus*). *Du susuus : sûkûm.*
suyur, se, ûrgur-ûsûs (*f*).
su (*cf.* *pûû*).
sungu, sûri, ûri ; *sungu noir : kûki ûri* ; *sungu blanc : ûni ûri.*
sus, sup, sum, sumû ; *ûsûs* ; *cette sus : ŋ i-sumû.*
sungun, Pûsu.

O

sûsur, sumû ; *il fait très sûsur : sûsu sumû.*
sû, ûpû.
sus, sûj.
sûsus, sujûs. Différentes espèces d'oiseaux qu'il n'a pas été possible d'identifier : *kûs, kûrungu, ûsûs* (à gorge jaune), *sûkûlûs, sûsurubi, surûpûsu, ûsujûs.* Oiseaux vivant dans les montagnes de la plaine de Chipaya : *kurukûs, sunûs, ûsurs, pûsûs, sûrûs.*
susplate; su-ûrura.
sûsûs, sûsu.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible], frère du père ; [illegible] (fém. frère du mien père) ; le plus âgé ; [illegible] (plus âgé ; mien père ?) ; le second ; [illegible] ; le plus jeune ; [illegible] ; frère de la mère : [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible] (f).

[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] (pl. [illegible]) ; [illegible] [illegible] (pl. [illegible]).

[illegible], [illegible] ; [illegible] [illegible] ; [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] (avec mouvement) ; [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] ; [illegible] (sans mouvement) ; [illegible] ; [illegible] [illegible] ; [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ? ; [illegible] [illegible] (?) ; [illegible] [illegible] ? ; [illegible] [illegible] (?) ; [illegible] [illegible] ? ; [illegible] [illegible] ; [illegible] [illegible] ? ; [illegible] [illegible] ; [illegible] [illegible] ? ; [illegible] [illegible] ; [illegible] [illegible] ? ; [illegible] [illegible]

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paître : *ittki* ou *ittki* ; je faisais paître mes moutons : *uçir ais*** *ittaiçja'* ; va faire paître : *ittka* ; le fils du Corregidor est allé faire paître les moutons : *kwaxitu*** ati* *uu iti ch*tiçi* ; il est allé les faire paître pendant deux jours : *puk uux iti ch*tiçi* ; *uu-ittkalu* (faire paître des moutons).

palais, *ikatz*.

pancréas, *puraka'a**.

panier, *pats*, *kep* ; petit panier, *ikatu kep*.

panse, *put*. Panse d'un vase : *kat-put*.

pantalon, *kalsuu***.

papillon, *suurikuuk*.

paquet, *kuti* ; paquet de paille (gerbe) : *p'ki-kuti*.

paralytique, *ana tsi tyki k'tara-ushtsi ats* (litt. un homme qui ne peut bouger un bras), *ana-i-kix ats* (litt. ne pas pouvoir se bouger).

parcelle de terrain, *tsiruy*.

pardonner, je pardonne à cet homme : *uçir awis auti xpuu tj tyki* (litt. moi beaucoup de fautes enlève à cet homme).

paresseux, *kairu**, *flauu***.

parler, *tiy-* ; *tiya* ; parle : *tiya* ; parlons : *tiçis* ; va lui parler : *tiiika* ; il parle du dehors : *xankintan tichiça* ; parler à voix basse : *kutsxalaa tiçi* ; cet homme ne parle pas : *tj tyki awat tiyuti*.

paroi, *tuurk* (?), *pirka**.

particulier (dans le sens de propre à) : *yuk'a* (?).

partir, *xara**- ; *xaraki* (cf. aller) ; la femme de l'alcalde est partie : *alkal***-tuu t-ch*ça*.

passer, *uut-* ; il passait : *uutkaiçi* ; le chemin passe sur cette montagne : *uutiuka'ça tj kura xuuti*.

pâtre, *auuniri**.

patte, *kis* (cf. jambe), *uuta* ; patte de porc : *kuti-uuta*.

pâturage, *xuti* (*k'uti*) ; j'étais dans les pâturages : *uçir xut-kintaça*.

paupière, *tyk*-skisi* (litt. peau de l'œil).

pauvre, *purc***.

payer, j'ai payé : *pauktiçja'a*** ; je suis payé : *uiril pauktiçja'a*** ; payer sa taxe : *til-tasçja'a*** ; payer : *kuuuukapuky* (?).

peau (de l'homme) *kuu'** ; (d'un animal) : *skisi* ou *tkisi* ; peau des jeunes : *yuk-kuuti***.

péché, *uuti** (cf. faute).

pêcher, *tsirka*.

peigne, *kuysni*.

peigner, *tara-nuru* ; elles se peignent : *tara tikatapi* (litt. elles se divisent les cheveux).

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mots ou substantifs

peine, avoir de la peine : *l'ahiria°*, *l'ahiraja* ; n'ai pas de la peine : *ana-lahiria*.

pelote de laine, pierre. Pelote de fil : *quri-i-quri* (cf. pousser).

pendentif en bronze que les femmes dipaya portent à l'extrémité de leurs tresses : *lawala*.

pendre, il pendait : *yahuwahi'ja* (cf. suspendre et tirer).

pénétrer, *tapi-* ; pénètre : *tapitsa* ; pénétrons : *lasa tapitja* (litt. passer dedans).

pénis, *krijki*.

penser, *manjuka*.

penser, *tapi°-* ; *tapsi* (cf. épine).

perche, *tsiwai* (cf. balsami).

perdre, *krai-* ; *krati* ; je perds : *krazeitsi* ; nous perdrons : *krala* (perdons) ; j'ai perdu : *krati'ja* ; j'ai perdu mon pouvoir : *pauta°° krati warki* ; je me suis perdu : *waiti krataja* ; la lune s'est perdue : *ala krati'ja* ; la lune s'est perdue : *ala krapi'ja*.

perdrix, *tsiwa* (cf. autruche).

père, *kaj*.

perle de verre, usuel°°-*sarsia* (litt. collier de perles) (esp. *cuentas*).

personne, *lya* (cf. homme) ; il est devenu une personne : *tshimaja* ; il n'y a personne : *anaja tsi*.

peser, *yaki-* (cf. tirer) ; je pèse la chaise : *waiti kaka yakija*.

petit, *shaka*, *shakaya*, *shakala* ; petite maison : *shaka kraya* ; cette pierre (ci) plus petite : *ti nata shawa shakasta* ; cette pierre est beaucoup plus petite que celle-ci : *ti natshi tsirpata natshitsa shawa shakalaja* ; cette pierre est la plus petite de toutes les pierres : *ti natshi Pupa° natshitsa shakastalaja*.

petite-fille, *tata*, *alita°*.

petit-fils, *tata*, *ali°*.

peu, un peu de : *shaka*, *tsi pua shaka'a* ; un peu de eau : *shaka kaka* ; il y a peu d'eau dans cette rivière : *shaka krapalaja ti puna*.

peur, *wara* ; avoir peur, j'ai très peur : *waraja wala* ; *karaja* ; *wai tshi-la°*, *tsaki-ja°* ; *tsaki'ja°*.

pie (couleur pie) : *tsaka*.

pied, *krai krata*. Plante du pied, *krati-papaki*.

pierre, *nata*. Pierre à aiguiser : *nata-naki*. Pierre calcaire : *tara*. Pierre à moudre : *tapa-mita*.

pilon de pierre, *kati*.

piment, *tapa*.

pincer, *shai-* ; *shataja*, *shatasa*.

piquer, *tapi-°* ; *naki-* (cf. épine, aiguille) ; *tapitajja* ; *takitja*.

Gr 220
[illegible]

LES GRANDS TRAVAUX DE CAMPAGNE

grignoté, pa'ôrida, para.
griotte (mûrre une griotte) : ubina.
grippé (avoir grippé) : ub- ; ubrina ; ubrinda, ubrinaja.
grisbongo, kuiju
grogner, ong- (cf. ntiandre) (?) ; il grogne les moutons ensemble : ntiongagbere ngina ffaga ; grogne une bonagia : ini ubrina ngina ; grogne-toi ensuite ou avec : pa'ôri ngâna.
grisonner, se, ntiaur : mbâ'ôrida (?).
gris (adj.), chat, poulet ; pierre grise : pa'ôri-mûi.
gris ou terre noire, fumée, cendres.
grosse, grosse graine : mûla. Plantes aquatiques : kuiju, kongo.
grosse du pied (cf. pied).
Guinée, ressource.
gronder, frap- (cf. crier) ; kré ; kréa, kréja,kréja ; je gronde : kréja mâbâ ; l'enfant gronde : nanse kréja ; pourquoi grondes-tu ? : kuiliman ma kréja (kré-mûi).
grouiller (cf. pleuvoir) ; il grouille : kiuki kiûsia (litt. il y a de la pluie) ; il grouille beaucoup : mûia kiukija ; il grouille chaque jour : ngâna kiukija.
gruau, maïs, pâte.
guenon, kuru (cf. singe, ur, etc.).
guêpe, kiuki ; guêpe accompagnée de beaucoup : kiuki nanse mûia.
guerre, ffuri.
guet, ryur(i) ; chemin tuer ; gîte couvre : ryuri mâbâ (litt. gîte beaucoup) ; cette pierre est plus grande que cette autre pierre : ri mâbâ ri mâbâna ôkuia kuâru ; mon frère est plus vieux que moi : mûi kâla' nâna ôngâa mûiâtâna.
guignard de tisserand, mâla'.
guignée, kuia kuru (litt. petite main).
guignet, kuru-ngâru (litt. articulation de la main).
guil, kyuna ; guil du nez : ni(a)-kuna ; guile du bras : kuru(a)-kyuna ; guile du chien : pak(a)-'kyuna.
guing, kuru-ntiandâ.
guinée, ari.
guinzeau, kâ. Guinzeau aux : kâ kmâli.
guitrine, kâ'ula, kru(a)-ula.
gomme d'Adam, nandrura.
gomme de terre, kûja ; gomme de terre crue : kûja kâta ; gomme de terre nouvelle : nâta (cf. racine de la tale).
gommette, jak-pacle (cf. jeux).
goudre, kuu ; la poule goud : nan'ga kuuja.

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R

[illegible]

[G-224]

MOTS DE LONGUEUR

restaurer, *ti-*(cf. chaînir) ; restaurer des pierres : *mamaka tîtsu* ; *ar-* ; *aitaeja*.
rester (cf. vivre).
ressembler, se ressembler (cf. souvenir).
ressembler, (*f*) *kaitaeja*.
retirement, *chichiche*, *chichiku* (cf. peu) ; *kaitîte kaitsu* (?).
retirer, *k'ula*° (cf. guérir) ; vous avez la tête rentrée : *ati(a) k'ulaja amîmâ*.
retrouver, *tsk-* ; *je vais retrouver* : *tchîtaja* ; *tchîtiaka*.
ressusciter, *tsaaja*.
rêve, *tsîka*°.
rêver, *ka-* ; *kîrtsu* ; *rêvé* : *kîtsu*.
revenir, *maka* ; *nous revenons* : *makatiaka*.
réveiller, *ar-* ; *artsu* (cf. ressusciter).
révérencieux, *tchîtpaka* (?).
ricaner, *tsar-*, *tsir-* (cf. dédaigner) ; *tsartsu* ; *tchîpîki tsartsu*, *aka pata*° *kîtsu* ; *aitaeja* (?).
rien, *tax* (cf. don) ; *chaxi*.
rigoler (cf. trouver).
rivière d'un repas (cf. rosée).
remplir, *tip-* ; *tiptsu* ; *remplir une marmite d'eau* : *mashki hapa tiptsu*.
rincer, *tar-* ; *tartsu* ; *je rince la marmite* : *mashki tarmaja*.
rougir, *hiji*.
rouvrir (cf. trouver).
rouler, *tap-* ; *roule* : *tapika* ; *roule le paquet* : *kati tapika*.
roulier, *ouaapiji* (cf. eau).
ronronner, *parik*°*-taakija* (litt. donner (se) purr).
rouiller, *ka-* ; *il est rentré* : *kâa* ; *je vais rentrer* : *kâtkakija*.
rouvrir (cf. verser).
rouvrir, *pala* ; *ka(a)taakija*.
reposer, se reposer : *kaa-* ; *kaamaja* ; *repose-toi* : *kaatsu* ; *nous nous reposerons* : *ka kaatila* ; *nous nous reposerons les deux* : *kaatila pakaitsu*.
kaa- ; *reposons nous* : *katila*.
rester, *ak-* (cf. laisser) ; *l'eau reste* : *hapa akî* ; *il reste peu* : *chichikaja akîji* ; *le chien reste* : *paku akî* ; *il reste un peu de nourriture* : *chichiâ tarîl akîmaja* ; *je reste sans bouger* : *ana kiz akîaja*.
restes (reliefs d'un repas), *tati-tiri*, *tiri-tati*, *tatiatsaaka* ; *ce qui reste* : *tsaaja*.
retirer, se, retire-toi : *nak' ak'a* (litt. va loin) ; *taita nak'a* (litt. tiens-toi debout loin) ; *ak'aa* ; retirons-nous : *aarakila*°.
retourner (cf. revenir).
réunir, se réunir : *ak* ou *ak-* ; nous nous réunirons : *akiaka* ; les gens du

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LES CHANSONS TRADITIONNELLES DES TAKUAPA

village se réunissent pour ordre du surveillant : *kwaiba*[ne] *pwaiba*[ne] (*pwaibine*) *ewaiki*[ja] *waiki*[a] *tyiki*.
aiwa, kiai(?).
aiwaiker, kia- ; *kiatwa* ; va le réveiller : *kiaika* ; nous nous sommes réveillés le matin : *kwaiki*[a] *ewaikaja* (litt. il fait jour) ; *waiki* ; l'enfant est réveillé : *waiwa waikija*.
awaiir, kap- ; *kapiwa, kapikaija* ; je reviens : *kapikaija* (*kapikaja*) ; il est revenu : *kapikaija* ; je reviendrai : *kapikaja* ; je reviendrai demain : *ewa*[ja] *kapikaja* ; nous reviendrons : *ikapikaija* ; reviendrez-vous ? : *kapikaiwa* ; les montons reviennent dans l'enclos : *wia ikapii ewa*[ne] *ekwata* ; il revient : *kaikaia* (?) (nous revenons).
kii- ; il est revenu : *kii* ; lui revenir le beau : *ewaia kiiwaika* ; lui nous revenir le beau : *ewaia kiiwaika*.
aiwar, kia, kiiwaia.
awaiir (*cf. awaiiwa*).
aiwa, ou pwaipwaija[ne] *ewaiki* (litt. homme qui a beaucoup d'argent) ; *awaiwa ewaija*[ne].
awa, (a)watwia ; le chien se fait vieux : *pwiwa (a)wa-twia pwija*.
awa, kwa- ; *awawa, kawa, kawwa* ; vieux : *wawaia* ; il a vieilli : *awawaja* ; nous enfants vieillissons : *waja wawa i-kawa*.
awiawa, kwaa (*cf. awa*) ; *pawa*[ne].
awad, kwiai[ne], *(wiapwia-)kwaiki, kwaia, kwaia*(?) ; les maisons de notre village sont vieilles : *waja wai(a) kwaiwaiki* (*wiawaikika*).
awaiker, awawaja (*cf. gauge*).
awa, pwai[ne].
aiki (viande rôtie) : *waikia*.
aikir (*cf. griller*).
kiawawa, kwaa, waia.
waiwia, waaa, waia.
awaia, awaia.
awaga, aiwa (*cf. sang*) ; *kapika*[ne].

S

aibia, pkia, kwaya ; sable de rivière : *pwa pkia*.
aibad, aiaj (*cf. ongle*), *kaaja* (*cf. douve*).
aibre de tisserand, skwa-pwa, skwaa.
aa, waaa ; *aa de cuir* : *kpkya*.
aaaaba, kpia, kpia, kpkya ; petite aiguille avec du cuprel : *kapaia*[ne] *kpia* ; aiguille en cuir contenant de la graisse : *kwaai'a kpkya*.
aailaad, kaia ; les moutons ont la mâchoire saillante : *wia kaia (a)wa*.
aaia, kpaiai (*cf. noir*) ; *kaii*[a], *kaii*[a]*-pwai* (*cf. pwa*), *kwaa*[a] ; je suis sale :

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

-ellen, *-ennjin*, *-ennjij*; *-nnun*.

-ejen, *ñeen ejen wnn le nwin* (*ñgyellen*) ; *je t'ai lait deux fois ejen* ; *pâli wnlejij* ; *je t'ai fait ejen une fois* ; *wnlail wnlejin*.

-ennjij (*-nnnjin*), *-lail*.

-nnun, *-lail'ejn*. *Nnun wlwin* ; *pail-lail'ejn*. *Nnun wnlwin* ; *wnjen-lail'ejn*, *pâlin-lail'ejn*, *-lail*.

-nil, *nnun nil* ; *ñ'jun pâlwin* (*lit.* *wnlwin de l'eau*).

-nnjun, *-lun* ; *-lail*, *-nnlij* ; *je nnlejun* ; *-nnlejin*.
-lail ; *-lailnn*.

-nin, *-nun*.

-nlail, *-l'wil* ; *le nnlail ne lûre* ; *-l'wil nâlin* ; *le nnlail ne lennin* ; *-l'wil l-nâlun-lail'ejn* ; *le nnlail ne nnwlin* ; *-l'wil l-nâlun* ; *le nnlail ne nnwlail le nnil* ; *-l'wil ñ-nnwlail nun*.

-nlail, *nun-ñ'wnin* ; *nun-nnni* (*lit.* *ne pas nnnun*).

-nnnnail, *nn* (*cf. -lunnin*) ; *¿ si nnnnail* ! *nnjî nn l-nnjn* (*lit.* *le nnnnail nn nlun*) ; *¿ si nnnnail* ! *nn pâlwin* (*lit.* *le nnnnail nn nlun*) ; *-nnlejn*, *lunlin -nnlejn*, *-nnlejn*.

-nnnnail, *-nnnjî^nn* ; *nnnnail ñ'nun nnnnjnn* ; *lun-nnnin*.

-nn, *L'nnljnnil pnnnnail* ne *nnnil pnn* ; *nî* (*lui*), *nî q* (*-nnlail-nî*), *pnnnnlail le nnn lûlnnnnail* ; *nnn pûnn* ; *nî l-nlejn* (*lit.* *le pûnn de lui*), *q l-nlejn* (*le pûnn de -nnlail-nî*).

-nnnnn, *-nnnnn ûn nnn* ; *nnjnn Pail*.

-nnnlin, *-lail'î^nnjnil*.

-nnnlin, *-nî-*, *-lail* ; *je nnnn* ; *-lailnnnjin* (*-nlnnjin*) ; *nnnn* ; *-nlnn* ; *nnnn -lûlnnnn* ; *nnnj-nlnn* ; *l'-nnlnnil nnnl* ; *-nnnn l-nlnnjin* ; *je nnnn nnnn lui*, *nn ville nnl nnnlin nnnn nnnl* ; *nnjî nnn nlnnnl* ; *nn lnnnlnnn nnl nnnlî nnl nnn lûnn* ; *jl'nnn nlnnnlin nnlin*.

-nnnlûnn, *-jl'nnnlî^n*, *-jl'nnnî^n* ; *-jl'nnnnn* ; *-nnnlûnnnn* ; *-jnnnlin*.

-nnnlûnn, *-l nnnlûnn ûn le -lûnn* ; *-lûn l-nnnlin* ; *-l nnnlûnn -lûnn -lûnnlin* ; *le nnnnnnn nnnlûnn ûn le -jnnlin* ; *-nnî l-nlnjî l-nnnlin* ; *¿ si -lûn*, *je nnnlûnn ûn le -lûnn* ; *-lûnn*, *-nlûn nnnlin* ; *-ûn -jnnî -jnnnlin* ; *-nnnlûnn-nn* ? ; *-lnnlnî -nnlûn*.

-nnnlnnnn, *-nnlnnn -lûjnn* (*lit.* *ne pnnnnn nn lnnnî*) ;
-nj-î^n ; *-nnnnn -nnnlnnnnnnn* ; *-nlnnnlin -nj-nnlûn*.

-nnnjnn, *-nnlûn*.

-nnnnnî, *-nnjnn-lnnlnnnn*, *-nnlnn-lnnlnnnn* (*lit.* *nîl ñ'nn lnnnî*).

-nnnnî, *-nlî* ; *-nnî lnnnnnnn nnj nnnnnî* ; *nî -lnjnî -nlî-jnn*.

-nnnnnnnîn, *-nn nnnnnnnîn* ; *-lnjnnn-* (*-lnnnnn-*) ; *-lnjnnnn*.

-nnnnnnn, *-nnnnn* (*cf. -nnnnnnnn*).

-nnnnnnnn, *-lnnlnn*.

-nnnnlîn, *-nn lnn nnn l-nnnnnn lnnnnjn* (*lit.* *nnn lnnnnn qnî nn nnnnjnîl pnn*).

-nnî, *-nnnn*. *Clnn ûn -nnî* : *-nnnnn -nj-n*.

-lnnnîl ûn -nnnlnnnnnnn, *-nnn*.

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ancêtre voir **arrière-grand-père**

travailler, *lauk****, **aller travailler** : *lauka* ; **je travaille** : *laukatze* ; **à quoi travailles-tu ?** : *zertan lauki* ; **je travaille beaucoup pour subsister de la sueur** : *asko laukatzeja lapha bizitzeko*.

tuberculose, *zezilla*.

troubler, *ikara-* ; **je trouble** : *ikaratzeja* ; *ikaratu*, *ikaratze*. **Être troublé** : *ikara*.

trouer, *thorra*, *thorratu*.

trouver, *kha-* ; **je trouve** : *khatzeja* ; **je trouve une corde** : *lat khatzeja*.

triple, *sailla*, *sigla*.

triste, *tristu*[ak] ; *tristuja* ; **je suis très triste** : *asko tristuric (tristujic)* ; **suis** *haritz* (*haritz*) ; **je suis triste parce que ma femme me trompe** : *tristuja nizelá ta ene emaia nigi gaxtijá*[ik].

trois, *hir* ; **nous trois** : *gihan-ezpalan*.

troisième, *m.*, *par* (*sup. pasá ?*) ; **je me trompe de chemin** : *bidetzen parrasá*.

tromper, *ikzi*.

trou, *phita* ; **faire un trou** : *phita paja*.

trouble, *ol'ja*[k] ; **eau trouble** : *ihuzu ol'ja*.

trouer, *phitzja* ; **entre nous nous est très trouée**, *Ez nautze hamaseiga da hasá* ; *ti b'ezelá ene phitzja*, *ene zelá hatzeja* ; **mon pantalon est troué** : *nigi gamelu zá hasá* ; *ha gona zá hasá* ; **le gros est troué** : *zhini phitzja* ; **il dit que ma maison est trouée** : *zelá nigi b'ehiji esanguna phitzatiji* ; **le gros est troué** : *zhini phitzja*.

trouver, *zeli-* ; **je le trouverai** : *nigiri ene zelidaiz* ; **nous nous trouverons** : *zelia, zeliatuhiji* ; **je le trouve (?) en chemin** : *zhirian zelidi gu* ; **ici les deux chemins se trouvent (se rejoignent)** : *zelá pasá hilo zelatiji* ; **trouver des gens** : *bahi hauzez (zenbez ?)*.

très dignement, *bjla (cf. orangez)*.

tuberculose consomptive, *angiri-gaxtu*[ak].

tuer, *hil-*.

Présent. — **Je tue** : *nigiri hiltzeja* ; **tu tues** : *enetze hiltziju* ; **il tue** : *ni i-hiltziju* ; **nous tuons** : *nitzen hiltziju* ; **vous tuez** : *enigihiri hiltziju* ; **ils tuent** : *ninahi i-hiltziju*.

Nous tuons quelqu'un : *nitzen hiltziju ni hun* ; **le chat tue les rats** : *nihi hiltzja razi*[ak].

Passé. — **J'ai tué** : *hiltzeja* ; **tu as tué** : *eniz hiltzen* ; **il a tué** : *ni i-hiltzja* ; **nous avons tué** : *nitzen hiltzen hiltzja* ; **vous avez tué** : *enihihiri hiltzja* ; **ils ont tué** : *ninaha i-hiltzja*.

J'ai tué aujourd'hui : *nau-f'uhi nirihi hiltzhiltzja* ; **hier, j'ai tué un porc** : *argo nir hai hiltzhiltzja* ; **il a tué un homme** : *ni ihihi hiltziju* ; **il a tué hier un mouton** : *ar nin hiltzhiltziju* ; **pourquoi as-tu tué le mouton ?** : *hihiz an nin hiltzhiltzja* ; **nous n'avons pas tué le mouton** : *nitzen ene hiltzhilta nin* ; **qui a tué le lama ?** : *hihi zpala hiltzi* ; **un porc est tué**

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devant la chapelle : *kuči končija silsankis* ; un mouton est tué lors de la construction d'une maison : *usi končija kʷuya kʷuiskis.*

Futur. — Je tuerai : *wiril konaje* ; tu tueras : *amim konakije* ; il tuera : *ni ɨ-konakije* ; nous tuerons : *učum čum konakije* ; vous tuerez : *ančukčuk kona* ; ils tueront : *ninaka konla.*

Je tuerai demain : *baka wens wirki konaja.*

Impératif. — Tuons : *konla* ; tue le chat : *kona miši*.*

U

un, *tsi* (masc.) ; *tsa* (fém.) ; *sinaľa.*

urine, *sayxye, sayxi.*

uriner, *sayxča* ; urinons : *sayxla* ; l'enfant a uriné dans la mante : *wawa sayxkalja tal(u)kis.*

V

vaillant, *suti*, walxatnp* ɨyñi walxasuti*.*

vaincre, *atip-** ; je vaino : *wiril atipaje* ; j'ai vaincu : *atipičinča.*

vallée, *pitk-kuru* (litt. deux montagnes).

valoir, *wal*** ; combien cela vaut-il ? : *kʷat walučista*** ; le fromage vaut 10 centavos : *kitu** pitu** kamaja* (?) ; une livre de coca vaut 2 bolivianos : *ljurg** kyka** pitk bil'etija**.*

vanner, *lain-* ; nous vannerons la quinua : *učum lainkila kʷula.*

veiller, je veille : *wiril čekta* (cf. œil et voir).

vendeur, *tuñi.*

vendre, *tui-* ; *tuyaja* ; vends-moi : *ɨ-tuya, ami ɨ-tuya* ; vends-moi de la coca, de la quinua, des pommes de terre : *kyka, kʷula, kʷila ɨ-tuya* ; nous vendons ce bois 20 centavos la charge, c'est cher : *ti ɨubki čum tuyakija tumiñkama tsi karga anča xilaja** ; nous vendrons ce bois 20 centavos la charge : *tsi ɨubkis* (?) *čum tuyakija tumniñ kama* tsi karga* ; l'homme est venu vendre du sel : *ni ɨyñi tonkiuja yaku tuyi* ; l'homme vend très cher : *ni ɨyñi anč xila ɨ-tuija.*

venir, *ton-* ; *tona* ; cet homme vient de loin : *ti ɨyñi aškistan pača ɨ-tonja* ; il vient : *ni ɨ-tonja* ; elle est venue avec toi : *amtam tonje* ; la pluie vient : *čixñi ɨ-tonže* ; je ne venais jamais au village : *ana wata toninja* ; maintenant tu es venu : *anč tončakʷayi* ; je suis venu danser au village : *tsati tončinča wata* ; nous viendrons ce soir : *sestanaki učum tonakija* ; nous viendrons : *tonla* ; qui viendra demain ? : *bekita tonaja baka* ; (*beki kaka tonakiža* ?) ; quand viendras-tu ? : *čul-orat tonaki* ; je viendrai à la tombée de la nuit : *čañaki* (?) *wenapan tonajax* ; celui qui vient : *tonsniki* ;

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je m'approche (je viens près de) de l'oncle : *tulškin tonškalsɛ* ; s'approcher de la tante : *uplaykin tonškal*.

-pič- ; viens-ici : *pičča tɛksi* ; viens vite : *uri pičа* ; viens ici le voir : *pičа tɛks čertni* (*čersni*).

vent, *tami* ; il fait du vent : *tamiʃa* (*tamʃa*) ; il fait grand vent : *ančа tami orɛ* ; vent de l'Est (?) : *tami harkavi š-tonʃa*.

ventre, *puč*, *pʰbuči*, *tyñi*, *walo* (cf. intestin).

ver, *lakˢu**, *tuxtʰa**.

vérité, en vérité : *čɛkˢapani**.

verrat, *kˢer(u)-kuči** (litt. cochon mâle).

verser, *wistaʃe*, *wistaʃ'a*.

takˢ- ; versons l'eau : *kˢyas takšla* ; le sang est versé sur l'autel ; *altar** kˢuyla xlok takˢčiʃa* ; le sang est versé sur la terre de l'autel : *altar** yokkis xlok takˢčiʃa* ;

al(ʒ)- ; verse cette eau ici : *ti kˢyas alšna tɛks*.

ya(ʒ)- ; verse la farine dans un sac : *akaľitɛ yašnaʃa kɛls*.

vert, *toyi* (cf. yareta), *čuxña*, *čyxnaʃanik*, *saxwa* (cf. gris, herbe) ; les arbres sont très verts : *munɨ** walxa čyxñi*.

vêtement, *skiti* (cf. peau).

veuf, *šeya* ; un veuf : *tsi kˢer tyñi šeya* (litt. un homme mâle veuf) ; veuve : *šeu* ; *šey šon*.

viande, *čitwi* ; viande de porc, mouton, lama, lapin : *kuči-ɨwi*, *usi-čitwi*, *xyal-čitwi*, *kelyan-čiťwi*.

vide, *lači**, *pʰusa* ; cœur vide : *tuš pʰusa*.

vieillard, *čayka*, *ačatata**.

vieille, *čayka*, *ačamama**.

vieux, *čayka* ; je suis vieux : *čayk wirki* ; cet homme est très vieux : *ni šuñik čayka ančа** ; cette maison est très vieille, il faut la détruire : *ti kˢuya ančа čankaʃa paxlnaški-ɛ*.

vigogne, *oka*.

village, *wata**.

violet, *morato***.

visage, *yuk* (cf. joue).

visite, je fais une visite : *tonškūla* (cf. venir).

vite, *uri* ; va vite : *uri okˢa*.

vivre, *šanakiʃa*, *satakaʃa*, *šesɛ*, *štsa* (cf. exister) ; un canard qui n'est pas mort, il est vivant : *tsi kˢosara ana š-tikša*, *štlxtɛ*.

voici, *tiča*, *tila*, *tiʃa*, *tɛksiža*, *tɛksiʃa* ; voici une pierre : *tila mās*.

voir, *čer-* ; il voit : *čerʃa* ; cet homme voit : *ni šuñi čerʃa* ; cet homme voit loin : *ni šuñi čerža nakˢu* ; le chien voit la maison : *paku kˢuya čerča* ; l'enfant ne voit rien : *wawa ana čerča čulu* ; il a vu hier : *ses čerčintɛ* ; je

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ne t'ai pas vu depuis longtemps : *atkaľa ana am čerčinja* ; hier je l'ai vu : *ses čerčinja ni* ; hier j'ai vu des gens : *sesg čeratuja tyäi* ; il a vu hier : *sesku tyñi čerature* ; va voir : *čerčna* ; n'as-tu pas vu ? : *ám(a) am čeris* ; que vois-tu ? : *čulum čeksi (čekiyę)* ; demain je verrai les poux sur ma femme : *baka sami čerkataja tunakis* ; le médecin est venu me voir : *kyľñi tomči kuńka čerča wir* ; le chien veille (voit) : *paku čekta*.

voix, *bexa*. A voix basse : *kostanaľam* (litt. en bas).

volcan, *š-kuyi okję* (??).

voler (en parlant d'oiseaux) *lai-* (cf. sauter) ; *laiję* ; volons : *laila* ; en volant : *laiłk* ; l'oiseau vole : *uečla š-laija*.

voler, *eke txanša, eke txani* ; deux moutons ont été volés : *pišk usa txansija* ; cet homme de Salinas a volé un fromage : *ti Salitoseki txansiji tsi kitu* ; voler quelqu'un : *šynšta kisni* ; il a volé le plat : *čua kuse*.

voleur, *tˢañi (tˢañi), ańča tˢañiję̃ni* ; *ańča tˢañiję̃niki*.

vouloir, *pek-* ; je voudrai : *peknaję* ; que veux-tu ? : *čulum pekię* ; veux-tu de la nourriture : *čerim pekia* ; il veut cela : *nila pekuš*.

vous, *ańčuk, ańčukę* ; vous avez la tête rasée : *aš-kˢaloję ańčuk*.

voyageur, *hiks okˢlañi* (litt. celui qui va sur le chemin).

vulve, *pite*.

Y

yareta, *tˢoyi, tˢoy(i)*.

Textes.

Vie d'un jeune Indien.

*Ti Čipaikis wirk nasińča**. Pakˢpek wači š-ča. Wit mä*
Ce Chipaya dans je suis né. Vingt ans j'ai. Ma mère

tęksija wit mačk(i). Selestina uiwičińča wir neksta tˢoansija.*
mourut ma naissance. Célestine m'éleva moi jusqu'à je fus un jeune homme.

Ańča š-pekaja ta toń. Ana kˢičetaja, piltišnintaja, aš-kˢar
Beaucoup aime cette femme. Pas battait, allaitait dos

*xuntuń** teyšnintaja. Selestinatan okˢčinja, ti pakˢaľa* wataľa. Seles-*
sur elle me portait. Célestine avec je partis ces sept ans. Céles-

tina pišk wata šelxčinji Čilikis nekstan tonščinja pišk watkistan.*
tine deux ans resta Chili au ensuite je vins deux ans pendant.

*Tęks šelxčinję Čipaikis ana okˢčińča iyas. Primero** tonšku*
Ici je restais Chipaya dans sans je suis parti plus. D'abord à mon arrivée

*ana intentatuja** ti taku. Sisčińča basiki tęksi. Tunks wačškin*
ne pas comprenais cette langue. J'appris maintenant là-bas. Dix ans dans

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*tekni'a wit-lep. Wit hila kuinili'a** wit lap s-wiwa**. Nekstana mukuli'a***
mourut moi père. Mon frère gardait moi père moutons. Ensuite remit

*witkis wiwa i k*wya. Wit lepki yakapalsi'a* (palli'a)** (yakaja*).* Wit
moi à moutons et maison. Mon père partagea (partagea) (partagea). Mon

hilak yakaja*.*
frère est séparé.

La vie aux champs.

*Wit k*was-k*wya pilk, wit kul-k*wya pilk, wit wya* sintal'aja*, skulal'a*
Mes fermes deux, mes porcheries deux, mon enclos un est, petit

wyulis. Wit uta** talxta pusiwuk* tapliks, wit kuliki patuwmasi*, wit*
enclos. Mes moutons sont quarante trois, mes porcs vingt et un, mes

xyala saxtalaja. Wit kul'ahi* wit ula ita. Wirki pahaja***
lamas six sont. Ma sœur mes moutons fait paître. Je paye

sapuru piskaral'a kulakahis, nekstanaki wit tevi t-tan talxta*
chaque jour 50 centavos sœur à, ensuite ma nourriture prenant est

wit kul'aki. Kul'aki ula tita. Wit kul'aka kitu** paja. Wit kulaka*
ma sœur. La sœur lavabit trait. Ma sœur fromages fait. Ma sœur

kitu ata sapuru. Kaxittan** (inninta)** likis** nekstan*
fromages fait chaque jour. Caillette avec encens lait dans ensuite

tanija. Xyalak parakal'a* temsinta*, tantinta kitu** tankaxapa.*
est saisi Jeune lama ventre séchons, gardons fromages saisir pour.

*Isterkis*** kitu pasa, nekstanaki tarxsa p'itintku yakuttan*.*
Natte dans fromages sont faits, ensuite sont étendus paille sur sol avec.

*Tsi kitu** pitu** kama* Salinas tapinaka k*ainija kitu,*
Un fromage 10 centavos jusqu'à Salinas gens achètent fromages,

*alkulitan** kitu** kawhinta**. Tsi nox kanija** saxtaral'a*, tsi*
alcool avec fromages échangent. Une fois je gagne 60 centavos, une

nox kannja piskarala*. Kuli k*wa libra** piskaralaja. Salinaska*
fois je gagne 50 centavos. Porc graisse livre 50 centavos est. Les gens de Salinas

*k*wa Polakakin tuiñkija. Tsi kata* pak*pik kuli kaninja kukaltan**
graisse Polakayo à vendent. Une année quatre porcs j'ai tué. coca avec

*kansxapaki pantisa** kukaltan. Nektanja xaxan eksins, nekstanaki uxxa*
tuer pour baptiser coca avec. Ensuite gorge couper, ensuite brûler

*p'itan nekstanaki k*waskis axanta, nekstanaki kuartesa**. Kul-atakis*
paille avec ensuite eau dans laver, ensuite découper en quartiers. Porc tête sur

tal'sa tsi mjskis** nonkta tupikitan* kansa k*ninkis. Xyal-*
on fait une libation une table sur posé laine orné oreille sur. Lama

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*ača miskis** nonsna pitkpač kʷuiñi kansa čupikittan*, niki čaľsa*
tête table sur posé les deux oreilles ornées laine avec, il fait libation

*pistikis** maľkuškis* intrixitaja**.. Uša** pastuľa** luxja, nektanaki*
fêtes aux démons remettons. Moutons herbe mangent, ensuite

awaľa luxja. Kuči škari luxja. Kʷyaskistan pakʷkitija
herbe mangent. Forcs racines aquatiques mangent. Eau dans grandissent

awaľa.
les herbes aquatiques.

Vie du corregidor de Chipaya.

*Wịrki tị čatkis maktaja. Wịrki tị watkis patunkapan**
Moi ce village dans je suis né. Moi ce village dans vingt-deux

wata. Wịt-bep Manianuje Kunturije wịt-na Karmela
ans. Mon père Mariano [s'appelait] Condori [s'appelait] ma mère Carmela

Konkurije. Wịt maki tị watkis wịr titsinčinja. Wịt maki tị
Condori. Ma mère ce village dans moi allaitait. Moi mère ce

watkis uškuščinja. Wirki skoltaľa tị watkis ušnintataja.
village dans me portait sur son dos. Moi petit ce village dans je jouais.

*Wịrki tị watkis usa itsi sisinja. Wịrki istansia** okʷškuki*
Moi ce village dans moutons paitre je allais. Moi ferme allé

uyu kʷukoya (uyu kʷučinča). Wirk čučinča usa, kišu** ačinča*
enclos construire (enclos j'ai construit). Moi trayais brebis, fromage faisais

(usa čatku). Wịrki kišun onakintaja bepškistan.
brebis trayant. Moi fromage je donnais père à.

Wịrki pakʷškuki okʷtuya. Wịrki Korque tękstan okʷčinča
Moi devenu grand je suis allé. Moi Corque à travers là j'allais

(tękstan erxantičinča). Wirki p(i)ška tuñi okʷčinča Orurokis*
(par là j'arrivai). Moi cinq jours j'allais Oruro dans

*irxantuje. Wịrki kimsakal tuñi kamčinča kuartelkis**. Wịrki*
j'arrivais. Moi huit jours je restais caserne dans. Moi

kuartelkis wịrk čeri luxčinči. Čeri symataje. Wịrki
caserne dans moi nourriture mangeais. La nourriture était bonne. Moi

*čaketistaja**. Wịr-ki iračis okʷčinča. Wịrk čistaja Kopakabana.*
tunique fut donnée. Moi en chemise j'allais. Moi je fus porté à Copacabana.

*Wịrki Wakikis irxantičinča makinkis**. Wịrki Wakikis botikis***
Moi Huaqui dans j'arrivais train en. Moi Huaqui à bateau en

lustuja. Wịrki anč čakʷalja botikis. Wakči syñi okʷčinča. Wịrk*
j'entrais. Moi très peur avais bateau dans. Beaucoup gens allaient. Moi

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*neksipal čeruja tiki. Wirnak tsiluns(i)tan tek*ayuričičije walxe*
première fois voyais cela. Nostros perche avec poussions très

*skail'a ok*činča. Wirki xos salawčinča. Wirk ana punču**
doucement allions Moi presque étais glacé. Moi pas poncho

*čistaja. Wen pak*ara* lankskataja. Kantati* bulančinča. Nekstanaki*
portais. Nuit toute je travaillais. Le matin je sortis. Ensuite

*kuntintuja**. *Nekstanaki kuartelkis luščinča. Wirki riximyento**
j'étais bien content. Ensuite caserne dans j'entrais. Moi régiment

*Perez** *luščinča. Witkis militar* skiti š-tätaja, nekstanaki wit*
Perez j'entrais. Moi militaire habit fut donné, ensuite moi

*ira čuk*tuja wir-ki. Wet-kis kęls č-tätaja, witkis maska*
chemise enlevai moi. Moi à giberne fut donné, moi à marmite

š-tätája. Wirki akwasi ranču** luxčinča skolustas čiwišta. Haka*
fut donné. Moi farine de maïs ordinaire je mangeais peu de viande. Le

wenzi wenta šinša anat syma taxčinča. Nektanaki
lendemain de bonne heure je me réveillais pas bien j'ai dormi. Ensuite

bulančinča k'arkin, nektanaki fusila** apuntaskal)a** tsi šyn*
nous sortions plaine vers, ensuite fusil visions un homme

*ačkis, nektanaki lainčinča, nektanaki saluro** čišintaja sarxentu**,*
tête sur, ensuite nous tirions, ensuite salut enseignait sergent,

*nektanaki kuartelakis tonsxapa purmiskatni)e** sarxentu**, nektanaki*
ensuite caserne dans aller pour nous faisait former sergent, ensuite

*kolumna** iskwara** purumskataja* sarxentu* wirnaki kuartelkis*
colonne d'escouade former faisait le sergent nous caserne dans

*e*untiskaki čua kisi-kama purmaskataja**, nektanaki*
arrivés plat cuillère à la main on nous faisait former, ensuite

*r*nčukis** pukultan pukultan makačinča*. nektanaki rančukis tanšku*
ordinaire deux par deux nous recevions, ensuite ordinaire avoir pris

sarakičinča bulsk luxtinča, nektanaki čua axunčinča, nektanaki*
nous partions assis nous mangions, ensuite plats lavions, ensuite

*purmasinča**, *nektanaki purmasinča, nektanaki tsi čeri*
nous nous formions, ensuite nous nous formions, ensuite autre plat

tanču sarakičinča, nektanaki čua axunčinča lanksha čistaja.
prendre partions, ensuite plats lavions travailler on nous apprenait.

« *Media vuelta a la izquierda* », *exerkitaja**, *ača wrkskataja,*
« Demi-tour à gauche », exercer faisait, tête mouvoir faisait,

nektanaki tritrirantaja wirnaki, waru trirantaja « media vuelta »*
ensuite faisait courir nous, soldats faisait courir « demi-tour »

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*keskitaja** sakasu sarxantu**. Marča** ustintaja kuartela**
bouger faisait autre fois sergent. Marche apprenait caserne

tonixapa. Kuartela tonixapa purmaskitaja*. Wañučinca**
aller pour. Caserne aller pour former il nous faisait. Nous nous baignions

nektanaki ranču** itsija, nektanaki čeri pur(i)stataje**, komedor**
ensuite ordinaire était sonné, ensuite nourriture former faisait, comedor

makiaja ranču makačinča, nektanaki bulik či luxčinči, nektanaki
conduisait ordinaire nous recevions, ensuite assis nous mangions, ensuite

čua axunčinči; čua čuxtinji katriskis** fusila** axunčinča,
plats avons lavé; plats avons caché caires dans fusils lavions,

nektanaki rewista** pāstaja axuntaja ana-suma axuntaja
ensuite revue on nous faisait passer nettoyé pas bien nettoyé

fusila* rewista** pāstaja, nektanaki (ye)kapanakaki ana-syma* fusila
fusils revue passée, ensuite quelques-uns pas bien fusils

axunčija, nektanaki plantuna** xyestaja lanksni tewiaja
avaient lavé, ensuite gardes sont sortis travailler nous fait sortir

lanksni xyestaja « *Al trote!* » xiraniaja**. Wit awarka*
travailler nous fait sortir « Au trot! » nous fait tourner. Mes sandales

k*oksija, marča** ok*činča, marčiskataja, kolumpi** iskwara**
sont cassées, marche je suis allé, marche faisais, colonne d'escousde

čisintaja, « *kolumbo po ilera* », *kolumbri sintal'a**, nektanaki ača
nous apprenait, « colonne par file », colonne par un, ensuite tête

weksk*ataja, k*uč weksk*ataja, skuar-k*uč weksk*ataje, k*ara
tourner faisait, pied tourner faisait, pied gauche tourner faisait, bras

weksk*ataja, k*ar-muk*u-ač weksk*ataja, kurpu**, weksk*ataja,
tourner faisait, poignet tourner faisait, corps, tourner faisait,

nektanaki, pliksión** pākataja, nektani čyñi ačakis apuntaskataji**
ensuite, flexion faire faisait, ensuite homme tête sur viser faisait

kartučo** seksionitan** čet-četxkečinča pirki* xunti** čeyšku,
cartouche par section chet chet faisions mur sur appuyé,

nektanaki « *media vuelta* » kūrera** marčitaja**, nektanaki
ensuite « demi-tour » course faisait marcher, ensuite

pawal'una** armskataji*. Nektanaki pisk minuto** saraka*,
faisceau former faisait. Ensuite cinq minutes se retirer,

nektanaki pilutittan** učinčinča. Nektanaki, « *a las armas!* »
ensuite pelote avec allions jouer. Ensuite, « aux armes! »

kitaja, nektanaki exerskitasa** niñkin fusila** kitaja : « *sintal'a*,
disait, ensuite s'exerçait épaule sur fusils disait : « un,

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pisk, tep, pax-pit ». *Nektanaki tey-k'araki fusile*** *tawsija pa'pikit*
deux, trois, quatre ». Ensuite droite main fusil fait prendre ici même

*martiś-ata** « *Al trote* », *martiśkata** « *paso largo* »**, *nektanaki*
fait marcher « au trot », fait marcher « pas allongé », ensuite

« *Alto !* », *kitaja, nektanaki nikkin tsutsu fusile*** *kitaja, nektanaki*
« halte ! », dirait, ensuite épaule sur mettre fusil dirait ensuite

« *con tiempo* » *waxkataja fusile*** *yakkis, nektanaki fusile*** *i-tanpa'a*
« à temps » battre faisait fusil terre à, ensuite fusil prendi

« *A la izquierda, media vuelta, a la derecha* » *kitaja, nektanaki*
« A gauche, demi-tour, à droite » dirait ensuite

*pawal'uni*** *armiskataja*** *ćakta*** *ćok'kataja, nektanaki, k'ar*
faisceaux former faisait tuniques enlever fait, ensuite mais

*wekskataja pitk pa' k'ara, nektanaki k'ųć latukis*** *waitiskataja*
tourner faisait deux fois bras, ensuite pied de côté lever faisait

skyar k'ųć wekskataja, nektanaki skyar k'ara mųk'ų-ak
gauche pied tourner disait, ensuite gauche poignet

*wekskataja, nektanaki perpalaksion*** *esnakitaja, nektanaki warkis***
tourner faisait, ensuite flexions étendre disait, ensuite barre sur

*nekśanantitaja, tsiku laitk tanćinća, nektanaki xiru***
nous a conduit en haut en volant nous avons attrapé, ensuite, tour

*tsitintaćalja, nektanaki ni xirkis*** *yaućinća, nektanaki*
nous a fait arrêter, ensuite ce tour dans nous sommes montés, ensuite

wirk yaućinća p'ita tel'alja, nektanaki p'iti tsiku ak'ćinti
je suis monté corde il y avait, ensuite corde en haut je suis monté

*nektanaki ćinskitinta istalera*** *tel'atkalji neks*
ensuite nous sommes descendus échelle était là là

*ćuskitinta nektanaki « Alto ! » kitaja sarxentu***.
nous sommes descendus ensuite « halte ! » dirait le sergent.

« *Kuśna ćakta !* »** « *A las armas !* » *kitaja.* « *Rompan pavillones !* »
« Mettre les tuniques ! » « Aux armes ! » dirait. « Défaites les faisceaux ! »

kitaja, nektanaki « purmar lina » kitaja. « *Aliñarse !* » *kitaja*
dirait, ensuite « former ligne » dirait. « S'aligner ! » dirait-il,

*nektanaki knartela*** *luśtinća, nektanaki aća taxsitinća, nektanaki*
ensuite caserne entrions ensuite là-bas lavions ensuite

*k'ųć auxunćinća, nektanaki paranku*** *hulanćinća, pasinti***
pied lavions, ensuite libre je sortais, je me promenais

*kal'kis***. *Pulsikis*** *k'ara makti mutpa uxja**, *ana*
rues dans. Poches dans mains mettre très fautif, ne

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LES INDIENS URO-ČIPAYA DE CARANGAS

t-k'ut-tarsi *ak'ilaiz,* *anaja* *ai* *kal'ava*** *ana* *takuna* *anaja*
pas pieds regardant aller, ne pas cette rue pas s'arrêter ne pas

*kal'kiz*** *tulumi* *ana-laz* *anaja* *liki* *kal'kiskis** *kirinakaki*
rue dans quelque chose ne pas manger ne pas boire dans la rue ivrogne

*pararkis*** *ainatiji* *matal'anatiki* *ana* *manturaza***, *arkitanaki*
couhota dans sont mis femmes devant ne pas se grouper, ensuite

*kuartala*** *tarisla* *lasikiz,* *arkitanaki* *lasikaki* *kalaw-ta* *panikiz***,
caserne repas manger, ensuite après avoir mangé sortir, se promener

arkitanaki *zama* *ata* *wanikiz,* *azinala*** *salarisa***, *arkitanaki*
ensuite bien être levé, officiers saluer, ensuite

anaja *isra* *ai* *tiplinakaki,* *anaja*
il est défendu regarder les vendeuses, il est défendu

taki *salaumaiz*** *kal'kiz*** *ikkinakiz*** *ik,* *arkitanaki*
s'arrêter seulement rues entre s'arrêter, ensuite

*kuartala*** *lalan,* *arkitanaki* *kuartalkiz*** *panikiz* *panisa***, *arkitanaki*
caserne entrer, ensuite casernes dans cours se promener, ensuite

idiza *lax itza,* *arkitanaki* *k'antikiz'a*** *lazzaja*
aller dormir silence joué, ensuite il fait jour pour se réveiller

itza.
on sonne la diane.

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J-Vellard D.F-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

Contribution to the Study of the Uru or Kot'suñi Indians
[Contribution à l'Étude des Indiens Uru ou Kot'suñi]

J. Vellard

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[Title page]

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1. The plain of the Desaguadero seen from Iru-Itu in 1938.

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2. Photograph taken from the same point in 1942. The Desaguadero is reduced to a plain of sand, without water.

Photos by J. Vellard

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/Pl. 1 faces p. 145./

The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Irohito, or Angosto, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Irohito had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, bispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

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According to the latest news the group of Iru-Itu seems to be reduced to some 12 people, although since 1946 the level of the lake has risen considerably; in February 1947 it had already risen 90 centimeters. This rising movement is continuing, and the totora beds are slowly beginning to reform.

The old Uru remembered having seen in their youth, around 1870, an even worse drought than that of these last years. But at that time they were more numerous and the group was able to subsist. Now it is too diminished to reconstitute itself and its disappearance seems definite.

I visited the Uru of Iru-Itu for the first time in 1938. During my stay in Bolivia from 1940 to 1944 I was in constant contact with them. Their misery and their decline did not allow me to glean important observations on their material culture, already studied by the numerous ethnographers who have stayed among the Uru of the Desaguadero. Their imminent disappearance made it necessary, however, to bring together everything which might still exist among them: anthropological observations, traditions, and linguistic records, in order to compare them with the other populations of the region and especially with the different groups of fishers on Lake Titicaca.

These are the results of this study, the publication of which we are beginning.

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Note I

Accounts and Conversations

The linguistic records at our disposal on the Uru are reduced to some quick obsservations and more or less expanded vocabularies gathered by travelers in the course of brief stays in the region of Iru-Itu. Métraux is the only one to have published texts in the Chipaya dialect. No text exists in the Iru-Itu dialect, and the best sources of linguistic information on

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this group are the handsome monograph of Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, Métraux's vocabulary, and, at a less important level, the various publications of Posnansky containing numerous words more or less well noted down and translated.

The conditions under which most of the documents on the Iru-Itu group were obtained largely explain the imprecision of the meaning of numerous words and the often very different notation on which Créqui-Montfort and Rivet rightly insist. There is no doubt, however, that many of the words have a very broad meaning and that their pronunciation varies within rather large limits, especially with informants belonging to different generations, or influenced to varying extents by Aymara. One even notes considerable variations in the course of a conversation with one person.

During my long contact with the Uru, I collected an important vocabulary of more than 1,000 words, as well as numerous phrases making it possible to analyze the structure of the language.

The extent of this vocabulary and of the collection of phrases makes it impossible to publish them now. I have therefore been forced to make a selection of accounts and conversations obtained from my informants. These texts /148/ relate to the daily life of the Uru. Beyond their interest in this respect, they illustrate most of the ordinary grammatical forms. Study of them also permits a comparison with the only known Puklina text, that of Oré, which is much more extended than it had been possible to do with the documents at our disposal up to now. This comparison, which gives evidence of very close grammatical and lexicographic affinities, will be the subject of a special note in the second number of this journal.

Two informants were utilized in the course of our long linguistic investigation. They belonged to two different generations and displayed considerable variations, not only in phonetics but also in vocabulary and syntax. Both spoke Aymara, the younger one fluently, and the older rather badly;

/148 cont./
the former had had much more frequent contacts with the neighboring populations.

Here I should note that Métraux's assertion in his 1937 work on the almost general usage of Aymara by the Uru of Iru-Itu, who "practically do not speak their old language any more," was clearly exaggerated. In 1938, alongside individuals who spoke Aymara fluently, numerous men knew only a few words of it, and most of the women did not know it at all. The only ordinary language in the village was Uru, but it is natural that in the course of a short stay with Aymara informants, a traveler would mainly have had contacts with natives who knew this language, which gives a false impression of the group as a whole.

Moreover, it is inexact to state that the Uru call their language Bukina or Pukina. This information was also given to me in 1938, during my first trip, by a Uru who spoke Aymara and even a few words of Spanish, and I published it in a small work on the Uru ("Les Indiens Uru du Desaguadero /The Uru Indians of the Desaguadero/," Boletim do Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1939, XIV-XVII, 303-319). During my second stay I had an explanation /149/ of this declaration made by several Uru. All asserted to me that they did not know who the Pukina were and did not know of any people with this name, but a "mister" had said to them that this was the name of their language. It is not difficult to recognize in this connection Posnansky's intervention, of which it would be easy to cite other examples of the same kind.

My informants were the following:

Manuel Inta, apparently a pure-blooded Uru, a great-grandfather, who was almost 90 years old at the time of our investigation judging from the events at which he had been present in his youth. A robust man, he was still capable of making the trip on foot from La Paz to Tiahuanaco, 90 kilometers, in two days in order to save the price of his passage by train or bus, which had nevertheless been paid for him in

Hrdlicka--5 B.E-5 (1929-1964) 1949 M'24 Uru M'24

/169 cont./

115 large part, and this to the great dismay of the respectable
[99] guardian of the ruins of Tiahuanaco who had accompanied him
to La Paz and whose watchfulness he tricked in order to enter
[91] his village alone. A very limited knowledge of Aymara, some
of Spanish or Kolla /Quechua/, an excellent informant.

Carlos Kispe, from 40 to 50 years old, one of the younger
[68] men in the group. He displayed characteristics in his physical
appearance which led one to suspect a certain degree of Aymara
[68] /p. 30/). Besides he was an illegitimate son, born of an un-
[14] known father. Much more enterprising than Manuel Inz., he
spoke Aymara fluently, but neither Spanish nor Kolla. He
had frequent contacts with the neighboring Aymara populations
and, faced with the persistent drought, was thinking of leaving
[71] for the to go live as a fisher at Guaqui. He also proved to be
an excellent informant, but his Aymara was less pure and his
vocabulary than that of Manuel Inz. and his vocabulary power and
more mixed with Aymara; he did not use, or even did not
know, a certain number of words used by his companions.

125 It is interesting to underline these differences in /130/
language between individuals of the same village, belonging
to two different generations. They show us to follow the
rapid evolution of language contrary to oral tradition alone
without any movement to establish them.

115 Outside these two principal informants, we utilized other
inhabitants of the village either for the general investigation
or for word comparison.

128 For each text we shall indicate the informant who pro-
191 vided it. These texts were gone over several times with the
informant in order to obtain as exact a transcription as possible.
Their translation was always checked in Aymara. Even so, in
the course of the same text, considerable variations in pro-
nunciation will be observed, which do not appear to follow any
definite rule. They indicate a certain phonetic instability,
more marked, of course, between different observers.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

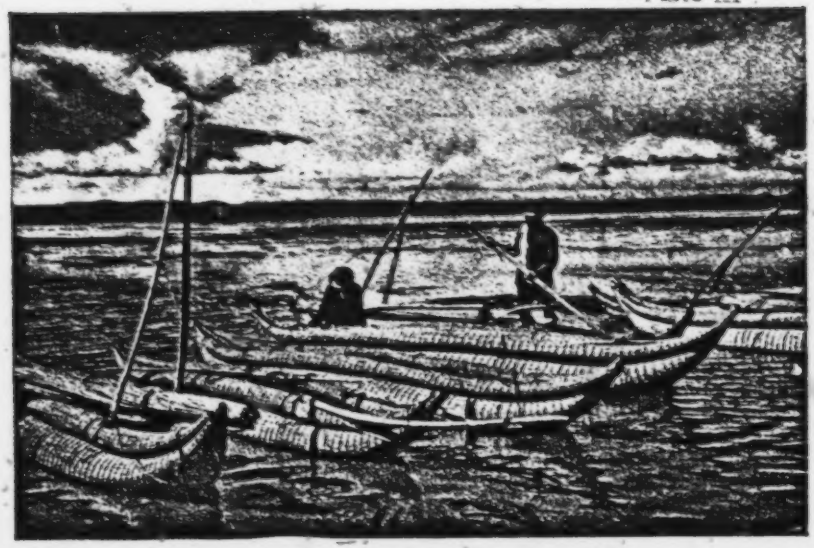
[illegible]

3. A typical house in Ny-Ou in 1936.

4. The same house in 1943: the high roof of wreaths shaped like a sword has collapsed and can no longer be repaired.

3:Vellard - 6b: D, E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

501



5. Balsas of totoras (1942).

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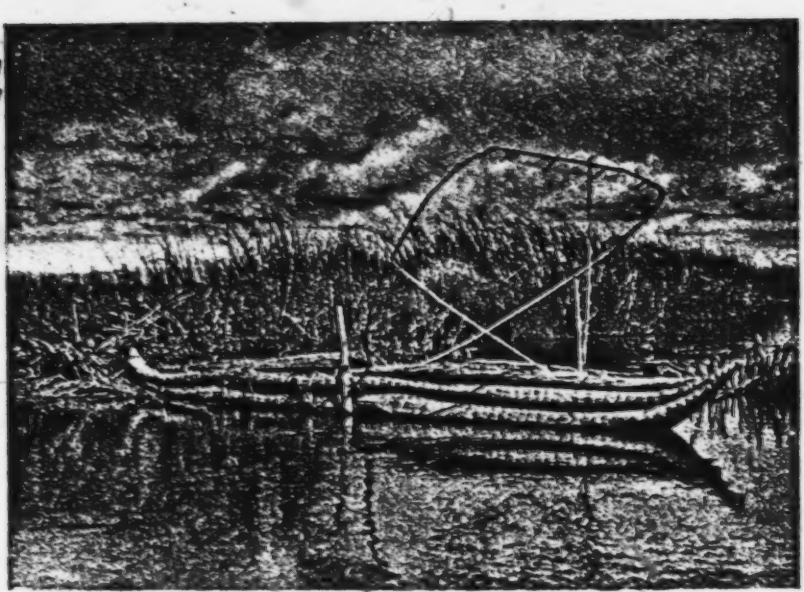
137
227



6. Balsa with large net (yak' kaka). Account VI /see p. 16/.

7. Uru with small fish net (tum kaku). Account III, 14 /see p. 12/.

8. Uru with big fish spear (Account III, 20 /see p. 12/).

3:Vellard--6d D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

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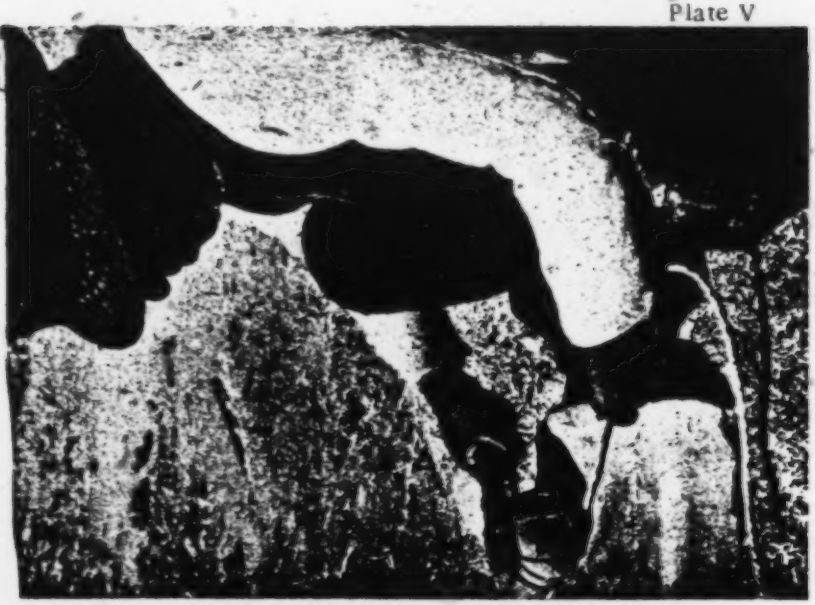
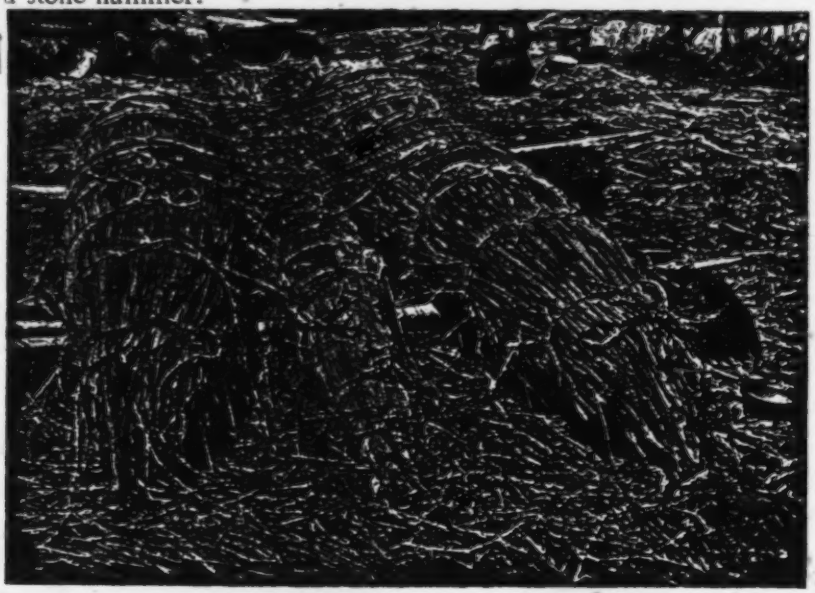


9. Fisher preparing straw ropes to make a balsa. He is using a stone hammer.

396
824



10. Construction of a balsa: preparation of the three totora cylinders: the heart and the two side parts.

3:Vellard--7 D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/170/

I. The Misery of the Uru
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 151 /in the foreign text/)

000 /Note. As a result of the difficulty of obtaining the typographical signs for the exact transcription of the Uru words included in the remarks, we have been obliged to transcribe a certain number of words in an approximate fashion and more or less successfully. It will therefore not be surprising that there are differences of transcription between the texts, which have been reproduced by a photographic process, and the remarks. It goes without saying that only the transcription of the texts is exact./

Free Translation

*530 731 178 433 511 1. We shall never be able to go from here; we all are too much accustomed to be here since always. 2. But our fields will give us very little. 3. This year is too dry and the potatoes are not growing. 4. The frosts have burned everything. 5. That is why we are leaving. 6. Now what shall we do? 7. In the swamp which is drying up there are no more suche (kind of fish). 8. There are no more reeds and there are no more birds' eggs. 9. All the eggs have departed into the great lake of Guaqui. 10. The fish have left for Guaqui. 11. How will we eat now? 12. If it rains enough this year we shall live. 13. We shall all return to our village. 14. If it does not rain (enough) we shall die. 15. We eat the little potatoes which we cultivate for the people of another race (the Aymara). 16. We earn them by cultivating for them. 17. There are few fish and we have only caught one. 18. We shall sell it. 19. Thou hast seen how small it is. 20. It is necessary to go far to fish. 21. We are accustomed to going home at night. 22. We shall return home to sell (our catch).

/170 cont./

*539 731 178 433 511 23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

*539 731 178 161 433 This account, dictated by an old Uru about 90 years old, Manuel Inta, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1940 to 1946. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara populations. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Urus, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working [167] in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Urus have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Amaracized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

*539 192 193 [101] wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui, on the small lake. ɔx'ša, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymaras. Note the particle ču intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: Káya -čúčay, tánáču- čay, lúx-káču -čay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ki intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending čay indicates the future. The verb Káči- čay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." tumíni, a *539 192 tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1. kustúmbro, "custom"; 5. isú-čay, esto or esɔ́, "that"; 17. ni- únu, "this alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

/171 cont./

*539 192 193 1. píni means "many"; with hána it may be rendered by "no more"; učúmi, exclusive personal pronoun /172/ for the first person plural. 2. čalāk, probably the Spanish chacra, "cultivated field"; the Uru do not have their own word to designate fields. 4. The ending čay added to a root gives it [136] the verbal form. 6. xui, interrogative particle. 7. suche, small kind of sheatfish from the Titicaca region; it is the [824] Trichomycterus dispar. 8. totora, Scirpus totora, the reeds of Lake Titicaca used by the Uru to build their balsas, cover their houses, and for other uses. 12. ke-, particle of repeti- [101] tion. 14. tòxša, literally "other persons," designates all men other than the Uru; nak' for náka, plural form of pronouns.

*539 396 II. Manufacture of Balsas from Totoras
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 154 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. Let us go, as is our custom, to find totoras to make a [283] balsa. 2. We are accustomed to go far to make the straw ropes /necessities/. 3. Three days are needed to dry (the straw ropes). 4. The straw ropes are well dried now. 5. Now all these totoras are well dried. 6. Let us make the balsa. 7. A man cuts the totora. 8. The totora is tied (in bunches). 9. Three have to be made (bunches of totora): the heart (the middle spindle) and the two side spindles of the balsa. 10. We tie (the spindles); now we are going to squeeze them together very tightly, at first it takes two men to squeeze it together. 11. We have the custom of sprinkling (the totora) with water so that it does not dry. 12. Now we are going to tighten; to tighten we are accustomed to use a hook. 13. We beat (the totora) with /173/ a rock (in order to compress it).

/173 cont./

*539 [396] 14. We are going to place a rim of totoras. 15. He attaches the rim of the balsa. 16. He tightens the rim of the balsa. 17. We are going to finish. 18. (The totora) is still a bit loose; we are going to tighten it a bit more. 19. All is finished. 20. Now the balsa is ready. 21. Let us go fishing [501] with the new balsa. 22. We are not going to hoist a sail? 23. We are not accustomed to use a sail; there is too little water. 24. We always use a boat hook manipulated by hand. [226] 25. Here is the stone which is attached to the large net so that the fish can enter. 26. The fish is going to enter (the net); now we are going to lift (the net) up and put it in the balsa.

Remarks

This text is divided into two parts. The first, 1 to 20, describes the making of balsas from totoras. The second is a succinct description of fishing with a net in the swamps of the Desaguadero.

*539 396 [824] To build their balsas the Uru use the Scirpus totora, which used to grow in abundance in the swamps of the Desaguadero and at numerous points on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Two Indians work at the same time on the construction of a balsa. First they lay out the bunches of totoras [114] on the ground, from which they make three spindles the length of the balsa, two large side ones and a middle one which is shorter and thinner; this middle cylinder, the "heart of the balsa," used to stabilize the craft, has passed unnoticed by practically all the authors who have concerned themselves [171] with the Uru. Only the fishers on the lagoon of Arapa, to the north of Lake Titicaca, who speak Keŝwa, build balsas, small and rather narrow, formed with two cylinders.

[284] The totora of three cylinders is held in place with the aid of thin straw plaits (2-4), which hold the cylinders evenly between them. These straw ropes are tightened in a progressive and methodical fashion by two /174/ men, working alternately

/174 cont./

*539 396 on each side of the balsa (10, 12, 17) in order to make the two large side cylinders equal in weight, bulk, and compression. This is the delicate part of the manufacture, on which the stability and quality of the craft depend. The Uru use wooden hooks for this job (12). At the same time they compress the totora with a stone hammer (13), adding or removing totora as necessary; they water it from time to time to prevent it from drying. When the work is finished the middle cylinder, the heart of the balsa, completely hidden between the side [461] cylinders, is invisible. Depending on the size, the construction *539 501 of a balsa takes an average of three to six days. The life of a balsa is short; after having been wet they become heavy and rot inside; they are good for six months to one year in general.

The balsas used on the Desaguadero and on the low parts of the lake in the neighboring lagoons which are not very deep (Arapa, Unumayo) do not have sails (23), or only a very small sail, in contrast to the balsas on the large lake which they propel by sail. The Uru steer them with the help of a boat hook ending in three teeth, which they push against the muddy [191] bottom (24). These boat hooks are identical to those of the Guatos of upper Paraguay, who belong to the Nu-Arwak /Nu-Aruak/ linguistic group.

*539 193 From the point of view of grammar, note the frequent use of the repetitive particle -ɤ̌u-, indicating that the action expressed by the verb is habitual. Also note the repetitions of words or roots to reinforce the idea expressed (3-12, etc.)

The verb šišl' ǩay expresses the idea of carrying off, of lifting up, of raising (22-23); compare it with 4-5 of text III.

/175/

III. Fishing
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 157 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 226 1. I left my house. 2. I went toward the lake. 3. I have been to catch fish. 4 I took a boat hook. 5. I took a large net. 6. We are accustomed to fish with this net. 7. We are accustomed to go fishing at night as well as very early in the morning or evening. 8. We are accustomed to go with another person or even alone. 9. We are free to go fishing or not to go. 10. I got into this balsa. 11. We are accustomed to propel it with the boat hook. 12. We maneuver the boat hook by hand. 13. We are accustomed to put on our tunics now because of the mist. 14. We have taken way a net. 15. Thou, chase the fish with thy boat hook. 16. Me, I lift up the net. 17. There is a souche; a souche is swimming by. 18. We are going to catch it. 19. It is very close. 20. Stick it (with thy spear). 21. Hast thou caught it? 22. I have caught it. 23. We are accustomed to putting (the fish) in the balsa. 24. A souche has fallen into the water. 25. I have taken it out of the water. 26. Let us go elsewhere. 27. All *539 123 the fish have left. 28. Let us go hunt for coots. 29. Let us rest; I am tired. 30. We are accustomed to hunting coots. 31. We are accustomed to follow them in flight. 32. We are accustomed to hitting them with the boat hook. 33. It has dived. 34. It is coming out of the water. 35. I shall catch the coot with my boleadores /bolas/. 36. It did not touch it. 37. Another will come and thou wilt catch it. 38. Yes. 39. It has come back. 40. We will set out again with the balsa. 41. Let us go fast, or else it will escape (outdo) us. 42. We have caught it. 43. We have caught its /176/ young ones. 44. Bite the coot at its head (to kill it). 45. Let us go

/176 cont./

*539 223 sell it. 46. We must return with this one; let's return. 47. There are no more. 48. We go along in vain. 49. We have looked everywhere; there are no more. 50. We are going to carry everything to the house.

Remarks

*539 216 223 This text is divided into three parts. In a short introduction (1-9) the narrator explains the fishing customs of the Uru, and then he describes a day of fishing and hunting aquatic birds in the swamps of the Desaguadero: the departure (10-14), the work of the catcher, who hits the water with a boat hook to direct the frightened fish toward the nets (15-16); fishing for suche (Trichomycterus dispar), a silurus /sheatfish/, which is the largest fish in the lake, reaching 30/35 cm., captured by means of a long three-meter spear ending in multiple points (17-27); and lastly, hunting for coots (Fulica gigantea and Fulica americana) forced into flight and then killed with the boat hooks (30-34) or captured with bolas with wooden balls (35-42). The captured coots are killed by a bite at the head (44). Then comes the return (45-50). This account is very lively.

*539 192 193 There are no special words for fishing or hunting; only the verb tána-čay, literally, "to take," is used.

From the point of view of grammar the text furnishes interesting verbal forms, in particular, the forms indicating the usual -čučay, as in the previous texts; the form -čáčay (46), implying the idea of obligation; the double use of the root (8) to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb. Moreover, the frequency of the euphonic letters s and l: 2, 5, 8, etc., should be emphasized.

This text contains two Hispanicisms: the first is very curious (8); in order to better render the idea of solitude, alone, absolutely alone, the narrator has repeated the word "one," /177/ but by pairing the Uru word tína, "alone," with the

/177 cont./

*539 Spanish word uno /"one"/. In 9 the Spanish word voluntad
190 (will) is deformed into pulúntá, as v does not exist in Uru, but
193 it keeps the Spanish tonic accent.

IV. Nocturnal Fishing
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 161 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 1. We are accustomed to fish at night. 2. We are ac-
246 customed to fish in darkness. 3. But how can one see at night?
4. One can easily see the fish moving about. 5. We cover
ourselves with the sail to keep from being cold.

Remarks

[132] The Uru often go fishing at night in their fishing enclosures, and in order not to suffer from the intense cold and the icy wind, they shelter themselves under the totora sails of their craft.

*539 1. The form maká- xe, "by night," "in the darkness,"
192 is analogous to tom- xe, "today," "on this day," and to num-
193 xe, "by day." 3. kún, an interrogative particle, "how," is accompanied by the pure root of the verb. 4. kíre, "fish," is often pronounced kíri. 5. sráp'- pa indicates finality and may be added either to a verb root or to a substantive form or adjective, as is the case here.

/178/

*539
501

V. Nocturnal Fishing
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 162 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. All is ready; we can leave now in the balsa. 2. This balsa has a very raised prow so that the very strong waves will not submerge it. 3. We are going to erect the mast. 4. We [501] are going to hoist the sail. 5. The wind is coming from another side; let us change (the orientation) of the sail. 6. The sail is swelling very much; the wind is strong. 7. We are going to lower the sail. 8. We are going to put a rock on the sail so that the wind does not carry it away. 9. We are going to place a piece of wood vertically. 10. We are going [502] to hang a pot (from it). 11. We are going to spread (on the water) (a bed) of totoras to light a fire (above). 12. The fire is burning; the water is going to boil and we shall drink.

Remarks

[502] In the first part of this text (1-6) the narrator describes the departure for fishing and the maneuvering of a balsa with a sail of the type used in certain parts of the Desaguadero with a simple mast; their raised prow permits them to withstand rather strong waves. The balsas on Lake Titicaca are larger, with a prow which is also raised, but with a double mast and a larger sail.

The second part (7-12) shows the preparations of the Uru for spending the night on the water. The balsa is halted in shallow water; the sail held by a large stone shelters the fishers from the wind. A boat hook placed in the mud is used to hang [502] a pot above /179/ a fire of totoras, lighted on a thick bed of reeds thrown on the water.

/179 cont./

*539 115 191 The whole of this text, the phonetics as well as the vocabulary and syntax, is less correct than the accounts of old Manuel Inta, who belongs to the generation prior (he is nearly 90 years old) to that of the new narrator (Carlos Kispe), who is about 50 years old.

*539 191 192 1. puKáta is an Aymara word, a language which the informant knows rather well; húxk'-čáč' for huxk'-ačáčay, "we can depart." The narrator sometimes says čurk, and sometimes čork or čark, literally, "large," "strong"; this form indicates the superlative here. 3. The Uru have no special word for the mast; they simply call it "the wood" of the sail. 8. The correct form would be šaxka-čúčay. 9. The narrator moreover has a tendency to transform the final -čay into -ča (6) or to elide it into ač' (1); he always omits it with substantives and adjectives. 12. The informant says Kăs-si instead of the correct form k^{w}ă-si, "water." He often confuses ę and i, sometimes saying čúke and sometimes čúki.

VI. The Fishing Enclosure
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 163 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 226 1. This is a fishing enclosure. 2. This enclosure is made to catch fish. 3. We are accustomed to closing the entrance (of the enclosure) with a net. 4. We lift the net quickly with this stick. 5. On this river there is another net. 6. There are enclosures for each of us, very far away from each other. 7. Thus each of us can fish.

/180/

Remarks

*539 226 The Uru build dams of totoras in a V-form on the Desaguadero, the point oriented toward the direction of the current. A narrow passage contrived at the point is closed at the time of fishing by means of a large circular net, the káku, installed on a balsa. Fishers standing on one or several balsas go downstream, beating the water with long poles furnished with a totora ball, in order to frighten the fish which, descending the river course, enter the enclosure and fall into the net [423] placed at the point. Each Uru family has its fishing enclosure, very far away from those of its neighbors (6-7). The distribution of the location of these enclosures as well as the use of the totora fields which are used to make balsas was ruled by Uru customary law.

*539 193 1. ti- ki or simply -ki, á particle to designate the object about which one is speaking: this enclosure here; this river here (5). 6. ɟíla- ɟíla, literally "one," means "one for each"; the repetition of the adverb háske háske has the value of a superlative; "far, far, very far"; Aymara and Keŝwa form the superlative in an identical manner: eg.: Kala- Kala, "rock rock," in Aymara: "many rocks."

VII. The Village of the Uru at Iru-Itu
Comments on photographs by Manuel Inta

(See p. 164 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 [346] 1. Is this your chapel? 2. It is our chapel. 3. These are our houses. 4. The chapel is seen from behind. 5. The chapel is good that way (seen from the front). 6. The totora [824] is kept upright in a heap. /181/ 7. It is kept in a heap so that it will not rot.

/181 cont./

*539 [501] it will not rot. 8. This is a balsa from the big lake. 9. Its prow is raised. 10. That one is a big balsa. 11. That one is a small balsa. 12. There are no other balsas. 13. This is a house of the other people (the Aymara). 14. This is a house of unburnt bricks (adobes). 15. This is a house of the Aymara community (lit., "of the other people"). 16. What more shall I tell thee? That is all. 17. Now I want to rest, oh father.

Remarks

*539 124 This text reproduces the comments of old Manuel Inta, looking at a series of photographs of his native village, Iru-Itu, and of the region. The photographs of Iru-Itu were recognized without difficulty; those of less familiar sites provoked various reflections before being well identified (13-15).

*539 193 1. xwí, interrogative particle; kapílá, this is the Spanish word capilla, "chapel." 4. We have not found any passive form among the Uru; to express the idea "has been seen from the back," the informant used the active voice: cèrk'- ku ɻi- nís- čay, literally one he has seen; ku indicates the recent past. It must be noted that this cast of mind was spontaneous, no question having been put to him; ɻ used in the text is an elision for i, "one," and has suffered a contraction with the previous vowel. 9. hoća expresses the idea of "point," being able to indicate as well as the raised prow of the balsa, a mountain summit, the nose, or the yerb "to point" in the sense of being in a pointed form. 9-10-11. The narrator describes the three principal types of balsas of the Uru: with a raised, pointed prow for navigation on Titicaca (big lake); the big fishing balsas of the Desaguadero for three or four people, and the small balsas for one or two people. 13-15. tòxša, "others," or tòxša náka, /182/ "other people," the usual way to designate

*539 [501]

[101] [829]

/182 cont./

*539 161 829 the Aymara used by the Uru, who consider themselves as constituting a pre-human species (not a race) apart. There are two human species, the Uru, a primitive species representing the first, pre-human creations, and the Aymara, who belong, as do all the other present-day people, to the last creation.

*539 192 [648] 15. Note a Hispanicism, kumunitá, to designate the native community of Jesus de Machaca, upon which the Uru are now dependent; it is an idea which is foreign to their own sociology.

16-17. The narrator, tired by his interpretive efforts, has no more to say and wants to rest. Note the polite form háp'- pay, [576] "father," corresponding to "monsieur."

*539 821

VIII. Xoxi-cay, the Thunder
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 166 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. It will still thunder very strongly; the storm is coming. 2. The roof of the house will let the water through; it is not good at all. 3. Look again to see if the storm is going away. 4. It is thundering again. 5. The thunder can only kill a person of another race. 6. Never, since the most ancient times, has the thunder killed one of us. 7. The thunder has made me very afraid.

Remarks

This text makes allusion to a very deeply rooted belief among the Uru: they cannot be struck by lightning, so feared [829] by all the populations of the altiplano. According to them lightning only strikes the people "of another race": Aymaras, half-breeds, or Europeans. Also the Uru do not have any

[pg 20 omitted in pagination.]

*539 /182 cont./ also the Uru do not have any
81 apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/
[918] at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments
[191] are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations.
[152] However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kispe, is very frightened
[829] of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure
Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood.
[848] Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was father-
less, "hána hep' šeš- čay," "no father is," "an illegitimate
son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did
not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be
[961] assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder,
[829] drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which
[848] the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable
proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

*539 From the point of view of vocabulary this text shows the
191 same irregularities as the preceding text by the same informant
192 (V) /see p. 15/ frequent elisions of final vowels: ča instead of
čay; the repeated use (1-7) of wáli, "much," an Aymara form
not found in the texts nor in the numerous phrases gathered
from the other informant. 2. wáli- píni, association of an
Aymara word and an Uru word with the same meaning to rein-
force the idea; we find an analogous case in ti- hún (5), the
Uru-Spanish association already noted. 2. hána Kála či čúña,
"not good good is," association of two words of almost identical
meaning to reinforce the idea: "this is not good at all." 3. The
particle -kála after the verb "to go" has the exact meaning
of ex in Latin, literally exit. 4. The correct form would be
war- tis. 6. háskę indicates a very distant fact, an idea still
more strengthened by the suffix -ta, sign of the past: "a very
long time ago."

/184/

*539 764

IX. Funeral Customs
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 167 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

[195] [182] 1. We others, we have the custom of making a meal in honor of the soul. 2. We offer libations to the souls. 3. At night we have the custom of digging (the grave). 4. Then we have the custom of coming to burn (the clothes of the dead person). 5. We have the custom of burning the clothes of the soul. 6. Let us go burn these clothes. 7. Let us light the fire. 8. We burn only the clothes.

Remarks

In this short account the informant summarizes several funeral practices of the Uru. At first it is the evening of the funeral, during which relatives and friends eat in honor of the dead person (1) to whom libations of alcohol, chicha, and coca are offered (2). After the burial, without a coffin, in a simple ditch dug during the night (3), and which will not subsequently be marked by anything, the clothes of the dead person are burned.

*539 764 171 These practices are very different from those of the other natives of the Cordillera, speakers of Aymara or Keŝwa, who gather several days after the burial to wash the dead man's clothes and divide them up. The customs of the Uru recall those of numerous Amazonian groups.

The complete abandonment of the grave after burial must also be noted; it contrasts with the care which other populations of the Cordillera give to graves.

*539 101 193 1. učúmi; this is the personal pronoun of the first person plural, with the exclusive meaning "we others, the Urus."

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 23]

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Plate VI

1. Andrés Vitu and Luci Vitu.

2. Old Uru woman about 90 years old.

142
SC2

3. Old Uru woman.

115
K92
291

4. Manuel Inta, 80 to 90 years old.

5. Carlos Kispe, Uru-Aymara, 40 to 50 years old.

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6. Luis Inta. 40 to 50 years old.

7. Luis Inta. 40 to 50 years old.

8. Tomas Inta. 50 to 60 years old.

9. Tomas Inta. 50 to 60 years old.

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/191/

Uros.° Some authors (Pomoznik) have thought that uruni was the name which the Uro gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anonio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the name of Orbesuma. owĕ̃ or owẽ̃ designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant also uses the Spanish word alma (5). °the soul°; but he never used the word for defunct or dead. tikinĕ̃ni-ʔay, literally, °that which is stretched out,° designating the corpse, which is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pĭt'-ʔaĕ̃ʔay means °to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit°; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ʔa followed by the pure root. 3. ʔaĕ̃t-ti designates clothes in general.

K. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: [194] The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give [193] thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking). [124] 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

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Remarks

*539 124 This little, very lifelike scene shows the usual difficulties in any ethnological investigation; the informants tire quickly, and the investigator is harassed by requests. Our two informants however were excellent.

*539 192 193 1. The suffix náka indicates the plural; takú means "word," "speech," "language." 2. s- kõ- čay is used for kõ- čay, the s is euphonic; compare s- mír- háčay in 9. 4. A typical example of an adjective assuming a verbal form: wáka means "all"; by adding kíčay, the past suffix, the word "all she has been," is formed. 5. awáritiš is the Spanish word, aguardiente, eau-de-vie /brandy/. 7. líka-čay, "I shall drink," formula of politeness before drinking. 8. húwa means "quick," "lively," "agile," and in a figurative sense, "intelligent," "quick-witted"; here it is a wish used as a formula of thanking; háp'- pay, "father," a frequently used honorific used for "monsieur." 9. kę- skéču; the repetition of the first syllable of the word has the value of a superlative: "very, very close"; litrát is the Spanish word retrato, portrait.

[115] 11. The informant, about 60 years old, hopes very much to die after his wife, who is, however, less than 40 years old. I am not absolutely sure of the transcription of tîkš' na- tačíkni; it is a future form of dead, literally, "who is stretched out."

[191] In this whole dialogue one will notice the rather different phonetics of the two informants. Thus čis- čay, "to talk," sometimes becomes či- čay; Carlos Kispe often leaves off endings in čay- ; he even often leaves off final syllables or letters.

/187/

*539
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XI. Farewells

(Dialogue dictated by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 169 /in the foreign text/)

Translation

1. Dost thou not find it difficult to go away? 2. With much reluctance I shall go to my house. 3. Dost thou want to stay or dost thou want to leave? 4. I wish to go away. 5. Stay longer; it is better to stay now. 6. While thou travelest toward thy house, thou mightst meet a storm. 7. Eat thy meal; afterward thou shalt leave. Thy wife will be able to see thee from afar.

Remarks

We heard this short dialogue at Tihuanaco between our two informants, Carlos Kispe, who was staying with us, and old Manuel Inta, in a hurry to return home. Carlos Kispe repeated [191] it to us. The usual mistakes of this informant are to be again found here: the use of wáli, an Aymara word meaning "much"; transformation of the ending čay into ča; frequent elisions.

*539
193

1. kún, an interrogative particle which is placed before the verb; compare kúmi- pèk' (5). Note the future forms -kičay, used in this whole dialogue, and tú lún táni, literally, "to take trouble." 2. kinák', a particle which is placed after the object, indicating direction with motion. 3. The Uru have no conditional or dubitative form; they present the two proposals without any conjunction. 4. káli, "from here"; a particle which is placed after the verb, indicating departure from the place where one is. 6. káma, a particle placed after the verb; it is common to Kešwa and to Aymara, meaning "whilst." 7. ʼstáni, a particle placed after the verb, meaning "after." /188/ 8. t' kúwa, a contraction; the correct form

/188 cont./

*539 193 would be tukú- nua, "woman," "spouse." Note the placing of the particle áskę, "far," between the root and the ending of the verb.

*539 121 It was interesting to publish these texts, which make possible some useful comparisons with Orés Pukina text, which will be the subject of our next note, and with Métraux's three Chipaya texts.

*539 199 [194] Considerable phonetic differences exist between Uru and Chipaya. For example, the ending čai, so characteristic of Uru but which already is tending to become ča or to be dropped, becomes ja in Chipaya. Chipaya pronunciation is much harder, with a greater frequency of gutterals, no doubt as a [192] result of Aymara influence. The Chipaya vocabulary contains a much higher proportion of Aymara, Keŝwa, and even Spanish words, and this does not originate solely from the nature of the texts gathered by Métraux: the trip of a Chipaya to Chile, and life in the barracks; one finds the same character in his second text, describing life in the fields. Outside this variable proportion of foreign words, differences in vocabulary are slight.

[193] The syntax of the two groups is identical, but nevertheless much less varied in Chipaya.

All this underlines the close linguistic affinities of these [184] two groups. It is the same language, practically extinct, spoken by two small, completely separated populations; it is better preserved among the Uru and more altered among the Chipaya, and already displays considerable variations from one generation to another within the same group.

*539 184 The differences are much more marked in the very content, rather than form, of the texts. The Uru mainly describe their work as fishermen and, to some extent, their customs. Métraux was able only with difficulty to obtain from the Chipaya a few phrases on their work /189/ in the fields and on animal husbandry, and his texts are mainly accounts of

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/189 cont./

experiences outside of their daily life -- a trip to Chile or life in the barracks.

Nothing better underlines the different character of these two groups than these texts dictated by themselves. The Chipaya are herders, very much affected by the influence of their Aymara and Keŝwa neighbors, and even by the Creole culture. The Uru, fisher-gatherers, have kept almost up to their extinction, their way of life and relative isolation, which is reflected in their less altered language.

13

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Note II

Anthropology

114 141. When we examined the anthropological bibliography at our disposal, we found only a very small number of works on the Uru and the closely related Chipaya: publications by Imbelloni and Posnansky and a note by Wright on dental anomalies. No important work should have escaped our notice.

Imbelloni made a very complete study of two skulls from the island of Panza (Poopo Lake, 300 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, fed by the Desaguadero), classifying them in the Laguido-Melanesien group.

Posnansky has made a very summary study (only a few cephalic measurements) of six men of Iru-Itu. He completed this series by examining nine Chipayas, men, only seven of whom would be pure-blooded; the other two, brachycephalic and mesaticephalic, are considered "Kollas," i.e., half-breeds of Andean elements. On the island of Panza, Posnansky studied two skulls and measured the cephalic index of six living people, four men and two women, only one of whom is called "pure Uru." These results are compared with those furnished by a small series of Chango skulls coming from the Arica excavations. It is necessary, of course, to make reservations about Posnansky's very personal nomenclature and the very special meaning which he gives to Arawak and Kolla terms.

It was not possible for us to consult Wright's work, which seems to deal with a very different aspect from that which interests us.

Imbelloni and Posnansky agree on the very marked dolichocephalism of the Uru and their relatives, the Chipaya. The conclusions which issue from a comparative study /192/ of their works are much less clear in connection with the vertical index of the skull and the height of the face.

/192 cont./

114 Outside of Posnansky's small Chipaya group, no information exists on height or body measurements in these groups to our knowledge.

126 We ourselves prepared only a very short series: six men and three women, all adults. The fact that we are dealing with the last Uru must not be forgotten. Outside these nine [162] subjects, there were no other Uru adults at Iru-Itu other than a young Uru woman about 30 years old and two very old women whom it was impossible to measure and who allowed themselves to be photographed only with difficulty. The children were [144] largely Uru-Aymara half-breeds. The consanguinity of most of our subjects is another inconvenience of this small series.

121 In spite of these defects it seemed necessary to us to publish our results, which allow useful comparisons with the works of Posnansky and Imbelloni and will without doubt be the last [167] observations on this group. Some other Uru are scattered in the region and already incorporated into the Aymara populations; their affiliation will be difficult to establish.

114 126 It is regrettable that the ethnographers who visited the region when the Uru were still numerous did not seek to obtain a few essential anthropometric measurements. However, it must be recognized that working conditions were not very favorable; the Uru proved to be opposed to any examination of this type, and the cold climate as well as their heavy, woolen garments were also obstacles difficult to overcome. Patient negotiations were necessary, for example, in order to get some of them to allow themselves to be photographed without their woolen caps, and most refused.

162 /193/ In 1942 the population of Iru-Itu was as follows:

--- 6 men, whose ages varied between 40 and 95 years.

--- 6 women between 30 and 90 years old.

--- 9 children, 5 boys and 4 girls, between 4 and 15 years old.

/193 cont./

162 Besides these 21 subjects, who considered themselves as pure Uru, three Aymara women living with some Urus had settled in the village with five children.

829 The concept of pure Uru is completely arbitrary;
597 its value is more social than racial. At all times adoption in
648 various forms made the incorporation of a subject of another origin into the group possible, and he was from then on con-
[128] sidered a true Uru. This was the case with an Aymara child, whom we, of course, dropped from our list.

829 Children of an Uru mother and an unknown father were considered pure Uru.

One of our informants, Carlos Kispe, was himself, as we have seen, a "without father." Although considered an Uru, all his physical and mental characteristics clearly distinguished him from the other members of the group.

The Uru considered Aymara women born in neighboring villages and their children, even if born of Uru fathers, as foreigners. This matrilineal law is interesting to note.

126 Aymara women refused to let themselves or their children be examined. Nothing could persuade the two old Uru women.

We were hence reduced to the nine following subjects:

Men

142 Manuel Inta. An old patriarch 80 to 90 years old, born of Uru father and mother. White, rather thick hair; beard reduced to a few short hairs, entirely white. Thin lips; a straight-nosed profile. No Mongolian fold, /194/ but the presence of a malo-marginal fold, very distinct, on the far part of the eyelid.
[163] Four living sons, Tomas and three others who have left the village; three daughters, among them Andréa and Célestina, and four dead children.

Tomas Inta, 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son. Considered pure Uru. No white hair. Thin lips, straight nose. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

/194 cont./

142 Luis Inta, 40 to 50 years old, Manuel's nephew. Considered pure Uru: Thin lips. A moderately convex nose, with enlarged alae. Malo-marginal fold present.

Andrés Vila, 90 to 95 years old. Born of Uru father and mother. He is the oldest man in the village. A deeply wrinkled face. Plentiful white hair. A few beard hairs, short and completely white. Straight nose, very depressed at the base. Thin lips. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

[141] Luis Vila, 80 to 90 years old. Tall, 174 cm., contrasting with the other members of the group, of medium height. Born of Uru father and mother. Some white hair. Some beard hair, short and white. Relatively large head. Slightly convex nose. Not very accentuated malo-marginal fold.

[144] Carlos Kispe, 40 to 50 years old. Born of Uru mother but
[141] of unknown father, he shows unquestionable signs of crossbreeding with elements of Andean race. Brachycephalic, strongly hypsicephalic, euryprosopic, and mesatiskelic, he clearly stands apart from the other members of the group. His much more active nature and his more lively type of intelligence accentuate this difference still more. Straight nose, malo-marginal fold present.

Women

Santusa Inta, 30 to 35 years old, niece of Manuel Inta (?), considered a true Uru. An attractive, energetic person. Low forehead, straight nose, depressed at the base. A well-marked
[163] malo-marginal fold. Four children, nine to 15 years old.

Celestina Inta, 35 to 40 years old, daughter of Manuel Inta, considered /195/ as pure Uru. An agreeable, energetic person. Moderately convex nose. Accentuated malo-marginal fold.

Andrea Inta, 40 to 50 years old, daughter of Manuel Inta, considered true Uru. Coarser type than the previous ones.

/195 cont./

42 Nose depressed at the base, a slightly convex profile. A very accentuated malo-marginal fold.

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List of the Population

Uru men:

Manuel, Inta, 80 to 90 years old.
Tomas Inta, 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son.
Luis Inta, 40 to 50 years old, Manuel's nephew.
Andrés Vila, 90 to 95 years old.
Luis Vila, 80 to 90 years old.
Carlos Kispe, 40 to 50 years old (characteristics of an Uru-Aymara half-breed).

Uru women:

Santusa Inta, 30 to 35 years old, Manuel's niece.
Célestina Inta, 35 to 40 years old, Manuel's daughter.
Andréa Inta, 40 to 50 years old, Manuel's daughter.
Justina Vila, 30 to 35 years old.
X , 80 to 90 years old.
Y , 80 to 95 years old.

Uru children:

Francisco Inta, masc., 14 to 15 years old, Santusa's son.
Sabina Inta, fem., 12 to 13 years old, Santusa's daughter.
Angelita Inta, f., 11 to 12 years old, " "
Jesus Inta, m., 9 to 10 years old, Santusa's son.
Juliana Vila, f., 5 to 6 years old, daughter of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
Esteban Vila, m., 4 to 5 years old, son of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
Francisca Vila, 3 to 4 years old, daughter of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
/196/ Miguel Salinas, m., 4 to 5 years old, orphan.
Miguel Kispe, m., 5 to 6 years old, half-breed, son of Carlos Kispe.

/196 cont./

162 551 Aymara women:

Rosa Choque, 60 to 70 years old, Aymara from Machaca.

Francisca Arosquipe, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

María Chura, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

Half-breed children:

Victor Inta, m., 10 to 11 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Eugenio Inta, m., 8 to 10 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Ramon Inta, m., 2 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Manuela Inta, f., 3 years old, daughter of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Domitilia Tacon, f., 6 years old, adopted Aymara.

162 Total:

6 Uru men, from 40 to 95 years old (one of whom is certainly of mixed blood).

6 Uru women, from 30 to 95 years old.

9 Uru children, 5 boys and 4 girls, from 4 to 15 years old.

3 Aymara women.

4 Uru-Aymara half-breed children.

1 adopted Aymara child.

[125] The age of all these subjects was, of course, estimated approximately. Even the relationship of several of them is doubtful.

164 One of the children of mixed blood, Victor Inta, was struck by typhus exanthematicus.

161 162 621 [551] This list shows the deep decline of the group. In 1938 there were four patronymic names, those of the four big families in Iru-Itu: the Inta, the Vila, the Kispe, and the Salinas. In 1942 the Salinas /family/ had emigrated or disappeared, leaving only an orphan. The Kispe /family/

was represented only by Carlos and his son. Two men, a young woman, and her children formed the Vila group. The Inta family was the only still rather numerous one. It has, moreover, always been considered the most traditional and purest of the Iru-Itu families.

Anthropometric Study

We had to limit our study to the essential measurements of the head and body.

The results obtained are contained in Tables I and II and the indices calculated in Table III /see pp. 38-40/.

These figures call for some comments.

In spite of the small number of subjects examined, the results are rather homogeneous for the group of men, with the exception of Carlos Kispe who is considerably far from the general type. The group of women presents marked differences from that of the men. It is quite difficult to judge to what extent these differences are due to a pronounced sexual dimorphism or to the influence of possible crossbreeding, which makes itself felt among close relatives, two sisters and their female cousin.

We will study the male and female groups separately.

Head

The absolute measurements show a notably elongated head for all the subjects examined; the outside figures go from 187 to 210 for the men and from 178 to 180 for the women. The head is narrow among the men, 141 to 150, with the exception of Carlos Kispe; among the women the absolute values do not exceed 149.

The cephalic index does not exceed 75.0 for the masculine groups; only Carlos Kispe is hyperbrachycephalic

/197 cont./

141 with 85.5. The three women are moderately brachycephalic. The arithmetical average for the five first /198/ /Table I appears here/ /199/ /Table II appears here/ /200/ /Table III appears here/ /Plates VIII and IX appear here/ /201/ men is: 73.51 and for the women: 81.96. Posnansky's figures indicate an average index of 72.7 for the Uru and 75.0 for the Chipaya. Imbelloni gives 72.77 for a male Uru skull and 73.71 for a female one.

The auricular height of the skull varies within rather large limits, 115 to 133 for the group of the first five men, with an average of 128.60. It is a little less strong among the women (average 120). Carlos Kispe again stands out from the whole group with 163 mm. The division of the skulls according to their height is the following (after Scheidt):

Low -- x-118: 1 man, 2 women.

Medium -- 119-128: 2 men, 1 woman.

High -- 129-x: 3 men (one of whom is Carlos Kispe).

The height-length index indicates only one male orthocephalic skull with a value of 60.5; all the other skulls are hypsicephalic, those of the men varying from 63.3 to 70.7 (average: 64.54) and those of women from 64.6 to 70.5 (average: 66.86). Karlos Kispe reaches 87.1.

The height-width index allows only one female skull to be classified as tapeinocephalic; one male and one female as metriocephalic; all the others are acrocephalic, with indices from 86.9 to 94.3, with the exception of Carlos Kispe, who is conspicuous for his considerable height, reaching 101.8; the general average for the men (excepting C. Kispe) is 87.9, and for the women 81.6.

Tapeinocephalic: 75.0-79.9: 1 woman.

Metriocephalic: 80.0-84.9: 1 man and 1 woman.

Acrocephalic: 85.0-X: 5 men and 2 women.

The forehead is medium for three men (Minimum frontal diameter: 104 to 108), large for two men (115-119) and the three women (115-118); only one man is in the category of

[Text Continues on P. 43]

I. Head

Name:	Manuel Inta	Tomas Inta	Luis Inta	Andrés Vila	Luis Vila	Carlos Kispe	Andrea Inta	Célestina Inta	Santusa Inta
Sex	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	f.	f.	f.
Approximate age . . .	80/90	50/60	40/50	90/95	80/90	40/50	40/50	35/40	30/35
Ant. post. diam. . .	188	190	195	195	210	187	180	180	178
Max. trans. diam. . .	141	142	146	141	150	160	146	146	149
Auriculo-vertical height	133	115	127	125	133	163	127	118	115
Min. frontal breadth .	107	108	104	115	122	119	118	115	115
Bimastoidian diam. .	132	125	132	132	133	132	126	118	125
Bizygomatic diam. .	141	138	141	139	150	144	139	138	142
Bigonial diam. . . .	103	113	98	110	120	106	106	104	95
Phys. face height . .	183	178	197	186	214	176	163	173	156
Nasio-mental diam. .	123	126	123	120	133	118	112	120	115
Nasio-buccal diam. .	78	81	82	82	84	76	66	78	73
Nasio-alveolar diam.	67	73	72	68	74	68	62	69	68
Nose height	53	58	60	55	59	53	47	55	53
Nose breadth	36	36	38	42	40	37	35	37	39
Projection, base of nose	19	24	21	22	22	20	19	18	19
Bipalpebral, ext. diam.	94	100	92	97	102	105	94	95	93
Bipalpebral, int. diam.	31	31	31	35	38	37	35	36	36
Mouth breadth	54	55	60	57	54	56	58	45	52
Bilabial height	21	18	22	21	26	19	18	21	22
Height	67	61	65	70	70	66	58	57	52
Height of cartilaginous ear	56	47	50	59	58	55	47	46	42
Ear breadth	37	43	37	41	38	37	31	26	29
Head circumference .	—	527	550	548	590	572	—	—	—

II. Body

Name:	Manuel Inta	Tomas Inta	Luis Inta	Andrés Vila	Luis Vila	Carlos Kispe	Andrea Inta	Celestina Inta	Santusa Inta
Sex	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	f.	f.	f.
Approximate age . . .	80/90	50/60	40/50	90/95	80/90	40/50	40/50	35/40	30/35
Standing height . . .	1501	1586	1648	1556	1740	1665	1532	1572	1550
Auditory meatus height	1368	1471	1521	1431	1667	1502	1405	1454	1435
Chin height	....	1370	....	....	....	1391	....	....	....
Sitting height	739	806	791	791	906	881	794	813	772
Acromion height . . .	1265	1325	1346	1277	1485	1315	1259	1297	1272
Large trochanter height	....	....	....	....	....	773	....	....	....
Floow height	....	1018	1020	923	1100	999	956	990	951
Wrist height	....	777	771	700	849	786	737	762	747
Middle finger height .	....	610	585	514	658	626	578	591	600
Knee height	....	410	446	460	433	430	417	432	450
Ankle height	....	68	70	67	66	76	60	66	52
Total span	1590	1635	1708	1619	1744	1619	1547	1611	1569
Biacromial diameter .	....	....	318	....	....	239	307	288	308
Bihumeral diameter . .	....	....	....	...	....	390	....	....	....

3:Vellard--40 D.F-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

III. Indices

Name:	Manuel Inta	Tomas Inta	Luis Inta	Andrés Vila	Luis Vila	Carlos Kispe	Andrea Inta	Celestina Inta	Santusa Inta
Sex	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	f.	f.	f.
Approximate age . .	80/90	50/60	40/50	90/95	80/90	40/50	40/50	35/40	30/35
Cephalic index . . .	75,0	74,7	74,8	72,3	71,1	85,5	81,1	81,1	83,7
Height-length index .	70,7	60,5	65,1	64,1	63,3	87,1	70,5	65,5	64,6
Height-breadth index	94,3	80,9	87,1	88,6	88,6	101,8	86,9	80,8	77,1
Facial physiognomic index	129,7	128,9	139,7	133,8	142,6	122,2	117,2	125,3	109,8
Facial morphological index	87,2	91,3	87,2	86,3	88,3	81,0	80,5	86,9	80,9
Upper facial morpholog. index	47,5	52,8	61,0	48,9	49,3	47,2	44,2	50,0	41,8
Nasal index	67,9	62,0	63,3	76,3	67,7	69,8	71,4	67,2	73,5
Nasal projection index	52,7	66,6	55,2	52,3	55,0	54,0	54,2	48,6	48,7
Frontoparietal index .	75,8	76,0	71,2	81,5	81,3	73,1	80,8	78,7	77,1
Frontozygomatic index	75,8	78,2	73,7	82,7	81,3	81,2	84,8	83,3	80,9
Goniozygomatic index	73,0	81,8	69,5	79,1	80,0	73,6	76,2	75,3	66,9
Goniofrontal index .	96,2	104,0	94,1	95,6	98,3	89,0	89,8	90,4	82,6
Labiofacial index . .	17,0	14,2	17,8	17,5	19,5	16,1	16,0	17,5	19,1
Biorbital index . . .	32,9	31,0	33,6	36,0	37,2	32,3	37,2	37,8	38,7
Auricular index . . .	55,2	70,4	56,9	58,5	54,2	56,0	53,4	45,6	55,3
Cormic index . . .	50,9	50,8	47,9	51,1	52,0	52,9	51,8	51,7	49,7
Height-upper limb index	——	19,2	19,7	22,8	22,1	18,9	19,7	19,5	20,7
Height-span index .	94,4	97,0	96,4	96,1	99,7	102,8	99,0	97,5	91,7

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Plate VIII

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10. Luis Vila, 80 to 90 years old.

11. Luis Vila, 80 to 90 years old.

12. Andrés Vila, 90 to 95 years old

13. Andrés Vila, 90 to 95 years old.

3:Vellard--42 D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate IX

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14. Santusa Inta, 30 to 35 years old.

15. Santusa Inta, 30 to 35 years old.

16. Andres Inta, 40 to 50 years old.

17. Celestina Inta, 35 to 40 years old.

/201 cont./

141 very large foreheads (Luis Vila, with 122). The frontoparietal index varies among the men from 75.8 to 81.5 (average: 77.16), with /202/ the exception of Carlos Kispe, for whom it is only 73.1; and among the women it varies from 77.1 to 80.8 (average: 78.86).

The face is of average height among the men (nasio-mental diameter): 118 to 126; average: 122), with only one exception, Luis Vila, who reaches 133 mm. Two of the women have short faces, 112 and 115 mm.; it is medium for the third: 120 mm. The general average is 123.8 for the men and 115.6 for the women.

Absolute values for the bizygomatic diameter classify both men and women among faces of medium size, bordering on faces of large size.

4 men and 2 women: 138 to 141.

2 men and 1 woman: 142 to 150.

Average: men, 142.1; women, 139.6.

The morphological facial index of the first five men tends toward leptoprosopy (average index: 88.06, with the exception of Carlos Kispe, who is clearly chamaeoprosopic with 81.9). The women are chamaeoprosopic: average 82.7:

Chamaeoprosopic: x-83.9: 1 man and 2 women.

Mesoprosopic: 84.0-87.9: 3 men and 1 woman.

Leptoprosopic: 88.0-92.9: 2 men.

The upper facial morphological index does not change these results much:

5 men (without Carlos Kispe): 47.5 to 61.0; average: 51.90.

3 women: 41.8 to 50.0; average: 45.33.

Carlos Kispe again has a slightly lower index than the other men: 47.2.

The absolute values of the nasio-buccal diameter are high, ranging from 78 to 84 for the first five men, with an arithmetical average of 81.0. Carlos Kispe reaches only 76; the three women range from 66 to 78 with an arithmetical average of 72.3.

/202 cont./

141 The bigoniac diameter is rather high:

5 men (without C. Kispe): 98 to 120; average: 108.80.

3 women: 95 to 106; average: 101.66.

/203/ Here C. Kispe with 106 is not very far from the average value.

The gonio-zygomatic index for the men varies from 69.5 to 81.8 (arithmetical average: 76.68; C. Kispe: 73.6), and for the women from 66.9 to 76.2 (average: 72.80).

The bigoniac diameter for the first five men is slightly lower than the minimum frontal diameter, which it exceeds only once (Tomas Inta). C. Kispe has a much narrower jaw, as do the three women: the goniofrontal index is lower than or equal to 90.

5 men: 94.12 to 104.02; average: 97.68.

C. Kispe: 89.07.

3 women: 82.60 to 90.40; average: 87.6.

For three of the men, including C. Kispe, the nose is of medium height; it is high on one subject, and two of the others are in the very high-nosed category. 2 women are medium; only one has a very low nose.

Very low nose: x to 49 ... 1 woman.

Low nose: 50 to 52 ..... —

Medium nose: 53 to 55 .... 3 men, 2 women.

High nose: 56 to 58 ..... 1 man.

Very high nose: 59 to x ... 2 men.

The absolute figures put the Uru nose in the large-nose category; two men have very large noses:

36 to 39 mm.: 4 men, 3 women.

39 to x mm.: 2 men.

The arithmetical average for the men is 38.1 and for the women 37.0.

The men are leptorrhinians except for one, a mesorrhinian; two women are mesorrhinians, and one is leptorrhinian.

/203 cont./

Nasal index:

55 to 69.9: 5 men, 1 woman.

70 to 84.9: 1 man, 2 women.

The general average 67.8 for the men and 71.7 for the women places the Uru among the leptorrhinians, on the mesorrhinian border. /204/ The width of the palpebral slit varies from 30.5 to 34.5 among the men, with 32.2 for the arithmetical average. It is shorter among the women, varying from 28.5 to 29.5 (average: 29.1).

The mouth is of average breadth (56 in a man and 51.6 for a woman); the lips are very thick.

Breadth of the mouth:

6 men: 54 to 60 mm.; arithmetical average: 56.0.

3 women: 45 to 58 mm.; average: 51.6.

Bilabial height:

6 men: 19 to 22; average: 21.1.

3 women: 18 to 22; average: 20.3.

The labiofacial index varies from 14.2 to 19.5 among the men (arithmetical average: 17.0), and from 16 to 19.1 among the women (average: 17.5), which underlines the considerable height of the lips.

The ear, which is very long for the men (61 to 70 mm.; arithmetical average: 66.5 mm.), is short for the three women studied: 52 to 58, average 55.6. It is wide in a man (37 to 41 mm., average 38.8), and narrow in a woman (26 to 31 mm., average 28.6).

The auricular index varies in general among the men from 54.2 to 58.5, with one exception (70.4); for the women our figures were 45.6 to 55.6, which emphasizes the narrowness of the ear relative to its height.

General arithmetical average:

Men: 58.5.

Women: 51.4.

/204 cont./

141 Stature and limbs:

The small series studied appears very heterogeneous in stature. The men range from small to large in stature, with a predominance of small and medium; two women are medium and one above medium.

Men. — Short: x to 159.9: 3 men.
Below medium height: 160 to 163.9: —
/205/ Medium height: 164 to 166.9: 2 men.
Above medium height: 167 to 169.9: —
Tall: 170 to 179.9: 1 man.
Women. — Medium height: 153 to 155.9: 2 women.
Above medium height: 156 to 158.9: 1 woman.

[114] These figures compare with the small series of four Uru measured by Posnansky, which is the sole information, to our knowledge, published up to now on this group; this series notes 1 short, 1 medium, 1 above medium, and 1 tall man.

Among the Chipaya, related to the Uru, Posnansky's figures for a series of nine men note six short, two below medium, and one above medium.

These three series: our six Uru men and three Uru women; Posnansky's four Uru men and nine Chipaya men are distributed in the following fashion:

Short: 10 men.
Below medium height: 2 men.
Medium height: 3 men, 2 women.
Above medium height: 2 men, 1 woman.
Tall: 2 men.

Of these 22 individuals, 45.45% are short; 31.72% are below medium and medium; 13.63% are above medium; only 9.0% are tall.

The three series agree with each other, which emphasizes the frequency of short and medium heights among the Uru and their relatives the Chipaya.

The cormic index furnishes more homogeneous results. Of the first five men, three are macroskelic and two meroskelic.

/205 cont./

141 C. Kispe is again an exception, falling at the border of the breviskelics. The three women are macroskelic.

Macroskelic Men, x-51.0: 3 men.
Women, x-52.0: 3 women.
Meroskelic Men, 51.1-53.0: 3 men.

The extreme values for the men range from 47.9 to /206/ 52.0 (or 52.9, counting C. Kispe). The arithmetical average, even with C. Kispe, underlines the macroskelicism of the group; 50.91; when not counting this half-breed element, it falls to 50.52. The female average is 51.06.

The span among the men as well as the women is greater than stature. The arithmetical average for this difference is 5.3 c. for the first five men and 2.4 c. for the women. C. Kispe, in contrast, is of a stature greater than his span by 4.6 c. The height-span index is below 100, except for Carlos Kispe.

5 men (without counting C. Kispe: 94.4 to 99.8. Arithmetical average: 96.58.

Carlos Kispe: 101.0.

3 women: 97.5 to 99.1. Arithmetical average: 98.46.

The relation of the upper limb to stature varies from 41.3% to 49.3% among the men, with an arithmetical average of 45.8%, and from 42.3% to 44.4% among the women with an average of 43.3%.

Hematological Studies

126 43 To complete this work, and in spite of the small number of subjects, we studied the blood groups of all the inhabitants of Iru-Itu, without taking into account origin or degree of relationship. Only the two old women refused to undergo this examination.

Our investigation thus dealt with 27 subjects:

6 Uru men;

4 Uru women;

/206 cont./

196 9 Uru children;
193 3 Aymara women;
5 Uru-Aymara and Aymara children.

The blood, obtained by pricking the ear lobe and placed in an oxalate physiological solution, was examined two days later in the laboratory. Two standard serums /207/ were used, a Brazilian serum and one from La Paz. The results were checked by microscope.

193 The results were uniform. All the individuals belong to group O, which once again emphasizes the preponderance of this group in South America.

We established the leucocytic formula for three men, Manuel Inta, Andrés Vila, and Carlos Kispe:

Manuel Inta: lymphocytes: 29%; large mononuclears: 6%; neutrophiles: 65%.

Andrés Vila: lymphocytes: 51%; large mononuclears: 5%; eosinophiles: 3%; basophiles: 1%; neutrophiles: 40%.

Carlos Kispe: lymphocytes: 28%; large mononuclears: 7%; eosinophiles: 1%; neutrophiles: 64%.

We were able to make a globular count, completed by an erythrosedimentation, for only one subject, Manuel Inta:

Red globules: 4,900,000; leucocytes: 8,300.

Erythrosedimentation: 1 hour 3.5; 2 hours 13; 24 hours 60.

Red globules: 57%; plasma: 43% (after centrifugation).

Time of coagulation (capillary tube): 7 to 8 minutes.

Hemoglobin: 97% (Hellige's micro-comparator).

This single observation and the advanced age of Manuel Inta make the interpretation of the results difficult. It must be emphasized that the normal number of red globules in La Paz is from 6,000,000 to 6,500,000. The reduction observed coincides with extreme slowness of sedimentation.

Lastly, we conducted a Kahn reaction on the same subject:

Kahn Standard: +
Original Kahn: + + +

/207 cont./

143 Kline: ++

[164] We shall only conclude from this isolated observation /208/ the existence of possible heredosyphilis or of a very attenuated syphilis in one of the most conservative members of the group, who always severely condemned sexual relations with other natives as being against the traditions.

128 These few isolated examinations have no great significance; they do emphasize however the interest which a numerous series of hematological and serological investigations among the isolated native groups of the Cordillera or the South American forests would have.

Conclusion

[141] [128] In spite of the small number of subjects examined (9), owing to the rapid decline of the group and its approaching extinction, this study of the last Uru of Iru-Itu permits us to make a few interesting conclusions.

[171] Height varies little from that of the neighboring Andean populations, and small and medium stature predominate. The population is as a whole macroskelic.

The cephalic index among the men who can be considered as not crossbred with the neighboring populations is lower than 75.0% (average: 73.51). Three women are moderately brachycephalic; we must note that they are closely related.

Dolichocephaly, a tendency to leptocephalia and to leptoprosopy, the bigoniac diameter almost equal to the minimum frontal diameter, leptorrhinism, a high and narrow ear succeed in characterizing this group.

114 141 144 As a whole these results agree with the few previous observations on the Uru and the Chipaya (Imbelloni's two Uru skulls; a few measurements by Posnansky), emphasizing the morphological unity of these two groups.

3:Vellard--50 D, E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/208 cont./

144 The Uru belong to the old American Lagoa Santa dolichocephalic base with an elevated skull. It is however more difficult to include them in one of Imbelloni's two groups, Láguido or Fuéguido, as /209/ this author has moreover emphasized. If on the one hand, as he indicates, "the Uru faithfully reproduce the Láguido race as far as the neural skull is concerned" because of their pronounced dolichocephaly, the height of the vault of the skull, and the brainpan formed like a roof with marked lophos /crest/, they approach the Fuéguido type, in contrast, through the height of the face, the height of the nose, leptorrhinism, and leptomarphic characteristics foreign to true Láguidos.

These mixed characteristics place the Uru between the true Melanesian Láguidos and the Australoid Fuéguidos.

To what extent could this be due to a possible crossbreeding of an originally Láguido type with elements of another origin, perhaps Fuéguido, as Imbelloni seems inclined to believe? Or is it, on the contrary, a question of a certain variability of the Melanesian-Láguido type?

These problems present themselves not only with regard to the Uru, but also for other dolichocephalic American peoples. They underline the significance of study of the last dolichocephalic groups of the continent before their complete extinction.

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3:Vellard--51 D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/209 cont./

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[For a sample of Uru language texts with a literal French translation, see 3: Vellard, this file, category 116, foreign text, pp. 151-169.]

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[For an analysis of Uru language texts consisting of a free translation, a cultural commentary, and linguistic notes, see category 116, pp. 7-27.]

3: Vellard SF24 Uru

Tome I Volume unique

TRAVAUX

DE

L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ÉTUDES ANDINES

[title page]

1949

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PARIS — LIMA

CONTRIBUTION A L'ÉTUDE DES INDIENS URU OU KOT'SUÑS

par J. VELLARD

Le dernier groupe d'indiens Uru habitant le village d'Iru-Itu, ou Angoake, sur les bords du Desaguadero, à 25 kilomètres environ du Lac Titicaca, a presque entièrement disparu au cours des dernières années.

Une longue période de sécheresse, surtout entre 1940 et 1945, a fait baisser de plus de trois mètres le niveau du Lac Titicaca ; sur bien des points les eaux ont reculé de plusieurs centaines de mètres.

Au moment de mon premier voyage en 1938, le village d'Iru-Itu comptait une centaine d'habitants ; le Desaguadero traversait de vastes marais coupés de nombreuses mares et lagunes avec grande abondance de totorales. En 1941, une plaine de sable stérile remplaçait les marais et les champs de roseaux ; le Desaguadero était réduit à un étroit fossé boueux.

Les Uru ont perdu de ce fait presque tous leurs moyens d'existence. Les marais couverts de roseaux, les totorales, leur fournissaient les *Scirpus* nécessaires pour fabriquer leurs balsas de pêche et couvrir leurs maisons, et servaient d'abri à une nombreuse faune aquatique : des poissons, suches (*Trichomycterus dispar* et *rivulatus*), bogas, hispe, carache (*Orestias* diverses) et des oiseaux recherchés par ces indiens pour leur chair et leurs œufs. Toute leur économie, basée en partie sur la chasse et la pêche et en partie sur la vente aux indiens voisins de balsas de pêche et de nattes de totora, a été ainsi détruite.

Bien des Uru sont morts. D'autres, les jeunes, se sont dispersés, se mêlant aux groupes aymaras voisins ; quelques-uns ont rejoint des pêcheurs du Lac Titicaca. Les vieux, plus attachés à leurs coutumes et à leurs tradi-

[p. 145]

1. — La plaine du Desaguadero vue de Iru-Itu en 1938.

2. — Photographie prise du même point en 1942. Le Desaguadero est réduit à une plaine de salpêtre, sans eau.

Photos J. Vellard.

[facing p. 145]

3: Vellard SF24 Uru

tions et incapables de s'adapter à de nouvelles conditions d'existence, sont restés dans le village mort.

En 1944, la plupart des maisons étaient abandonnées ; les toits de totoras ne pouvaient être réparés, faute de roseaux, et beaucoup s'étaient affaissés. Il ne restait plus que 21 personnes dans le village ; plusieurs femmes étaient d'origine aymara et les rares enfants étaient en partie des métis uru-aymara.

D'après les dernières nouvelles, le groupe d'Iru-Itu se réduirait à une douzaine de personnes, bien que depuis 1946, le niveau du lac ait sensiblement remonté ; en février 1947, la hausse était déjà de 90 centimètres. Ce mouvement d'ascension continue et les totoras commencent à se reformer lentement.

Les vieux Uru se souvenaient avoir vu dans leur jeunesse, aux environs de 1870, une sécheresse plus forte que celle de ces dernières années. Mais à cette époque, ils étaient encore nombreux et le groupe avait pu subsister. Il est trop réduit maintenant pour se reconstituer et sa disparition semble définitive.

J'ai visité une première fois les Uru d'Iru-Itu en 1938. Pendant mon séjour en Bolivie de 1940 à 1944, j'ai été en rapports constants avec eux. Leur misère et leur décadence ne permettaient pas de glaner d'importantes observations sur leur culture matérielle, déjà étudiée par les nombreux ethnographes qui ont passé chez les Uru du Desaguadero. Leur disparition imminente rendait cependant nécessaire de réunir tout ce qui pouvait encore exister chez eux : observations anthropologiques, traditions, documents linguistiques, afin de pouvoir les comparer avec les autres populations de la région et surtout avec les différents groupes de pêcheurs du lac Titicaca.

Ce sont les résultats de cette étude dont nous commençons la publication.

NOTE I

RÈCITS ET CONVERSATIONS

Les documents linguistiques à notre disposition sur les Uru se réduisent à des observations rapides et à des vocabulaires plus ou moins développés, recueillis par des voyageurs au cours de brefs séjours dans la région d'Iru-Itu. Métraux est le seul à avoir publié des textes en dialecte chipaya. Il n'existe aucun texte en dialecte d'Iru-Itu et les meilleures sources d'information linguistique sur ce groupe sont la belle monographie de Créqui-Montfort et Rivet, le vocabulaire de Métraux, et à un degré moindre, les diverses publications de Posnansky contenant de nombreux mots plus ou moins bien notés et traduits.

Les conditions dans lesquelles ont été obtenus la plupart des documents sur le groupe d'Iru-Itu, expliquent en grande partie l'imprécision du sens de nombreux mots et leur notation souvent très différente sur laquelle insistent avec raison Créqui-Montfort et Rivet. Il n'y a pas de doute cependant, que bien des mots ont une acception très large et que leur prononciation varie dans d'assez grandes limites, surtout avec des informateurs appartenant à des générations différentes, ou influencés à des degrés variables par l'aymara. On note même des variations sensibles au cours d'une conversation avec un même individu.

Pendant mon long contact avec les Uru, j'ai réuni un important vocabulaire de plus de 1.000 mots, ainsi que de nombreuses phrases permettant d'analyser la structure de la langue.

L'extension de ce vocabulaire et de ce recueil de phrases ne permet pas de les publier actuellement. J'ai été ainsi conduit à faire une sélection de récits et de conversations obtenus de mes informateurs. Ces textes

se rapportent à la vie quotidienne des Uru. En dehors de leur intérêt propre, ils font connaître la plupart des formes grammaticales usuelles. Leur étude permet aussi une comparaison avec l'unique texte Pukina connu, celui de Oré, beaucoup plus poussée qu'il n'était possible de le faire avec les documents à notre disposition jusqu'ici. Cette comparaison, qui met en évidence de très étroites affinités grammaticales et lexicographiques, fera l'objet d'une note spéciale dans le second numéro de cette revue.

Deux informateurs ont été utilisés au cours de notre longue enquête linguistique. Ils appartenaient à deux générations différentes et montraient des variations sensibles, non seulement de phonétique, mais aussi de lexique et de syntaxe. Tous deux parlaient aymara, le plus jeune couramment, le plus âgé assez mal ; le premier avait eu des contacts beaucoup plus fréquents avec les populations voisines.

Ici, je dois faire remarquer que l'affirmation de Métraux dans son travail de 1937, sur l'usage presque général de l'aymara par les Uru d'Iru-Itu qui « ne parlent presque plus leur ancienne langue » était nettement exagérée. En 1938, à côté d'individus parlant couramment aymara, de nombreux hommes n'en connaissaient que quelques mots et la plupart des femmes l'ignoraient totalement. Le seul langage usuel dans le village était l'Uru, mais il est naturel au cours d'un séjour rapide avec des informateurs aymaras, qu'un voyageur ait surtout des contacts avec des indigènes connaissant cette langue, donnant une fausse impression de l'ensemble du groupe.

Par ailleurs, il est inexact que les Uru appellent leur langue Bukina ou Pukina. Cette information m'a également été donnée en 1938, lors de mon premier voyage par un Uru parlant aymara et même quelques mots d'espagnol, et je l'ai publiée dans un petit travail sur les Uru (Les Indiens Uru du Desaguadero, Boletim do Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1939, XIV-XVII, 303-319). Pendant mon second séjour j'ai eu l'explication

3: Vellard SF24 Uru

de cette déclaration, faite par quelques Urus. Tous m'ont affirmé ignorer ce qu'étaient les Pukina et ne connaître aucun peuple de ce nom, mais un « monsieur » leur avait dit que leur langage s'appelait ainsi. Il n'est pas difficile de reconnaître dans ce trait, l'intervention de Posnansky, dont il serait facile de citer d'autres exemples du même genre.

Mes informateurs ont été les suivants :

Manuel Inta, Uru de race pure semble-t-il, bisaïeul, ayant au moment de notre enquête près de 90 ans, d'après les événements auxquels il avait assisté dans sa jeunesse. Homme robuste, capable de faire encore à pied, en deux jours, le voyage de La Paz à Tihuanacu, 90 kilomètres, afin d'économiser le prix de son passage en chemin de fer ou en camion, qui lui avait cependant été largement payé, et ceci au grand scandale du respectable gardien des ruines de Tihuanacu qui l'avait accompagné à La Paz, et dont il trompa la vigilance pour rentrer seul dans son village. Connaissances très limitées de l'aymara, nulles de l'espagnol et du Kelwa. Excellent informateur.

Carlos Kispe, âgé de 40 à 50 ans, un des hommes les plus jeunes du groupe. Il présentait dans son aspect physique des caractères laissant soupçonner un certain degré de métissage aymara (voir la 2e note sur l'Anthropologie physique). C'était d'ailleurs un fils naturel, né de père inconnu. Beaucoup plus entreprenant que Manuel Inta, il parlait couramment l'aymara, mais non l'espagnol ni le Kelwa. Il était en contacts fréquents avec les populations aymaras voisines et devant la sécheresse persistante, pensait quitter Iru-Itu pour aller vivre comme pêcheur à Guaki. Il s'est révélé également un excellent informateur, mais sa syntaxe était moins pure et moins variée que celle de Manuel Inta et son vocabulaire plus pauvre et plus mélangé d'aymara ; il n'utilisait pas, ou ignorait même, un certain nombre de mots employés par son compagnon.

Il est intéressant de souligner ces différences de lan-

3: Vellard SF24 Uru

guge entre individus du même village, appartenant à deux générations différentes. Elles permettent de suivre l'évolution rapide des langues livrées à la seule tradition orale sans aucun monument pour les fixer.

En dehors de ces deux informateurs principaux, nous avons utilisé les autres habitants du village, soit pour l'enquête générale, soit pour des comparaisons de vocables.

Pour chaque texte, nous indiquons l'informateur l'ayant fourni. Ces textes ont été revus plusieurs fois avec l'informateur, afin d'obtenir une transcription aussi exacte que possible. Leur traduction a toujours été contrôlée en aymara. Même ainsi, on observera souvent au cours d'un même texte, des variations sensibles de prononciation, qui ne paraissent obéir à aucune règle définie. Elles indiquent une certaine instabilité de la phonétique, naturellement plus marquée entre observateurs différents.

Le système de notation phonétique employé est celui de l'Institut d'Ethnologie de l'Université de Paris. Les remarques suivantes sont nécessaires :

Nous avons utilisé en plus de la palatale occlusive sourde k et de la palatale spirante K, un k' très profond, habituellement noté Kj par les Quichuisants et Aymarisants. x correspond à une palatale spirante avancée, (ch dur allemand, ou j espagnol); ŕ prépalatale spirante (ch doux allemand); h est toujours sonore.

I. Misère des Urus . Récit de Manuel Inta

1 - hàna pinicay hoxk' hacacay pec'pik'
non plus aller pourrons tous ici

kustumbro pin' ucum- acicay
habitués beaucoup nous sommes

2 - selak' hàna cuni. pàxk' kicay
champ non bien poussera

3 - kuni wa- tacay ni- ki hàna pàxk' cay
sèche année cette dans non poussent

Kesa -ki
pommes de terre

4 - saki sak'i- cay
gelée gèle

5 - huxk' lay isu- cay
nous partons cela est

6 - azi pal- kicay- xui
maintenant ferons quoi ?

7 - k'as- na kuni hàna tis- cay
eau dans sèche non suche est

8 - hàna flu- a sels- cay hàna pini slek i- pini
non totora existe non plus oiseaux oeufs

9 - wak'pa- cul pini saki cork' k'ota- kis
tous oeufs guaki grand lac à

huxk' ucay
sont partis

10 - saki- ki huxk' ucay kiri- mi
Guaqui à sont partis poissons

11 - čulnam- pini lux'kičay asi- ki ?
comment plus mangerons maintenant ?

12 - wat'- kama k'asi tunka- hama šešla- kicay
année pendant eau tombe si nous vivrons

wak' pa- čumi ke- pica- kičay ni- wat'ka- kina
tous nous reviendrons ce village à

13 - hana k'asi tu- nakičay tiks- nakičay
non eau tombera mourrons

14 - ut- č' Kisa lux'- kasučay ni- toxsa- nak'
petites pommes de terre mangeons ces autres gens

west'- kun- ačučay
cultivons

15 - nik'- sta Kaya- čay west'a- kuna- ki
cela pour gagnons en cultivant

16 - čul- mi Kaya- čučay niki lux'- kačučay
comme gagnons ainsi mangeons

17 - ipa- ka tis- čay ni unu- kasi tan'- ačučay
peu poissons il y a est unique ainsi avons attrapé

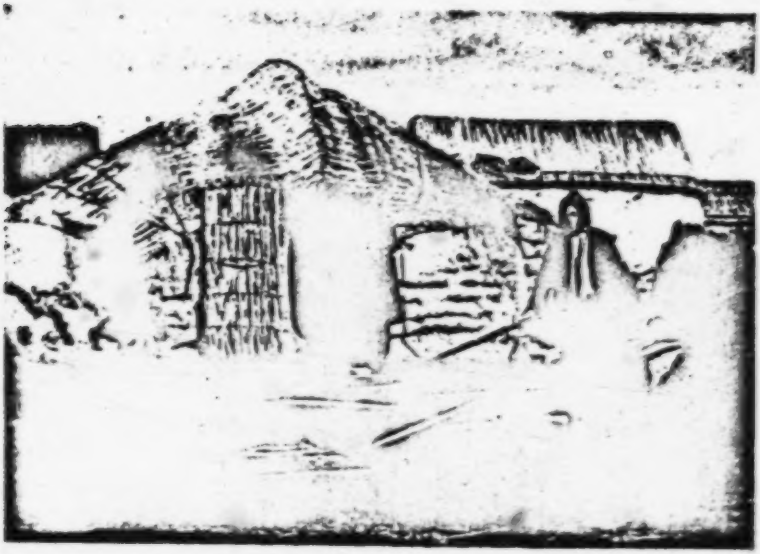
18 - nik -tani Kaya- čučay
celui-ci avec gagnerons

19 - čer- učay mut'- ča kasi- čay
as vu petit ainsi est

20 - hask'- čičay ni- tans - ki
loin a été celui-ci attraper pour

21 - kui- ki pito- ačučay šeši- ki
maison à venons soir au

22- Kay kui- kinak' pit'- čičay
négocier maison à venons



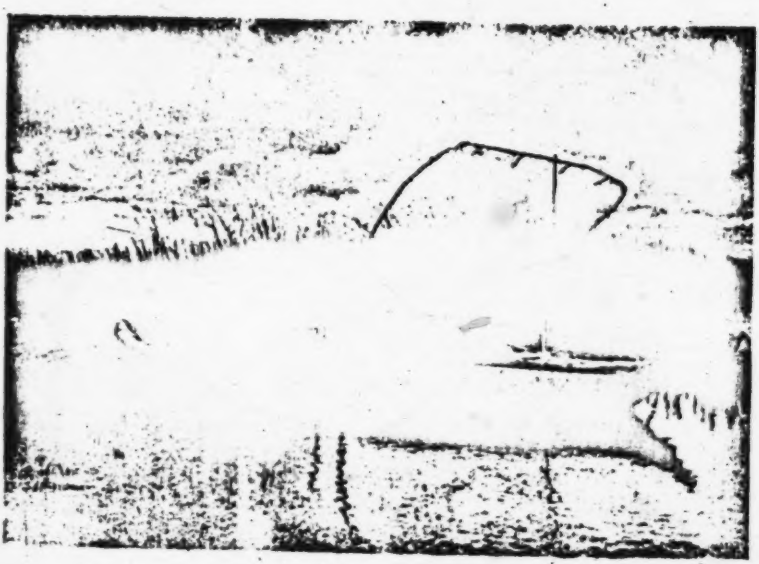
3. — Typique maison d'Iru-Itu en 1938.

4. — Même maison en 1942 : le haut toit de totoras en forme de carène s'est affaissé et ne peut plus être refait.

Photos J. Vellard.

[0.152-A]

5. — Balsas de totoras (1942).



6. — Balsa avec le grand filet (yak' kaka). Récit VI.

Photos J. Vellard

[p.152-B]

23 - t̆ɯxsa- maka Kay- ai pit- čicay tumini- vi
les autres gens négocier venons réal à

ɔ̆p' ičay
trois est

II. Fabrication des balsas en totoras (Récit de Manuel Inta)

1 - ču- flu- a kura okwa- cucay
allons totoras chercher aller avons l'habitude

tusa paa- srap'pay
balsa faire pour

2 - haski- na okwa- cucay karu
loin aller avons l'habitude cordes de paille

paa- srap'pay
faire pour

3 - keyis- cay kon- srap'pa cep'u nom- re kon- cay
sècher sèche pour trois jours en sèche

4 - karu cuni kasi- cay
cordes de paille bien ainsi être

5 - flu- a- ki cuni as- paca keyis- nakicay
totoras ces bien maintenant toutes sèches sont

6 - tusa cuk'i paa- kicay
balsa allons ferons

7 - flu- a tis s- k'orp'cay
totora un (homme) coupe

8 - flu- a mux'ki- tacay
totora est attachée

9 - cep- hacacay paa- tak' tusi- cay tusa may- cay
trois il faut sont faits coeur balsa cylindres latéraux

10 - sarni- cay tusay yas cuk'kay hauk'ki
nous lions balsa maintenant allons serrer fort bien

yak'hacacay pikil- tani tuke
serrer il faut deux (hommes) avec d'abord

11 - kwas- na lip - pis- acucay hana kon- srap'pa
eau avec mouiller avons l'habitude non sèche pour

12 - ya - kay- kicay asi- ki kasli- na yaka- cucay
nous serrerons maintenant crochet avec serrer avons l'habitude

13 - mas- na crap- crap- hux- kani
pierre avec nous frappons

14 - flu- a cuk- s- tax- cay ka- us srap pay.
totora allons placer bord pour

15 - tus ka- usi- srap' kéran- cay
balsa bord pour l'attache

16 - tus ka- usi yak'icay
balsa bord il serre

17 - caka- kicay
nous finirons

18 - laxk- cay hi- yay ipaka ya- pini- cay yaka- kicay
cette lâche encore un peu maintenant plus nous serrerons

19 - waki mir- tax- cay
tout est terminé

20 - tusa cak'acay asi- ki
balsa est terminée maintenant

21 - hoxk- cay Keri-s - tana co- tus- na
nous allons poisson prendre nouvelle balsa dans

22 - hana sels- cay aciwa sisl- ki
non il y a voile hisserons ?

23 - hana sisla- cucay kuna k'as-'sicay
non hisser(voile) avons l'habitude sèche eau est

24 - tek- ku- ka pini hoxk- acucay Kar- na
gaffe avec toujours aller avons l'habitude main avec

25 - ka- hã- ni 7 ãsi- cay Keris luk- ɨrap pa
grand filet pierre est poisson entrer pour

mɨxk- takcay
est attachée

26 - Keri luk- cakicay yãs cuk'- hɨxɨk'
poisson entrer va maintenant allons soulever

kasi- ki tus- kina cuk' hɨxs- ki
maintenant balsa dans allons soulever

III. La pêche (Récit de Manuel Inta)

1 - kuy- kani oku- cay wis- ki
maison de ai marché moi

2 - kot- s- kina oku- cay
lac vers ai marché

3 - keris- tana oku- cay
poisson prendre j'ai marché

4 - tek- kus- tani sis- lucay
gaffe avec (moi) j'ai porté

5 - ka- kani- s- tani sis- lucay
filet avec j'ai porté

6 - nis- tani tana- cucay
celui-ci avec pêcher avons l'habitude

7 - wiya- nani okwa- cucay maxe- ta
nuit de aller avons l'habitude tôt

okwa- cucay sesi- ni okwa- cucay
aller avons l'habitude tard aller avons l'habitude

8 - piski- l- tani hoxk- hoxk- acucay
deux avec partir partir avons l'habitude

tina- unai hoxk- acucay
un seul partir avons l'habitude

9 - wis- naka puluta hoxka- ni kana huxka- ni
notre volonté aller non aller

10 - yuwu- cay tus- kina- ki
je suis monté balsa dans cette

11 - wis- tal tek- acucay
moi gaffe emporter ai l'habitude

12 - Kar- ma (y) tek- acucay

main avec pousser avons l'habitude

13 - tiri- ni- srap pa kasi hira kurst- acucay

brouillard pour maintenant tunique mettre avons l'habitude

14 - tum- na huxk- sicay

filet avec allons

15 - an- i s- Koris- kaya tek- kus- na

toi poisson chasse gaffe avec

16 - wis- ki tom wis- kap- cay

moi filet j'attrape

17 - Ki- si sel- cay oku- lay ti- si

suche est marche suche

18 - war- cu Kar- nakicay

déjà main avec

19 - wara- cu kosu- i

déjà près

20 - capa- capay

pique pique

21 - ku- tani ?

est- ce que tu prends ?

22 - tamu- cay

j'ai pris

23 - tus kse kaya- cucay

balsa dans mettons d'habitude

24 - k'as kin sla- kucay tis

eau dans est entré un

25 - wet- cucay kwas- si- sta- niki
si soulevé eau de

26 - hoxk- cay sila- yay
allons ailleurs

27 - oku- cay waki carh- cay
a marché (poisson) tout il court

28 - wes- la cuki tani- ki
foulque allons prendre

29 - cuke hesni huh- cucay
allons reposons je suis fatigué

30 - wes- la tan- acucay
foulque prendre avons l'habitude

31 - hap- hap- ku wes- la tan- acucay
courrant courrant foulque prendre avons l'habitude

32 - tok- kus- na k- wext- acucay
gaffe avec frapper avons l'habitude

33 - k'as kis sla- kucay
eau dans est entrée

34 - k'as- staniki heki- cay
eau de sort

35 - wes- la naya- nicay skuñi- na
foulque je garotte bolesdors avec

36 - hana s- takist- cay
non a touché

37 - tis pit- ca- kicay nayas- kicay
un viendra tu la garotteras

38- hi- lay
pui

39 - kɵ- pit- čay
il est revenu

40 - tus- na s- kɵ- pitɵ- ki
balsa dans nous repartons

41 - utu ɔkwa- y ɵɵuma aKɵ- kičay
fort marchons nous vaincre

42 - tana- kučay
avons attrapé

43 - u - kwals tana- kučay
petits avons attrapé

44 - ɔɔ- ku čuki tas- ki wɵs- la
tête à la allons mordre le foulque

45 - - čuk' tu- wic- ki
allons vendons

46 - kɵ- pit- čačay nis- tani kɵ- pit- čay
rentrer il faut lui avec nous rentrons

47 - hana sɵlɵ- čay
non il y a

48 - his ɔina- kaču hɵxkčay
plus inutilisent nous allons

49 - wak- kli kuras -kučay hana sɵlɵ- čay
tout ici avons cherché non il y a

50 - wak'paca čuk' wic- li kuy- kina
tout allons porter maison dans

IV Pêche nocturne. (Récit de Manuel Inta)

1 - wiyə- ni tʌnə- čučəy
nuit dans pêcher avons l'habitude

2 - məkə- xə tʌnə- čučəy
obscurité dans pêcher avons l'habitude

3 - wiyə- ni kə̃ čərk'?
nuit dans comment voir ?

4 - kʌlt' čərk' kirə kis- kis- čəy
bien voir poisson bouge

5 - kʌsinə- nə 'inʌə- čučəy kʌnə tə̃- ʌ̃s čəriŋ- pə
voile dans couvrir avons l'habitude non froid pour

V. Pêche nocturne (Récit de Carlos Kispe)

1 - waki puk'ata tuse- ki huxk'- cac ya- kasi
tout prêt balsa donc aller possible maintenant

2 - cork' hoq'i- say ni- tuse- ki mata- pi cork'- cork' wsay
grande pointe cette balsa cette vagues grandes grandes

matapi- say hana alaxu- srap' pa
vagues nous submerger pour

3 - acima para cuka tita- ki
voile bois allons dresser

4 - acima cuka tita-ki
voile allons dresser

5 - hipu wa- kata pit'- say acima cuka kapa- ski
vent autre de vient voile allons changer

6 - acima cuq'- ca curka ut'u hipu
voile se gonfle grand fort vent

7 - acima cuka kay- ki
voile allons amener

8 - ma'a- ma cuka ti- hua- ki hana hipu saxk'- aru
pierre avec allons courrir nous vent courrir faire

9 - para cuka tita- ki
bois allons dresser

10 - maca- ka cuka tita- ki
marcite allons dresser

11 - fla- a cuka cin- cin hua' ciki- srap' pa
torches allons étendre feu allumer pour

12 - haa- ma kutiha haa- si saxl'i- kica lia- kica
flamme chaude eau bouillera boirons

VI Enclos de pêche (Récit de Manuel Inte)

1 - kinš- čačay ti- ki
enclos de pêche celui-ci

2 - Kiri tan- srap pe kinsi tak- čay
poisson prendre pour enclos est fait

3 - čarn yak ačučay
porte filet avons l'habitude

4 - hila hoč- ačučay kaka pura- ki
vite lever avons l'habitude filet bois celui-ci

5 - tila wiwi- ki yak ačay
autre fleuve ce filet est

6 - wak pak- sta kinsi tila tila čak- čay kaska kaska
tous pour enclos un un il y a loin loin

7 - tila tila kasi tan- ačučay
un un ainsi pêcher nous pouvons

VII. Le village des Uru à Iru-Itu

Commentaires de photographies par Manuel Inka

1 - ampi cuka kapila- cay - xti
votre chapelle est-ce ?

2 - wia- nah kapila- cay ki- ki
notre chapelle celle- ci

3 - wia- naka kuya- cay
nos maisons

4 - kapila ta- xa cerka- kuta- nia- cay
chapelle derrière a vu un (homme)

5 - kapila cuña kasi- cay
chapelle bien ainsi

6 - flo- ha sitia tax- cay
totoras dressées est gardée

7 - hana mas- srapa sitia tax- cay
non pourrir pour dressée est gardée

8 - cariku kuta tusa- cay
grand lac balsa

9 - hoqa ti- ku hoqi- cay
pointe (nez) en haut pointe (est relevée)

10 - cariku tusa- cay ki- ki
grande balsa celle là

11 ua tusa- cay ki -ki
petite balsa celle- là

12 - hana ti- lah qota- cay
non une autre il y a

13 - tɨnɨ' hɨjɨ- ŋɨy
autres gens maison

14 - pɨjɨ hɨjɨ- ŋɨy
briques crues maison

15 - kumutiɨ tɨnɨm nɨkɨ hɨjɨ tɨjɨ' ŋɨy
communauté autres gens maison est

16 - ŋɨlɨm ɲɨtɨ- ɨtɨ nɨ' nɨ' ɨ- ti
quoi raconter tout après cela

17 - ɲɨ pɨ' hɨjɨ- mɨŋ hɨjɨ' pɨ
maintenant dédir reposant père

VIII. [illegible], Le tonnerre (récit de Carlos Elespe)

1 - [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
encore tonnerre très beaucoup orage vient

2 - [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
moiseau fait couleurs eau bien bien est

3 - [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
regarde encore va d'ici orage

4 - [illegible] [illegible]
de nouveau il tonne

5 - [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
un seul étranger tonnerre tuer peut

6 - [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
eau nuit un seul a fait tonnerre très longtemps

7 - [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
beaucoup a fait peur tonnerre

IX Coutumes funéraires (récit de Carlos Elopa

1 - [illegible] [illegible]-otàkì [illegible] [illegible]
nous entrer deux pour manger avons l'habitude

2 - [illegible]-pìt-[illegible] [illegible]-nak°
femme des libations deux eux

3 - [illegible]-ekìl [illegible]-[illegible]
mettre de crouser avons l'habitude

4 - [illegible]-otàk° pìt-[illegible] [illegible]
cela après venir avons l'habitude brûler

5 - [illegible] [illegible]-tik° [illegible]-[illegible]
deux vêtements brûler avons l'habitude

6 - [illegible] [illegible]-ti [illegible] [illegible]
les vêtements allons brûler

7 - [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]-ekìl
feu allons allumer

8 - [illegible]-ti [illegible]-kàl [illegible]
vêtements seuls brûlons

X. Conversation avec les deux informateurs

Carlos Kispe et Manuel Inta

1 - C.K. ti- taku- naka ʔisin- caka hu-cay
ces paroles dites ont fatigué

2 - M.I. xoxa sko- cay ʔiʔaka
gorge sèche en parlant

3 - C.K. kuka p- mir- hacay
coca termine

4 - M.I. kuka wak- hicay
coca toute a été

5 - C.K. awaritiʔ hun- nay
eau de vie donne

6 - Enq. hun- nacay
donnerai

7 - M.I. lika- cay hap- pay
boirai à père

8 - M.I. huwa pini- cay hap- pay
alerte beaucoup à père

9 - C.K. pisk- istani ko- skocu cuma litratʔ asiki
deux avec près près notre portrait maintenant

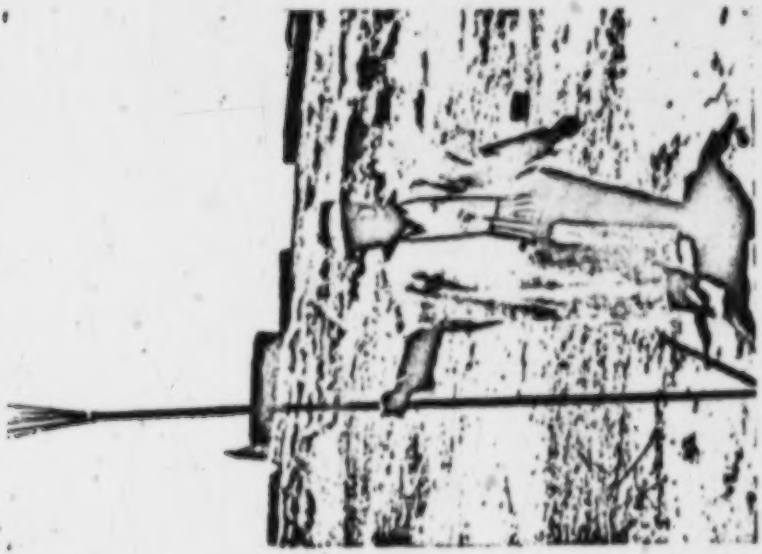
asicumatʔ skata- kicay
à nous enverras

10 - Enq. cun kasi- cay litratʔ skata- kicay
bien ainsi est portrait enverrai

cul stam an pek- peska
pourquoi tu demandes ?

11 - C.K. tukuwa tiks na tacikni litratʔ ʔqris- nacay
femme mourra portrait regarderai

7. — Uru avec le petit filet de pêche (nom kaka). Rivi III, 14.



8. — Uru avec le grand épuisette de pêche (Rivi III, 20).

Photos J. Vellard.

[9-168-A]

9. — Pêcheur préparant des cordes de paille pour faire une balsa. Il se sert du marteau de pierre.

10. — Construction de la balsa : préparation des trois cylindres de totoras : le cœur et les deux corps latéraux.

Photos J. Vellard.

[p. 168 - B]

XI. Les adieux (dialogue dicté par Carlos Kispe)

1 - hana tulũ kũ- tani ʻokwa- kicay
non peine est-ce que prendre iras ?

2 - wali tulũ tani ʻokwa- kicay kid- kinak
beaucoup peine prendre irai maison à

3 - ika- si kumi- pẹk ʻokwa- kal pẹk
rester est-ce désir aller d'ici désir ?

4 - ʻokwa- kali ʻpẹk- hucay
aller d'ici désir est

5 - hiya ika- si cuni kasi- cay ika- cay
encore reste bon maintenant rester est

6 - hux- kama ʻokwa- kica kui- kina tiš-ni
marcher pendant iras maison vers orage

psala- hacicay
rencontrer pourras

7 - lulip lux- ksi nik- stani ʻokwa- kicay
repas mange cela après iras

8 - ampt t' kũwa cer- aske hacaca
ta femme voir loin pourra

I. — MISERE DES URUS
(Récit de Manuel Inta)

(Voir p. 151)

Traduction libre

1. Nous ne pourrons jamais partir d'ici ; nous y avons tous trop d'habitudes depuis toujours. — 2. Mais notre champ nous donnera peu de chose. — 3. Cette année est trop sèche et les pommes de terre ne poussent pas. — 4. Les gelées ont tout brûlé. — 5. C'est pour cela que nous partons. — 6. Maintenant que ferons-nous ? — 7. Dans le marais qui se dessèche il n'y a plus de suche (espèce de poisson). — 8. Il n'y a plus de roseaux et il n'y a plus d'œufs d'oiseaux. — 9. Tous les œufs sont partis dans le grand lac de Guaqui. — 10. Les poissons sont partis à Guaqui. — 11. Comment mangerons-nous maintenant ? — 12. S'il pleut suffisamment cette année, nous vivrons. — 13. Nous reviendrons tous à notre village. — 14. S'il ne pleut pas (suffisamment), nous mourrons. — 15. Nous mangeons des petites pommes de terre que nous cultivons pour les gens d'autre race (les Aymaras). — 16. Nous les gagnons en cultivant pour eux. — 17. Il y a peu de poissons et nous n'en avons pris qu'un seul. — 18. Nous le vendrons. — 19 Tu as vu comme il est petit. — 20. Il faut aller loin pour pêcher. — 21. Nous avons l'habitude de rentrer le soir chez nous. — 22. Nous rentrons à la maison pour vendre (notre pêche). — 23. Nous venons les vendre aux gens de l'autre race, à trois pour un réal.

Note. — Par suite de la difficulté d'obtenir les signes typographiques pour la transcription exacte des mots uru inclus dans ces observations, nous avons été obligé de transcrire de façon approchée et plus ou moins heureuse, un certain nombre de mots. On ne s'étonnera donc pas des différences de transcription entre les textes qui ont été reproduits par procédé photographique et les observations. Il va sans dire que seule la transcription des textes est exacte.

[p. 170]

Observations

Ce récit dicté par un vieil Uru de près de 90 ans, Manuel Inta, est un commentaire de la grande dispersion des Urus, sans doute définitive, à la suite d'une série d'années de sécheresse, 1940 à 1946. En 1944, il ne restait plus dans leur ancien village d'Iru-Itu que quelques vieillards. La sécheresse avait détruit les vastes marais du Desaguadero et leurs champs de roseaux, source de toute l'activité de ces indiens, entraînant la disparition des conditions qui leur avaient permis de maintenir leur individualité ethnique au milieu des populations aymaras. Ces plaintes traduisent l'amertume des vieux Urus, pêcheurs et récollecteurs, obligés pour ne pas mourir de faim, de changer leur économie, travaillant dans les champs de leurs voisins aymaras. Les jeunes Urus se sont dispersés, les uns se sont mêlés aux pêcheurs aymaras ou aymarisés du Lac Titicaca, les autres se sont fixés dans des villages ou dans des communautés aymaras.

wáki, village bolivien de Guaqui, sur le petit lac. tòx'ka, littéralement différent, les gens d'une autre race, les Aymaras. Noter la particule ču intercalée entre le radical et la terminaison du verbe : Káya -čúčay, tánáču- čay, lúx- káču -čay, pour renforcer l'idée exprimée par le verbe et indiquer une action habituelle. La particule ki intercalée entre le radical du verbe et la terminaison čay indique le futur. Le verbe Káči- čay signifie faire du commerce, vendre aussi bien qu'acheter ou gagner de l'argent. tumíni, un tomin (vieille monnaie espagnole) : parole inconnue des Aymaras actuels du lac, mais encore employée par quelques indigènes de la région de Puno.

Noter trois autres hispanismes : 1. kustúmbro, coutume ; 5. isú- čay, esto ou eso, cela ; 17. ni- únu, ce seul, de l'espagnol, uno, un.

1. píni signifie beaucoup ; accompagnant hána peut se rendre par non plus ; učúmi, pronom personnel exclu-

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sif de la première personne du pluriel. — 2. kalák, c'est probablement l'espagnol chacra, champ cultivé ; les Urus ne possèdent pas de mot propre pour désigner les champs. — 4. La terminaison čay ajoutée à un radical lui donne la forme verbale. — 6. xui, particule interrogative. — 7. suche, petite espèce de silure de la région du Titicaca ; c'est le *Trichomycterus dispar*. — 8. totora, *Scirpus totora*, les roseaux du Lac Titicaca utilisés par les Urus pour construire leurs balsas, couvrir leur maison et pour d'autres offices. — 12. ke-, particule de répétition. — 14. tòxša, littéralement autres personnes, désigne tous les hommes autres que les Urus ; nak' pour nàka, forme pluriel des pronoms.

II. — FABRICATION DES BALSAS DE TOTORAS

(Récit de Manuel Inta)

(Voir p. 154)

Traduction libre

1. Allons chercher comme nous avons l'habitude, des totoras pour faire une balsa. — 2. Nous avons l'habitude d'aller loin pour faire les cordes de paille (nécessaires). — 3. Il faut trois jours pour faire sécher (les cordes de paille). — 4. Les cordes de paille sont bien sèches maintenant. — 5. Maintenant toutes ces totoras sont bien sèches. — 6. Faisons la balsa. — 7. Un homme coupe la totora. — 8. La totora est liée (en bottes). — 9. Il faut faire trois (paquets de totoras): le cœur (le fuseau médian) et les deux fuseaux latéraux de la balsa. — 10. Nous faisons (les fuseaux) ; maintenant nous allons les serrer bien fort, il faut d'abord que deux hommes serrent ensemble. — 11. Nous avons l'habitude d'asperger (la totora) avec de l'eau afin qu'elle ne sèche pas. — 12. Maintenant nous allons serrer ; pour serrer nous avons l'habitude de nous servir d'un crochet. — 13. Nous frappons (la totora) avec

une pierre (afin de la tasser). — 14. Nous allons placer un bord de totoras .— 15. Il attache le bord de la balsa. — 16. Il serre le bord de la balsa. — 17. Nous allons finir. — 18. (La totora) est encore un peu lâche ; nous allons serrer un peu plus. — 19. Tout est terminé. — 20. Maintenant la balsa est prête. — 21. Allons à la pêche avec la nouvelle balsa. — 22. Nous n'allons pas hisser une voile ? — 23. Nous n'avons pas l'habitude de nous servir de voile ; il y a trop peu d'eau. — 24. Nous nous servons toujours d'une gaffe maniée à la main. — 25. Voici la pierre qui est attachée au grand filet pour que le poisson puisse entrer. — 26. Le poisson va entrer (dans le filet) ; maintenant nous allons relever (le filet) et le mettre dans la balsa.

Observations

Ce texte se divise en deux parties. La première, 1 à 20, décrit la fabrication des balsas de totoras. La deuxième est une description succincte de la pêche au filet dans les marais du Desaguadero.

Pour construire leurs balsas, les Uros utilisent le *Scirpus totora*, qui pousse en abondance dans les marais du Desaguadero et sur de nombreux points des rives du Lac Titicaca. Deux indiens travaillent en même temps à la construction d'une balsa. Ils disposent d'abord sur le sol les paquets de totoras, dont ils forment trois faisceaux, de la longueur de la balsa, deux gros latéraux et un médian plus court et plus mince ; ce cylindre médian, le « cœur de la balsa », servant à stabiliser l'embarcation, a passé inaperçu de presque tous les auteurs qui se sont occupés des Uros. Seuls, les pêcheurs de la lagune d'Arapa, au nord du Lac Titicaca, parlant kelwa, construisent des balsas, petites et peu effilées, formées de deux cylindres.

La totora des trois cylindres est maintenue en place à l'aide de fines tresses de paille (2-4), qui retiennent également entre eux les cylindres. Ces cordes de paille sont serrées de façon progressive et régulière par deux hom-

3: Vellard SF24 Uru

mes, travaillant alternativement de chaque côté de la balsa (10, 12, 17) afin de donner aux deux grands cylindres latéraux un poids, un volume et une compression identiques. C'est la partie délicate de la fabrication, dont dépend la stabilité et la qualité de l'embarcation. Les Urus se servent pour ce travail de crochets de bois (12). Ils tassent en même temps la totora avec un marteau de pierre (13), ajoutant ou enlevant de la totora, suivant les besoins ; ils l'arrosent de temps à autre, pour l'empêcher de sécher. Quand le travail est terminé, le cylindre médian, le cœur de la balsa, complètement enfoui entre les cylindres latéraux, est invisible. Suivant la grandeur, la construction d'une balsa demande de 3 à 6 jours en moyenne. La durée d'une balsa est courte ; après avoir été mouillées elles deviennent lourdes et pourrissent à l'intérieur ; elles servent en général de six mois à un an.

Les balsas utilisées sur le Desaguadero et dans les parties basses du lac sur les lagunes voisines de peu de profondeur (Arapa, Unumayo) ne possèdent pas de voile (23) ou seulement une voile très petite, au contraire des balsas du grand lac qui naviguent à la voile. Les Urus les dirigent à l'aide d'une gaffe, terminée par trois dents, qu'ils appuient sur le fond de vase (24). Ces gaffes sont identiques à celles des Guatos du Haut Paraguay, appartenant au groupe linguistique nu- arwak.

Du point de vue grammatical, noter encore l'emploi fréquent de la particule de répétition -ču- indiquant l'habitude de l'action exprimée par le verbe. Noter aussi les répétitions de mots ou de radicaux pour renforcer l'idée exprimée (3-12, etc.).

Le verbe šišl' čay exprime l'idée d'emporter, de soulever, d'élever (22-23) ; comparer avec 4-5 du texte III.

III. — LA PECHE

(Récit de Manuel Inta)

(Voir p. 157)

Traduction libre

1. Je suis parti de ma maison. — 2. J'ai été vers le lac. — 3. J'ai été prendre du poisson. — 4. J'ai emporté une gaffe. — 5. J'ai emporté un grand filet. — 6. Nous avons l'habitude de pêcher avec ce filet. — 7. Nous avons l'habitude d'aller à la pêche aussi bien la nuit, que le matin très tôt ou le soir. — 8. Nous avons l'habitude d'aller à deux ou bien seul. — 9. Nous sommes libres d'aller à la pêche ou de ne pas y aller. — 10. Je suis monté dans cette balsa. — 11. Nous avons l'habitude de la pousser avec la gaffe. — 12. Nous manœuvrons la gaffe à la main. — 13. Nous avons l'habitude de mettre maintenant nos tuniques à cause du brouillard. — 14. Nous avons emmené un filet. — 15. Toi, chasse le poisson avec la gaffe. — 16. Moi, je relève le filet. — 17. Il y a un souche ; un souche passe en nageant. — 18. Nous allons l'attraper. — 19. Il est tout près. — 20. Pique-le (avec ton épieu). — 21. L'as-tu pris ? — 22. Je l'ai pris. — 23. Nous avons l'habitude de mettre (le poisson) dans la balsa. — 24. Un suche est tombé dans l'eau. — 25. Je l'ai sorti de l'eau .— 26. Allons ailleurs. — 27. Tous les poissons sont partis. — 28. Allons chasser les foulques. — 29. Reposons-nous ; je suis fatigué. — 30. Nous avons l'habitude de chasser les foulques. — 31. Nous avons l'habitude de les poursuivre à la course. — 32. Nous avons l'habitude de les frapper avec la gaffe. — 33. Il a plongé. — 34. Il sort de l'eau. — 35. J'attrape le foulque avec mes boleadores. — 36. Il ne l'a pas touché. — 37. Un autre viendra et tu l'attraperas. — 38. Oui.— 39. Il est revenu. — 40. Nous repartions avec la balsa. — 41. Allons vite, sinon il nous échappera (vaincra). — 42. Nous l'avons attrapé. — 43. Nous avons attrapé ses pe-

tits. — 44. Mords le foulque à la tête (pour le tuer). — 45. Allons le vendre. — 46. Il faut rentrer avec celui-ci ; rentrons. — 47. Il n'y a plus rien. — 48. Nous faisons du chemin inutilement. — 49. Nous avons cherché partout ; il n'y a plus rien.— 50. Nous allons tout porter à la maison.

Observations

Ce texte se divise en trois parties. Dans une courte introduction (1-9), le narrateur explique les habitudes de pêche des Uros, puis il décrit une journée de pêche et de chasse aux oiseaux aquatiques dans les marais du Desaguadero : le départ (10-14), le travail du rabatteur qui frappe l'eau avec une gaffe pour diriger le poisson effrayé vers les filets (15-16) ; la pêche du suche (*Trichomycterus dispar*), un silure le plus gros poisson du lac, atteignant 30/35 cm., capturé à l'aide d'un long épieu de 3 mètres, terminé par des pointes multiples (17-27), enfin la chasse des foulques (*Fulica gigantea* et *Fulica americana*) forcés à la course puis assommés avec les gaffes (30-34) ou capturés avec des bolas à boules de bois (35-42). Les foulques capturés sont tués d'une morsure à la tête (44). Puis c'est le retour (45-50). Ce récit est très vivant.

Il n'y a pas de mots spéciaux pour pêcher ou chasser ; on emploie seulement le verbe *tima- ñuy*, littéralement prendre.

Au point de vue grammatical, le texte fournit d'intéressantes formes verbales, en particulier les formes d'habitude *-ñaña*, comme dans les textes antérieurs ; la forme *-ñáñay* (48) — impliquant l'idée d'obligation : le redoublement du radical (8) pour renforcer l'idée exprimée par le verbe. Il faut souligner encore la fréquence des lettres euphoniques *s* et *l* : 2, 5, 8, etc...

Ce texte contient deux hispanismes : le premier est très curieux (8) ; pour mieux rendre l'idée de solitude, seul, absolument seul, le narrateur a répété le mot un,

mais en accolant le vocable uru tina, seul, au vocable espagnol uno. En 9 le mot espagnol, voluntad (volonté) est déformé en pulúntá, le v n'existant pas en uru, mais il garde l'accent tonique espagnol.

IV. — LA PÊCHE NOCTURNE

(Récit de Manuel Inia)

(Voir p. 181)

Traduction libre

1. Nous avons l'habitude de pêcher la nuit. — 2. Nous avons l'habitude de pêcher dans l'obscurité. — 3. Mais comment voir la nuit ? — 4. On voit bien lorsque les poissons. — 5. Nous nous couvrons avec la voile pour ne pas avoir froid.

Observations

Les Uru vont souvent pêcher la nuit dans leurs esches de pêche et pour ne pas souffrir du froid intense et du vent glacial, ils s'abritent sous les voiles de toiles de leurs embarcations.

1. La forme mokó- ur, de nuit, dans l'obscurité, est analogue à tom- ur, aujourd'hui, dans ce jour, et à nam- ur, de jour. — 3. kún, particule interrogative, comment, est accompagnée du radical pour des verbes. — 4. kiw, poisson, se prononce souvent kiri. — 5. uráp'- pu indique la finalité et peut être ajouté, soit à un radical verbal, soit à une forme substantive ou adjective comme c'est le cas ici.

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V. — LA PÊCHE NOCTURNE
(Dessin du Cachet Kiapé)

(Voir p. 180)

Traduction libre

1. Tout est prêt ; nous pouvons maintenant partir dans la balsa. — 2. Cette balsa a la proue très relevée afin que les très hautes vagues ne la submergent pas. — 3. Nous allons devoir la ramer. — 4. Nous allons hisser la voile. — 5. Le vent vient d'un autre côté ; changeons (l'orientation) de la voile. — 6. La voile se gonfle beaucoup ; le vent est fort. — 7. Nous allons amener la voile. — 8. Nous allons mettre une pierre sur la voile pour que le vent ne l'emporte pas. — 9. Nous allons planter verticalement un morceau de bois. — 10. Nous allons (y) suspendre une marmite. — 11. Nous allons étendre sur l'eau une couche de tabac pour attirer du feu ci-dessous. — 12. Le feu flambe ; l'eau va bouillir et nous boirons.

Observations

Dans la première partie de ce texte (1-6) le narrateur décrit le départ pour la pêche et la manœuvre d'une balsa à voile du modèle utilisé dans certaines parties du Norouandero, avec un mât simple ; leur proue relevée leur permet de supporter des vagues assez hautes. Les [illegible] utilisent également de grandes balsas à proue très relevée, mais avec un mât double et une plus grande voile.

La seconde partie (7-12) montre les préparatifs des Uru pour passer la nuit sur l'eau. La balsa est arrêtée dans une eau peu profonde ; la voile maintenue par une grosse pierre abrite les pêcheurs du vent. Une petite plate-forme dans la proue sert à supporter une marmite au-dessus

d'un lit de totoras, allongé sur une épaisse couche de roseaux, jetés sur l'eau.

L'ensemble de ce texte, la phonétique aussi bien que le vocabulaire et la syntaxe, est moins correct que les récits du vieux Manuel Inka, qui appartient à une génération antérieure (près de 90 ans) à celle du nouveau narrateur (Carlos Kispe) âgé d'une cinquantaine d'années.

1. *pukkin* est un mot aymara, langue que connaît assez bien l'informateur ; *hánk'- šč'* pour *huxk'-chúky*, nous pouvons partir. Le narrateur prononce tantôt *ḥurk*, tantôt *ḥiurk* ou *ḥurk*, littéralement grand, haut ; cette forme indique ici le superlatif. — 3. Les Urus n'ont pas de mot spécial pour désigner le mât ; ils l'appellent simplement « le bois » de la voile. — 8. La forme correcte serait *huxka- chúky*. — *t*. Le narrateur a d'ailleurs tendance à transformer la finale *-čuy* en *-ču* (8) ou à l'élider en *-ø'* (1) ; il la supprime toujours avec les substantifs et les adjectifs. — 2. L'informateur prononce *kiu- si*, au lieu de la forme correcte *k'ú- si*, eau. Il confond souvent *o* et *i*, prononçant tantôt *čúku* et tantôt *čúki*.

VI. — ENCLOS DE PÊCHE
(Récit de Manuel Inka)

(Voir p. 180)

Traduction libre

1. C'est un enclos de pêche. — 2. Cet enclos est fait pour prendre du poisson. — 3. Nous avons l'habitude de fermer la porte (de l'enclos) avec un filet. — 4. Nous enfonçons côté le filet avec un bâton. — 5. Sur ce fleuve il y a un autre filet. — 6. Il y a des enclos pour chacun de nous, cela désigne les uns des autres. — 7. Chacun de nous peut ainsi pêcher.

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Observations

Sur le Desaguadero, les Uros construisent des barrages de totoras en forme de V, la pointe orientée dans la direction du courant. Un étroit passage, ménagé à la pointe, est fermé au moment de la pêche à l'aide d'un grand filet circulaire installé sur une balsa, le kâku. Des pêcheurs montés sur une ou plusieurs balsas descendent le courant frappant l'eau avec de longues perches munies d'une boule de totora afin d'effrayer le poisson qui, en descendant au fil de la rivière, pénètre dans l'enceinte et tombe dans le filet placé à sa pointe. Chaque famille uro possède son enclos de pêche, très éloigné de ceux de ses voisins (6-7). La distribution de l'emplacement de ces enclos ainsi que la jouissance des champs de totoras qui servent à faire les balsas étaient régis par le droit coutumier des Uro.

1. ti- ki ou simplement -ki, particule pour désigner l'objet dont on parle : *cet enclos que voici ; ce fleuve-ci* (5). — 6. jila- jila, littéralement un signifie un pour chacun ; la répétition de l'adverbe hâska hâska a la valeur d'un superlatif : *loin loin, très loin ; l'aymara et le kolwa, formeront le superlatif de manière identique : Ex. : Kala- Kala pierre pierre, en aymara : beaucoup de pierres.*

VII. — LE VILLAGE DES URU A ISLA-ITU

Commentaires de photographies par Monsieur Ivan.

(Voir p. 180)

Traduction libre

1. Est-ce votre chapelle ? — 2. C'est notre chapelle. — 3. Ce sont nos maisons. — 4. La chapelle est vue par derrière. — 5. La chapelle est bien ainsi (vue de face). — 6. La totora est conservée debout en tas. —

7. Elle est conservée en tas pour qu'elle ne pourrisse pas. — 8. C'est une balsa du grand lac. — 9. Sa proue est relevée. — 10. Celle-là est une grande balsa. — 11. Celle-là est une petite balsa. — 12. Il n'y a pas d'autre balsa. — 13. C'est une maison des autres gens (les Aymaras). — 14. C'est une maison en briques crues (adobes). — 15. C'est une maison de la communauté aymara (lit. des autres gens). — 16. Que te dirai-je encore ? c'est tout. — 17. Maintenant je désire me reposer, à père.

Observations

Ce texte reproduit les commentaires du vieil Manuel Inka, regardant une série de photographies de son village natal Iru-Itu et de la région. Les photographies d'Iru-Itu ont été reconnues sans difficulté ; celles de sites moins familiers ont provoqué diverses offrandes avant d'être bien identifiées (13-15).

1. xwí, particule interrogative ; kapíl, c'est le mot espagnol capilla, chapelle. — 4. Nous n'avons trouvé aucune forme passive chez les Uru ; pour exprimer l'idée « a été vue par derrière », l'informateur a utilisé la voix active : chrk'- ku ỹi- nio- ñay, littéralement un fl
1 2 3 2 3
a vu ; ku indique le passé récent. Il faut noter que cette
1
construction a été spontanée, aucune question ne lui ayant été posée ; il empêchait durant le texte ont aussi différents passifs à, un, et a subi une construction avec la voyelle antérieure. — 9. kwis exprime l'idée de pointe pouvant désigner, aussi bien la proue relevée de la balsa, un sommet de montagne, le nez ou le verbe pointer dans le sens d'être en forme de pointe. — 9-10-11. Le narrateur décrit les trois principaux types de balsas des Uru : à proue relevée en pointe pour la navigation sur le Titicaca (grand lac); les grandes balsas de pêche du Desaguadero pour 3 ou 4 personnes, et les petites balsas pour 1 ou 2 personnes. — 13-15. tiwla, autres, ou tiwla nilka,

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autres gens, manière de désigner habituellement les Aymaras, employée par les Uros qui se considèrent comme constituant une espèce sans une race pré-humaine à part. Il y a 2 espèces humaines, les Uros, espèce primitive représentant les premières créations pré-humaines et les Aymaras appartenant, comme tous les autres hommes actuels, à la dernière création. — 15. Notre ancêtre, Kamaquiñi, pour désigner la commencement indicateur de Jours de Marbure dont dépendent maintenant les Uros ; c'est une idée étrangère à leur mythologie propre. — 16-17. Le mauvaise fatigué par son effort d'interprétation, n'a plus rien à dire et veut se reposer. Notre la formule de politesse, kaja pay, pire, correspondant à « Monsieur ».

VIII. — KOKI-CAY, LE TONNERRE
(Récit de Carlos Kispe)

(Voir p. 186)

Traduction Allen

1. Il tonnera encore cette fois ; l'orage vient. — 2. Le toit de la maison Koiwara gronde l'eau ; ce n'est pas bien du tout. — 3. Regarde encore si l'orage n'est va. — 4. Il tonne de nouveau. — 5. Le tonnerre peut tuer soudainement une personne d'entre eux. — 6. Autrefois, depuis les temps les plus anciens, le tonnerre n'a tué un seul d'entre nous. — 7. Le tonnerre ne a fait cela pour.

Observations

Ce texte fait allusion à une croyance très généralement répandue chez les Uros : ils ne peuvent être frappés par la foudre, ni endommagé par toutes les perturbations du haut plateau. D'après eux, la foudre ne frappe que les gens « d'entre eux » : aymaras, métis ou européens. Aussi les Uros n'ont pas « d'aparbaio », de lieux d'ab-

Grande eau redevint frappée par la foudre, tandis que ces petits mouvements sont très fréquents chez toutes les populations indigènes voisines. Cependant notre informateur, un Uru, Carlos Kispe, a très peur de l'orage. La raison en est sans doute que seuls les Uru purs jouissent de cette immunité, non les bâtards ni les mangachiés. Ce notre informateur, bien que faisant partie du groupe uru, était un non-pêcheur, - bâtu hay' bâ- ñay -, non pêcheur est, un fils naturel, une très fréquent, dont le père était inconnu. Il ne lancait pas du tout à subir l'épreuve de la foudre afin d'être censé de ne pas contredire uru. Si un Uru est foudroyé, ce mais ou bien meurt de pourriture — dangers contre lesquels sont préservés les vrais Uru — tout le monde y voit la preuve indéniable d'une puissance diabolique et divine.

Au point de vue du vocabulaire, ce texte montre les mêmes irrégularités que le texte extérieur du même informateur (V) : élisions fréquentes des voyelles finales : ñu au lieu de ñuy ; l'emploi régulier (1-2) de wâli, beaucoup, forme cynique, ne se trouvant pas dans les textes, ni dans les nombreuses phrases recueillies avec l'autre informateur. — 2. wâli- pâsi, association d'un mot cynique et d'un mot uru de même sens pour renforcer l'idée ; nous retrouvons un fait analogue avec ji- hâla (5), association uru-espagnole déjà signalée. — 2. bâtu Kâla ñi hâla, mais bâtu hâtu est, association de deux variétés de sens presque identique, pour renforcer l'idée : ce n'est pas bâtu du tout. — 3. La particule -kâla après le verbe aller a le sens exact de ce en latin, littéralement exit. — 4. La forme correcte serait wat- ña. — 6. bâtuke indique un fait très envahi, idée encore renforcée par la redite ke, encore du passé : il y a très très longtemps.

3: Vellard SF24 Uru

IX. — COUTUMES FUNÉRAIRES

(Récit de Carlos Kispe)

(Voir p. 167)

Traduction libre

1. Nous autres, nous avons l'habitude de faire un repas en l'honneur de l'âme. — 2. Nous offrons des libations aux âmes. — 3. De nuit, nous avons l'habitude de creuser (la sépulture). — 4. Ensuite, nous avons l'habitude de venir pour brûler (les vêtements du mort). — 5. Nous avons l'habitude de brûler les vêtements de l'âme. — 6. Allons brûler ces vêtements. — 7. Allumons le feu. — 8. Nous brûlons seulement les vêtements.

Observations

Dans ce court récit, l'informateur résume quelques pratiques funéraires des Uru. C'est d'abord la veillée mortuaire pendant laquelle les parents et amis mangent en l'honneur du défunt (1), auquel on offre des libations d'alcool, de chicha et de cuca (2). Après l'enterrement sans cercueil, dans une simple fosse creusée pendant la nuit (3), et que rien ne signalera par la suite, les vêtements du mort sont brûlés.

Ces pratiques sont très différentes de celles des autres indigènes de la Cordillère, parlant aymara ou kolwa, qui se réunissent quelques jours après l'enterrement pour laver les vêtements du défunt et se les partager. Les coutumes des Uru rappellent celles de nombreux groupes amazoniens.

Il faut signaler encore l'abandon complet de la sépulture après l'enterrement, contrastant avec les soins dont elle est l'objet parmi les autres populations de la Cordillère.

1. uñimi ; c'est le pronom personnel de la première personne du pluriel avec sens exclusif « nous autres les

J. VELLARD [p. 184-A] Pl. VI

1. — Andrés Vila et Luis Vila.

2. — Vieille femme uru de 90 ans environ.

3. — Vieille femme uru.

4. — Manuel Inta, 80 à 90 ans.

5. — Carlos Kiape, 40 à 50 ans, uru-aymara.

Photos J. Vellard.

J. VELLARD Pl. VII

6. — Luis Inca, go à 30 ans.

7. — Luis Inca, go à 30 ans.

8. — Tomaz Inca, go à 60 ans.

9. — Tomaz Inca, go à 60 ans.

Photos J. Vellard.

[J.184-B]

Uru ». Certains auteurs (Posnanski) ont cru que *uŭdmi* était le nom que se donnaient les Uru dans leur langue. Déjà Fray Antonio de la Calancha parlait d'eux sous le nom de Ochosuma. *awiri* ou *awári*, désigne le double de la personne, qui lui survit après la mort ; notre informateur emploie aussi le mot espagnol alma (5), l'âme ; mais jamais il n'a employé le mot défunt ou mort *tĥis-tĥni-ĥay*, littéralement celui qui est allongé, désignant le cadavre, qui lui n'est l'objet d'aucune cérémonie. — 2. Le verbe *pit'- ĥiĥay* signifie *offrir de l'alcool ou de la chicha à un esprit* ; ici nous avons l'impératif indiqué par le préfixe *ĥa* suivi du radical pur. — 5. *tĥit-* il désigne les vêtements en général.

X. — CONVERSATION AVEC LES DEUX INFORMATEURS : CARLOS KIRPE ET MANUEL INTA

(Voir p. 186)

Traduction libre

1. C. K. : Ces paroles que nous t'avons enseignées nous ont fatigués. — 2. M. I. : Ma gorge est sèche d'avoir parlé. — 3. C. K. : La coca est finie. — 4. M. I. : Il n'y a plus du tout de coca. — 5. C. K. : Donne-nous de l'eau-de-vie. — 6. Enq. : Je t'en donnerai. — 7. M. I. : Je boirai, ô père (formule de politesse, avant de boire). — Ils boivent. — 8. M. I. : Sois bien alerte, ô père (formule de politesse après boire). — 9. C. K. : Tu as fait notre portrait à nous deux (C. K. et sa femme) l'un près de l'autre ; tu nous l'enverras. — 10. Enq. : C'est bien, je t'enverrai ce portrait ; pourquoi le demandes-tu ? — 11. C. K. : Lorsque ma femme mourra, je regarderai son portrait. — 12. M. I. : Maintenant nous ne dirons plus rien à personne.

3: Vellard 5F24 Uru

Observations

Ce petit tableau pris sur le vif montre les difficultés habituelles à toute enquête ethnologique ; les informateurs se lassent vite et l'enquêteur est hasardé de demander. Nos deux informateurs étaient cependant excellents.

1. Le suffixe *néka* indique la pluralité ; *tukú* signifie mot, parole, langage. — 2. *a- kô- ñuy* est mis pour *kô- ñuy*, l'*a* est euphonique ; comparez *a- mir- kôñuy* au 9. — 4. Exemple typique d'un adjectif revêtant une forme verbale : *wáka* signifie *toute*, en ajoutant *kôñuy*, le suffixe du passé, on forme le mot : *toute elle a été*. — 5. *awárità*, c'est le mot espagnol *aguardiente*, eau-de-vie. — 7. *lika- ñuy*, *je boirai*, formule de politesse avant de boire. — 8. *hówa* signifie *rapide*, *vif*, *agile* et au sens figuré intelligent, d'esprit vif ; c'est ici un souhait servant de formule de remerciement ; *hóp'- puy*, père, terme honorifique employé couramment, remplaçant Monsieur. — 9. *ke- shíttu* ; la répétition de la première syllabe du mot a la valeur d'un superlatif : très, très petit ; *litrit*, c'est le mot espagnol *retrato*, portrait. — 11. L'informateur, âgé d'environ 60 ans, espère bien mourir après sa femme qui n'a pourtant pas 40 ans. *Je ne suis pas absolument sûr* de la transcription de *ólkî' na- tol'ôkni* ; c'est une forme future du mot, littéralement « qui est étendu ».

Dans tout ce dialogue, on remarquera la phonétique assez différente des deux informateurs. Ainsi *ña- ñuy*, parler, devient parfois *ñi-ñuy* ; Carlos Kispe supprime souvent les terminaisons en *ñuy* ; il supprime même souvent les finales.

3: Vellard SF24 Uru

XI. — LES ADIEUX

(Dialogue dicté par Carlos Kiape)

(Voir p. 186)

Traduction

1. N'as-tu pas de peine de t'en aller ? — 2. Avec beaucoup de peine, je m'en irai à ma maison. — 3. Désires-tu rester ou désires-tu partir ? — 4. Je désire m'en aller. — 5. Reste encore ; il vaut mieux rester maintenant. — 6. Pendant que tu voyageras vers ta maison, tu peux rencontrer un singe. — 7. Mange ton repas ; après tu partiras. — 8. Ta femme pourra te voir de loin.

Observations

Nous avons entendu ce petit dialogue à Tihuanacu entre nos deux informateurs, Carlos Kiape qui habitait avec nous et le vieil Manuel Inio, parent de rentrer chez lui. Carlos Kiape nous l'a répété. On retrouve les défauts habituels de cet informateur ; emploi de wäli, mot aymara signifiant beaucoup ; transformation de la finale *-hay* en *-ha* ; élisions fréquentes.

1. kän, particule interrogative se plaçant devant le verbe ; comparez kämi- pëk' (5). Noter les formes de futur *-häy*, employées dans tout ce dialogue, ni kän tämi, littéralement pendre de la peine. — 2. kimik', particule se plaçant après le complément, indiquant la direction avec mouvement. — 3. Les Uru ne possèdent aucune formule conditionnelle ni dubitative ; ils emploient les deux propositions sans aucune conjonction. — 4. käli, d'ici ; particule se plaçant après le verbe marquant le départ de l'endroit où l'on se trouve. — 6. kämu, particule se plaçant après le verbe, elle est commune au kolwa et à l'aymara, signifiant pendant que. — 7. -tämi, particule se plaçant après le verbe, signifiant après. —

8 t' kûwa, contraction ; la forme correcte serait tukû- femme, épouse. Noter la place de la particule áskę, entre le radical et la désinence du verbe.

∴

Il était intéressant de publier ces textes qui permettent d'utiles comparaisons avec le texte pukina de Oré dont nous nous occuperons dans une prochaine note et avec les trois textes chipaya de Métraux.

Il existe entre le uru et le chipaya des différences sensibles de phonétique. Ainsi la terminaison čai si caractéristique de l'uru, mais qui a déjà une tendance à devenir ča ou à disparaître, devient ja en chipaya. La prononciation chipaya est beaucoup plus dure, avec une plus grande fréquence de gutturales, sans doute par suite de l'influence de l'aymara. Le vocabulaire chipaya contient une proportion beaucoup plus élevée de mots aymaras, kelwa et même espagnols et ceci ne provient pas seulement de la nature des textes recueillis par Métraux : voyage d'un chipaya au Chili, vie à la caserne; on retrouve le même caractère dans son second texte décrivant la vie aux champs. En dehors de cette proportion variable de mots étrangers, les différences de vocabulaire sont faibles.

La syntaxe est identique dans les deux groupes, mais toutefois bien moins variée en chipaya.

Tout ceci souligne les étroites affinités du langage de ces deux groupes. C'est une même langue, presque éteinte, parlée par deux petites populations complètement séparées, mieux conservée chez les Uru, plus altérée chez les Chipayas, présentant déjà des variations sensibles d'une génération à l'autre dans un même groupe.

Les différences sont beaucoup plus marquées dans le fond même que dans la forme de ces textes. Les Uru décrivent surtout leurs occupations de pêcheurs et un peu leurs coutumes. Métraux n'a pu que difficilement obtenir des Chipayas quelques phrases sur leurs travaux

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dans les champs et sur l'élevage et ses textes sont surtout des récits d'expériences en dehors de leur vie quotidienne, un voyage au Chili, ou la vie à la caserne.

Rien ne souligne mieux que ces textes dictés par eux-mêmes, le caractère différent de ces deux groupes. Les Chipayas sont des pasteurs, très touchés par l'influence de leurs voisins aymaras et kelwas, et même par la culture créole. Les Uru, pêcheurs-récollecteurs, ont conservé, presque jusqu'à leur extinction, leur forme de vie et un isolement relatif se reflétant dans leur langage moins altéré.

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NOTE II

ANTHROPOLOGIE

En révisant la bibliographie anthropologique à notre disposition, nous n'avons trouvé qu'un très petit nombre de travaux sur les Uru et leurs proches parents, les Chipaya : publications d'Imbelloni, de Pomansky et une note de Wright sur les anomalies dentaires. Aucun travail important ne doit nous avoir échappé.

Imbelloni a fait une étude très complète de deux crânes de l'Ile Ponto (lac Poopo, à 300 kilomètres du lac Titicaca, climatisé par le Desaguadero), les classant dans le groupe leguido-mallcoïdien.

Pomansky a étudié de façon très sommaire (quelques mesures céphaliques seulement) 6 hommes de Iru-Ito. Il a complété cette série en examinant 9 Chipaya, hommes, dont 7 seulement mesurés pour : les 2 autres, brachycéphales et subbrachycéphales, sont considérés comme « Kollas », c'est-à-dire métissés d'éléments andins. Dans l'Ile Ponto, Pomansky a étudié deux crânes, et mesuré l'indice céphalique de 6 individus vivants, 4 hommes et 2 femmes, dont un seul est qualifié « uro pur ». Ces résultats sont comparés avec ceux fournis par une petite série de crânes de Changos provenant des îlots d'Arica. Il est nécessaire, bien entendu, de faire toute réserve sur la nomenclature très personnelle de Pomansky et le sens très particulier qu'il attribue aux termes uruwak et kolla.

Il ne nous a pas été possible de consulter le travail de Wright qui semble traiter un aspect très différent de celui qui nous intéresse.

Imbelloni et Pomansky sont d'accord sur la dolichocéphalie très marquée des Uru et de leurs parents, les Chipaya. Les caractères qui se dégagent de l'étude

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comparée de leurs travaux sont heureusement opposés entre eux en ce qui concerne les indices vertébraux du crâne et la hauteur de la face.

En dehors du petit groupe chipaya de Poconsky, il n'existe, à notre connaissance, aucune indication sur la taille ni sur les mensurations du corps dans ces groupes.

Nous n'avons disposé nous-mêmes que d'une série très courte : 6 hommes et 3 femmes, tous adultes. Il ne faut pas oublier qu'il s'agit des derniers Uru. En dehors de ces 9 sujets, il n'y avait plus à Iru-Itu comme Uru adultes, qu'une jeune femme née d'une tentative d'union et deux très vieilles femmes qu'il a été impossible de mensurer et qui ne se sont laissées que difficilement photographier. Les enfants étaient en grande partie des métis uru-aymara. La consanguinité de la plupart de nos sujets est un autre inconvénient de cette petite série.

Malgré ces défauts, il nous a paru nécessaire de publier nos résultats qui permettront d'utiles comparaisons avec les travaux de Poconsky et d'Imbelloni, et seront sans doute les dernières observations sur ce groupe. D'autres Uru vont disparaître dans la région et déjà incorporés aux populations aymaras ; leur filiation sera difficile à établir.

Il est regrettable que les ethnographes aient visité la contrée, quand les Uru étaient encore nombreux, n'aient pas cherché à obtenir quelques mensurations anthropologiques essentielles. Il faut reconnaître cependant, que les conditions de travail étaient peu favorables : les Uru se montraient réfractaires à tout examen de ce genre et le climat froid aidant, que leurs boues, efflorescences de haine étaient autant d'obstacles difficiles à vaincre. De nombreux négociations ont été nécessaires, par exemple, pour que quelques-uns d'entre eux se laissent photographier nous leur faisions de boire et la plupart sont enfuis.

***

En 1942, la population d'Iru-Itu était la suivante :
— 6 hommes dont l'âge variait entre 40 et 95 ans.
— 6 femmes entre 30 et 90 ans.
— 9 enfants, 5 garçons et 4 filles, entre 4 et 15 ans.

En dehors de ces 21 sujets, considérés par eux-mêmes comme Uru purs, 3 femmes aymaras, vivant avec des Uru, étaient établies dans le village avec 5 enfants.

La notion de uru pur est complètement arbitraire ; ce caractère est plus sociale que raciale. De tout temps l'adoption sous diverses formes a permis d'incorporer au groupe un sujet d'autre origine, considéré dès lors comme un uru véritable. C'est le cas d'un enfant aymara, que nous avons bien entendu écarté de notre liste.

Les enfants de mère uru et de père inconnu étaient considérés comme uru pur.

Un de nos informateurs, Carlos Kiepe, était lui-même, comme nous l'avons vu, un « sans père ». Bien que considéré comme uru, tous ses caractères physiques et moraux le distinguaient nettement des autres membres du groupe.

Les uru considéraient comme étrangères les femmes aymaras, même dans les villages voisins et leurs enfants bien que nés de pères uru. Cette loi matrilinéaire est intéressante à signaler.

Les femmes aymara ont refusé de se laisser examiner, non plus que leurs enfants. Rien n'a pu convaincre les deux vieilles femmes uru.

Notre examen fut ainsi réduit aux 9 sujets suivants :

HOMMES

Manuel Iruito. Vieux patriarche de 80 à 90 ans, né de père et de mère uru. Cheveux blancs [illegible] nombreux ; barbe réduite à quelques poils courts, entièrement blancs. Lèvres fines ; profil du nez droit. Pas de pli mongoli-

3: Vellard SF24 Uru

que, mais présence du pli malo- marginal bien marqué à la partie externe de la paupière. Quatre fils vivants, Tomas et trois autres ayant quitté le village ; trois filles, dont Andréa et Célestina, et quatre enfants morts.

Tomas Inta, 50 à 60 ans, fils de Manuel. Considéré comme uru pur. Pas de cheveux blancs. Lèvres fines, nez droit. Pli malo- marginal bien marqué.

Louis Inta, 40 à 50 ans, neveu de Manuel. Considéré comme uru pur. Lèvres fines. Nez modérément convexe, avec les ailes élargies. Pli malo-marginal présent.

Andréa Vila, 90 à 95 ans. Né de père et de mère uru. C'est le plus vieil homme du village. Visage profondément ridé. Nombreux cheveux blancs. Quelques poils de barbe, courts et entièrement blancs. Nez droit, très déprimé à la base. Lèvres fines. Pli malo-marginal très marqué.

Louis Vila, 80 à 90 ans. De taille élevée, 174 cm., contrastant avec les autres membres du groupe, de taille moyenne. Né de père et mère uru. Quelques cheveux blancs. Quelques poils de barbe, courts et blancs. Tête relativement volumineuse. Nez légèrement convexe. Pli malo-marginal peu accentué.

Carlos Kespi, 40 à 50 ans. Né de mère uru, mais de père inconnu, il présente des traces incontestables de croisement avec des éléments de race andine. Brachycéphale, fortement hypsicéphale, eurygnathe, mésorhinie, il se sépare nettement des autres membres du groupe. Son caractère beaucoup plus actif, son type d'intelligence plus vif, accentuent encore cette différence. Nez droit, pli malo-marginal présent.

FEMMES

Rosalina Inta, 50 à 55 ans, sœur de Manuel Inta (?), considérée uru véritable. Beau type *fuegoïque*. Front bas, nez droit, déprimé à la base. Pli malo-marginal bien marqué. 4 enfants de 9 à 15 ans.

Célestina Inta, 35 à 40 ans, fille de Manuel Inta, con-

3: Vellard SF24 Uru

sidérée comme uru pure. Type agréable, énergique. Nez modérément convexe. Pli malo-marginal accentué.

Andrés Inka, 40 à 50 ans, fils de Manuel Inka, considéré uru véritable. Type plus grossier que les précédents. Nez déprimé à la base, de profil légèrement convexe. Pli malo-marginal très accentué.

TABLEAU DE LA POPULATION

Hommes uru :

Manuel, Inka, 80 à 90 ans.
Tomás Inka, 50 à 60 ans, fils de Manuel.
Luis Inka, 40 à 50 ans, neveu de Manuel.
Andrés Vila, 90 à 95 ans.
Luis Vila, 80 à 90 ans.
Carlos Kinpe, 40 à 50 ans (rencontrés de métis uru « aymarés).

Femmes Uru :

Severina Inka, 30 à 35 ans, sœur de Manuel.
Celestina Inka, 35 à 40 ans, fille de Manuel.
Andrés Inka, 40 à 50 ans, fille de Manuel.
Justina Vila, 30 à 35 ans.
X . 80 à 90 ans.
Y . 80 à 95 ans.

Enfants Uru :

Francisco Inka, m. 14 à 15 ans, fils de Severina.
Sabina Inka, f. 12 à 13 ans, fille de Severina.
Angelita Inka, f. 11 à 12 ans, »
Jesus Inka, m. 9 à 10 ans, fils de Severina.
Julieta Vila, f. 5 à 6 ans, fille de Justina Vila et Luis Inka.
Esteban Vila, m. 4 à 5 ans, fils de Justina Vila et Luis Inka.
Francisca Vila, 3 à 4 ans, fille de Justina Vila et Luis Inka.

Miguel Soliman, an. 4 à 5 ans, orphelin.
Miguel Kruger, an. 5 à 6 ans, métis, fils de Carlos Kruger.

Femmes ayoreo :

Rosa Chiquet, 80 à 90 ans, ayoreo de Machaire.
Francisca Amaguaja, 60 à 80 ans, ayoreo de Guaspi.
Maria Chaire, 60 à 80 ans, ayoreo de Guaspi.

Enfants métissés :

Victor Soto, an. 10 à 11 ans, fils de Luis Soto et d'une femme ayoreo.
Eugenio Soto, an. 8 à 10 ans, fils de Luis Soto et d'une femme ayoreo.
Ramon Soto, an. 7 ans, fils de Luis Soto et d'une femme ayoreo.
Manuela Soto, f. 5 ans, fille de Luis Soto et d'une femme ayoreo.
Dominika Torres, f. 6 ans, ayoreo adoptée.

Total :

6 hommes ayo. de 60 à 90 ans (dont 1 certainement métissé).
6 femmes ayo. de 50 à 90 ans.
9 enfants ayo., 5 garçons et 4 filles, de 4 à 11 ans.
3 femmes ayoreo.
6 enfants métis ayo-ayoreo.
1 enfant ayoreo adopté.

Dès maintenant l'âge de tous ces sujets a été estimé approximativement. Le pourcentage obtenu de plusieurs d'entre eux est douteux.

Un des enfants métis, Victor Soto, était atteint de hydrocéphalie communicante.

Ce tableau montre la décroissance progressive du groupe. Il existait en 1935, quatre vieux patriarches, quatre grandes familles à Ivo-Ivo : les Soto, les Vila, les Kruger et les Soliman. En 1942, les Soliman avaient émigré en ayant disparu ne laissant qu'un orphelin. Les Kruger

s'éloigne plus régulièrement que par Corbu et son Ela. Deux hommes, une jeune femme et un enfant formaient le groupe Vda. La famille Ura était la seule encore sans représentant. Elle a d'ailleurs toujours été considérée comme la plus méditerranéenne et la plus pure des familles d'Ura-Ala.

ETUDE ANTHROPOMETRIQUE

Nous avons dû limiter notre étude aux mesures essentielles de la tête et du corps.

Les résultats obtenus sont rassemblés dans les tableaux I et II et les indices calculés dans le tableau III.

Ces chiffres appellent quelques considérations.

Malgré le petit nombre de sujets examinés, les résultats sont assez homogènes pour le groupe des hommes, à l'exception de Corbu Kiupr qui s'éloigne sensiblement du type général. Le groupe des femmes présente des différences marquées avec celui des hommes. Il est très difficile de juger jusqu'à quel point ces différences sont dues à un échantillonnage encore trop restreint ou à l'influence d'un métissage possible, et laissent seules chez de pareilles personnes, deux sœurs et leur cousine.

Nous étudierons séparément les groupes masculin et féminin.

Tête

Les mesures céphaliques montrent chez tous les sujets examinés, une tête extrêmement allongée ; les chiffres extrêmes vont de 187 à 210 pour les hommes et de 179 à 190 chez les femmes. La tête est dolicho chez les hommes, 141 à 150, à l'exception de Corbu Kiupr ; chez les femmes les valeurs obtenues ne dépassent pas une fois 145.

L'indice céphalique ne dépasse pas 75,8 pour le groupe masculin ; seul Corbu Kiupr est hyperbrachycéphale avec 80,3. Les trois femmes sont brachycéphales modérées. La moyenne arithmétique pour les 5 premiers

I. — TÊTE

ITEM	Hauteur totale	Tronc total	Long. totale	Angle de Vile	Long. Vile	Cycles Kraps	Ancêtre total	Céphalée total	Tronc total
TÊTE	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	f.	f.	f.
[illegible]	80/90	50/60	40/30	90/95	80/90	40/30	40/30	35/40	30/35
[illegible]	190	190	185	195	210	187	180	180	170
[illegible]	142	142	146	141	150	160	146	146	140
[illegible]	118	118	127	125	130	143	127	118	115
[illegible]	108	108	104	115	102	115	118	113	115
[illegible]	135	135	132	130	133	132	136	118	135
[illegible]	139	139	141	139	150	144	139	138	142
[illegible]	115	115	98	114	130	106	106	104	95
[illegible]	178	178	197	146	214	178	163	173	156
[illegible]	135	135	133	130	133	118	112	130	115
[illegible]	81	81	82	48	84	76	66	78	71
[illegible]	73	73	73	68	74	68	62	69	68
[illegible]	58	58	60	55	59	53	47	55	53
[illegible]	36	36	39	42	40	37	35	37	39
[illegible]	34	34	31	32	32	30	19	18	19
[illegible]	100	100	92	97	102	105	94	95	93
[illegible]	31	31	31	35	36	37	35	36	36
[illegible]	58	58	60	57	54	56	60	63	58
[illegible]	18	18	22	21	20	19	18	21	18
[illegible]	61	61	65	70	70	66	58	67	62
[illegible]	47	47	50	50	50	50	47	46	43
[illegible]	43	43	37	41	36	37	31	36	36
[illegible]	—	327	330	348	340	373	—	—	—

Dr Vallard

RF24 Urs

II. — CORPS

NOM :	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
SEXE	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	f.	f.	f.
AGE APPROXIMATIF	80/90	80/90	40/50	90/95	80/90	40/50	40/50	35/40	30/35
Taille debout	1801	1588	1648	1586	1740	1683	1539	1579	1580
Hauteur conduit auditif ..	1368	1471	1581	1431	1567	1529	1406	1434	1438
Hauteur du nombril	.....	1370	.....	.....	.....	1301	.....	.....	.....
Taille ombi	780	808	791	791	966	881	774	813	778
Hauteur acromion	1363	1335	1346	1377	1496	1338	1359	1391	1379
Hauteur grand trochanter.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	779	.....	.....	.....
Hauteur du coude	.....	1018	1080	923	1190	989	986	998	981
Hauteur du poignet	.....	777	771	790	859	796	737	768	747
Hauteur extrémité médius.	.....	635	695	714	858	635	579	591	606
Hauteur du genou	.....	453	446	480	455	430	417	438	446
Hauteur de la cheville ...	.....	88	78	87	88	78	80	86	88
Grande envergure	1599	1438	1708	1619	1744	1619	1347	1511	1388
Diamètre bi-acromial	.....	.....	358	.....	.....	339	367	388	361
Diamètre bi-trochantal	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	286	.....	.....	.....

[illegible]

[illegible]

III. — [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	f.	f.	f.
[illegible]	40/50	38/40	40/50	50/65	40/50	40/50	40/50	35/40	30/35
[illegible]	73,0	74,7	74,8	72,5	71,1	68,5	81,3	81,1	83,7
[illegible]	70,7	69,1	65,1	64,1	63,5	67,1	70,5	67,5	64,6
[illegible]	64,3	66,9	67,1	68,6	66,6	101,8	86,9	86,8	77,1
[illegible]	129,7	129,9	130,7	130,9	142,6	129,5	117,3	125,3	109,6
[illegible]	67,3	65,1	67,2	66,1	68,3	61,9	60,5	66,9	60,9
[illegible]	47,5	52,9	61,0	60,9	69,3	47,2	44,2	50,0	41,8
[illegible]	67,9	63,0	63,3	76,3	67,7	69,6	71,4	67,3	73,5
[illegible]	32,7	66,6	33,3	36,3	33,0	34,9	34,2	66,6	66,7
[illegible]	73,6	76,0	71,2	61,3	61,3	72,1	60,6	76,7	77,1
[illegible]	73,6	76,2	73,7	66,7	61,3	61,2	64,9	63,3	60,9
[illegible]	73,0	61,6	63,5	73,1	60,0	73,6	73,2	73,3	66,9
[illegible]	96,3	104,0	94,1	95,6	96,3	89,0	80,6	96,4	62,6
[illegible]	17,0	14,5	17,0	17,5	19,5	16,1	16,0	17,5	19,1
[illegible]	36,9	33,0	33,6	36,0	37,3	36,3	37,3	37,6	36,7
[illegible]	56,3	76,4	56,9	76,5	56,3	56,9	61,4	65,6	53,3	
[illegible]	36,9	36,9	47,9	51,1	52,9	52,3	51,6	51,7	49,7
[illegible]	——	19,2	19,7	19,9	19,1	16,9	19,7	19,5	20,7
[illegible]	94,6	97,9	96,4	96,1	90,7	100,6	99,9	97,5	91,7

[illegible]

10. — Luis Vila, 80 à 90 ans.

11. — Luis Vila, 80 à 90 ans.

12. — Andrés Vila, 90 à 95 ans.

13. — Andrés Vila, 90 à 95 ans.

Photos J. Vellard.

[4 200-A]

J. VELLARD Pl. IX

14. — Santana Inta, 30 à 35 ans.

15. — Santana Inta, 30 à 35 ans.

16. — Andrea Inta, 40 à 50 ans.

17. — Celestina Inta, 35 à 40 ans.

Photos J. Vellard.

[J.200-B]

hommes est : 73,51 et pour les femmes : 81,96. Les chiffres de Posnansky indiquent un indice moyen de 72,7 chez les Uru et 75,0 chez les Chipaya. Imbelloni donne 72,77 pour un crâne uru masculin et 73,71 pour un féminin.

La hauteur auriculaire du crâne varie dans d'assez grandes limites, 115 à 133 pour le groupe des cinq premiers hommes avec 128,60 comme moyenne. Elle est un peu moins forte chez les femmes (moyenne 120). Carlos Kispe se sépare encore de tout le groupe avec 163 mm. La répartition des crânes d'après leur hauteur est la suivante (d'après Scheidt) :

Bas — x — 118 : 1 homme, 2 femmes.
Moyens — 119 — 128 : 2 hommes, 1 femme.
Hauts — 129 — x : 3 hommes (dont Carlos Kispe).

L'indice hauteur-longueur indique un seul crâne masculin orthocéphale avec une valeur de 69,5 ; tous les autres crânes sont hypsicéphales, ceux des hommes variant de 63,3 à 70,7 (moyenne : 64,54) et ceux des femmes de 64,6 à 70,5 (moyenne : 66,86). Carlos Kispe atteint 87,1.

L'indice hauteur-largeur permet de classer un seul crâne féminin comme tapéinocéphale ; un masculin et un féminin comme métriocéphales ; tous les autres sont acrocéphales, avec des indices de 86,9 à 94,3, à l'exception de Carlos Kispe qui se distingue par sa hauteur considérable, atteignant 101,8 ; moyenne générale pour les hommes (sauf C. Kispe) 87,90, pour les femmes 81,6 :

Tapéinocéphale 75,0 — 79,9 : 1 femme.
Métriocéphales 80,0 — 84,9 : 1 homme et 1 femme.
Acrocéphales 85,0 — x : 5 hommes et 2 femmes.

Le front est moyen chez trois hommes (Diamètre frontal minimum : 104 à 108), large chez deux hommes (115 — 119) et les trois femmes (115 — 118); un seul homme rentre dans la catégorie des fronts très larges (Luis Vila, avec 122). L'index fronto-pariétal varie chez les hommes de 75,8 à 81,5 (moyenne : 77,16) à

3: Vellard SF24 Uru

l'exception de Carlos Kiepe qui n'atteint que 73,1 ; et chez les femmes de 77,1 à 80,8 (moyenne : 78,96).

La face est de hauteur moyenne chez les hommes (diamètre nasio-mentonnier : 118 à 126; moyenne : 122) à l'exception d'un seul, Luis Vila, qui atteint 133 mm. Chez deux femmes, la face est courte, 112 et 115 mm. ; elle est moyenne chez la troisième : 120 mm. La moyenne générale est de 120,8 pour les hommes et 115,6 pour les femmes.

Les valeurs absolues du diamètre bizygomatique classent les hommes et les femmes parmi les faces de largeur moyenne, à la limite des faces larges.

4 hommes et 2 femmes : 136 à 141.

1 homme et 1 femme : 142 à 150.

Moyenne : Hommes, 142,1 ; Femmes, 139,6.

L'indice facial morphologique des cinq premiers hommes tend à la leptoprosopie (indice moyen 88,06, à l'exception de Carlos Kiepe franchement chamaeprosope avec 84,9). Les femmes sont chamaeprosopes : moyenne 92 ?

Chamaeprosopes : x — 84,9 : 1 homme et 2 femmes.

Mésoprosopes : 84,0 — 87,9 : 3 hommes et 1 femme.

Leptoprosopes : 88,0 — 92,9 : 2 hommes.

L'indice morphologique facial supérieur ne fait pas varier sensiblement ces résultats :

5 hommes (moins Carlos Kiepe) : 47,5 à 61,0 ; moyenne, 51,90.

3 femmes : 41,8 à 50,0 ; moyenne, 45,33.

Carlos Kiepe présente encore un indice un peu plus bas que les autres hommes : 47,2.

Les valeurs absolues du diamètre nasio-buccal sont élevées, allant de 78 à 84 pour les cinq premiers hommes, avec comme moyenne arithmétique 81,0. Carlos Kiepe atteint seulement 76 ; les trois femmes vont de 66 à 78 avec 72,3 de moyenne arithmétique.

Le diamètre bigoniaque est assez élevé :

5 hommes (moins C. Kiepe) : 98 à 120 ; moyenne, 108,80.

3 femmes : 96 à 106 ; moyenne, 101,66.

Ici C. Kiese avec 100 s'éloigne peu de la valeur moyenne.

L'indice gnatio- zygomatique varie pour les hommes de 68,5 à 81,5 (moyenne arithmétique 76,68 ; C. Kiese 73,0) et pour les femmes de 66,9 à 76,2 (moyenne 72,80).

La diamétrie bigoniaque chez les cinq premiers hommes est légèrement inférieur ou diamétrie frontal minimum qu'il ne dépasse qu'une seule fois (Tomas Inia). C. Kiese possède une mâchoire beaucoup plus étroite, ainsi que les trois femmes : indice gnatio-frontal inférieur ou égal à 90.

5 hommes : 94,12 à 104,02 ; moyenne 97,68.
C. Kiese : 89,02.
3 femmes : 82,60 à 90,40 ; moyenne 87,0.

Le nez est de hauteur moyenne chez 3 hommes, y compris C. Kiese, haut chez un sujet et chez deux entre dans la catégorie des nez très hauts. 2 femmes sont moyennes ; une seule possède un nez très bas.

Nez très bas 4 à 49.... 1 femme.
Nez bas 50 à 52 —
Nez moyen 53 à 55.... 3 hommes, 2 femmes.
Nez haut 56 à 58.... 1 homme.
Nez très haut 59 à 0.... 2 hommes.

Les chiffres obtenus placent le nez des Uru dans la catégorie des nez larges ; deux hommes ont le nez très large :

35 à 39 mm. : 4 hommes, 3 femmes.
39 à 0 : 2 hommes.

Moyenne arithmétique pour les hommes 38,1 et pour les femmes 37,0.

Les hommes sont leptorhiniens seuil 1, mésorhiniens ; 2 femmes sont mésorhiniennes et 1 leptorhinienne.

Indice nasal :
55 à 69,9 : 5 hommes, 1 femme.
70 à 84,9 : 1 homme, 2 femmes.

La moyenne générale 67,8 pour les hommes et 71,7 pour les femmes place les Uru parmi les leptorhiniens, à la limite de la mésorhinie.

3: Vellard SF24 Uru

La largeur de la fente palpébrale varie chez les hommes de 30,5 à 34,5, avec 32,2 pour moyenne arithmétique. Elle est plus courte chez les femmes, variant de 28,5 à 29,5 (moyenne 29,1).

La bouche est de largeur moyenne (56 chez l'homme et 51,6 chez la femme) ; les lèvres sont très grosses.

Largeur de la bouche :

6 hommes : 54 à 60 mm. ; moyenne arithmétique 56,0.

3 femmes : 45 à 58 mm. ; moyenne 51,6.

Hauteur bilabiale :

6 hommes : 19 à 22, moyenne 21,1.

3 femmes : 18 à 22, moyenne 20,3.

L'indice labio-facial varie de 14,2 à 19,5 chez les hommes (moyenne arithmétique 17,0) et de 16 à 19,1 chez les femmes (moyenne 17,5), soulignant la hauteur considérable des lèvres.

L'oreille très longue chez l'homme (61 à 70 mm. ; moyenne arithmétique 66,5 mm.) est courte chez les 3 femmes étudiées : 52 à 58, moyenne 55,6. Elle est large chez l'homme (37 à 41 mm., moyenne 38,8), étroite chez la femme (26 à 31 mm., moyenne 28,6).

L'indice auriculaire varie en général chez l'homme de 54,2 à 58,5 avec une exception (70,4) ; chez la femme nous avons obtenu 45,6 à 55,6, soulignant l'étroitesse relative de l'oreille par rapport à la hauteur.

Moyenne arithmétique générale :

Hommes : 58,5.

Femmes : 51,4.

Stature et membres :

La petite série étudiée apparaît très hétérogène pour la stature. Les hommes s'échelonnent depuis les petites tailles jusqu'aux grandes tailles, avec prédominance des groupes petits et moyens ; deux femmes sont moyennes et une surmoyenne.

Hommes. — Tailles petites : x à 159,9 : 3 hommes.

Tailles sous-moyennes : 160 à 163,9 —

Tailles moyennes : 164 à 166,9 : 2 hommes.
Tailles surmoyennes : 167 à 169,9 —
Tailles grandes : 170 à 179,9 : 1 homme.

Femmes. — Tailles moyennes : 153 à 155,9 : 2 femmes.

Tailles surmoyennes : 156 à 158,9 : 1 femme.

Ces chiffres sont à rapprocher de la petite série de 4 Uru mesurés par Posnansky, seule information à notre connaissance publiée jusqu'ici sur ce groupe ; cette série indique pour les hommes : 1 petite taille, 1 moyenne, 1 surmoyenne et 1 grande.

Chez les Chipaya, parents des Uru, les chiffres de Posnansky indiquent pour une série de 9 hommes : 6 tailles petites, 2 sous-moyennes et 1 surmoyenne.

Ces trois séries : nos 6 hommes et 3 femmes uru ; 4 hommes uru et 9 hommes chipaya de Posnansky se distribueraient ainsi :

Tailles petites : 10 hommes.
Tailles sous-moyennes : 2 hommes.
Tailles moyennes : 3 hommes, 2 femmes.
Tailles surmoyennes : 2 hommes, 1 femme.
Tailles grandes : 2 hommes.

Chez ces 22 individus, les statures petites représentent 45,45 % ; les sous-moyennes et les moyennes : 31,72 % ; les surmoyennes 13,63 % ; les grandes seulement 9,0 %.

Ces trois séries sont concordantes, soulignant la fréquence des tailles petites et moyennes chez les Uru et leurs parents les Chipaya.

L'indice cormique fournit des résultats plus homogènes. Sur les 5 premiers hommes, 3 sont macrosk*è*les et 2 mérosk*è*les. C. Kispe fait encore exception et se place à la limite des brévisk*è*les. Les 3 femmes sont macrosk*è*les.

Macrosk*è*les Hommes, x — 51,0 : 3 hommes.
Femmes, x — 52,0 : 3 femmes.
Mérosk*è*les Hommes, 51,1 — 53,0 : 3 hommes.

Les valeurs extrêmes chez l'homme vont de 47,9 à

52,0 (ou 52,9 en comptant C. Kiqué). La moyenne arithmétique même avec Carlos Kiqué, souligne la mocrochhie du groupe : 50,91 ; en ne tenant pas compte de cet élément métissé, elle tombe à 50,52. La moyenne féminine est de 51,06.

L'envergure serait bien chez les hommes que chez les femmes en supériorité à la stature. La moyenne arithmétique de cette différence est de 5,3 c. pour les 5 premiers hommes et de 2,4 c. pour les femmes. C. Kiqué présente au contraire une stature supérieure de 4,8 c. à l'envergure. L'indice taille-envergure est inférieur à 100, sauf chez Carlos Kiqué.

5 hommes (sans compter C. Kiqué) 94,4 à 99,8. Moyenne arithmétique : 96,58.

Carlos Kiqué : 101,0.

3 femmes : 97,5 à 99,1. Moyenne arithmétique : 98,46.

La relation du membre supérieur à la stature varie de 41,1 % à 49,1 % chez les hommes, avec moyenne arithmétique de 45,8 % et de 42,3 % à 44,4 % chez les femmes avec moyenne de 43,3 %.

ETUDES HEMATOLOGIQUES

Pour compléter ce travail, et malgré le petit nombre de sujets, nous avons étudié les groupes sanguins chez tous les habitants d'Iru-Ito, sans tenir compte de leur origine ni de leur degré de parenté. Seules, les deux très vieilles femmes uru se sont refusées à cet examen.

Notre enquête a porté ainsi sur 27 sujets :

6 hommes uru ;
4 femmes uru ;
9 enfants uru ;
3 femmes aymaras ;
5 enfants uru-aymara et aymara.

Le sang, obtenu par piqûre du lobe de l'oreille et recueilli en solution physiologique oxalatée, a été examiné deux jours plus tard au laboratoire. Deux sérums

étalons ont été utilisés : un sérum bolivien et un sérum de La Paz. Contrôle microscopique des résultats.

Les résultats ont été uniformes. Tous les individus appartiennent au groupe O, soulignant une fois de plus la prépondérance de ce groupe en Amérique du Sud.

Chez trois hommes, Manuel Inta, Andrés Vila et Carlos Kispe, nous avons établi la formule leucocytaire :

Manuel Inta : lymphocytes, 29 % ; grands monocytoïdes, 6 % ; neutrophiles, 65 %.

Andrés Vila : lymphocytes, 31 % ; grands monocytoïdes, 5 % ; éosinophiles, 3 % ; basophiles, 1 % ; neutrophiles, 60 %.

Carlos Kispe : lymphocytes, 28 % ; grands monocytoïdes, 7 % ; éosinophiles, 1 % ; neutrophiles, 64 %.

Chez un seul sujet, Manuel Inta, nous avons pu faire un comptage globulaire, complété par une érythrosédimentation :

Globules rouges : 4.960.000 ; leucocytes, 8.200.

Erythrosédimentation : 1 heure 3,5 ; 2 heures 13 ; 24 heures 60.

Globules rouges : 57 % ; plasma : 43 % (après centrifugation).

Temps de coagulation (tube capillaire) : 7 à 8 minutes.

Hémoglobine : 97 % (micro-comparateur de Hellige).

Cette unique observation et le grand âge de Manuel Inta rendent difficile l'interprétation de ces résultats. Il faut souligner que le nombre normal de globules rouges à La Paz est de 6.000.000 à 6.500.000. La diminution observée coïncide avec un grand retard de la sédimentation.

Enfin chez le même sujet, nous avons fait une réaction de Kahn :

Kahn Standard : ±
Kahn primitif : + + +
Kline : + +

Nous retiendrons seulement de cette observation in-

lité, l'existence d'une grande hétérozygotie ou d'une syphilis très répandue chez ces derniers les plus conservateurs du groupe, qui a toujours bâti obstinément, comme contraire aux traditions, les relations sexuelles avec les autres indigènes.

Ces quelques remarques isolées n'ont pas grande signification ; du moins jettent-elles quelque lumière sur les recherches hématologiques et sérologiques en vue notamment parmi les groupes indigènes isolés de la Cordillère ou de la forêt sud-américaine.

CONCLUSIONS

Malgré le petit nombre de sujets examinés (8), dû à la décadence rapide du groupe et à sa grande méfiance, cette étude des derniers Uru d'Iru-Itu, permet quelques conclusions intéressantes.

La réaction est peu différente de celle des populations indiennes voisines et les taillis gardent sensiblement leur pouvoir.

L'indice céphalique chez les hommes pourrait être considéré comme non inférieur avec les populations voisines, est inférieur à 75,0 % (moyenne : 73,54). Trois femmes sont brachycéphales modérées ; il faut noter qu'elles sont pleines parentes.

La dolichocéphalie, la tendance à la leptocéphalie et à la leptoprosopie, le diamètre bigonique presque égal au diamètre frontal minimum, la leptorhinie, l'oreille basse et ronde, exhaussent du caractères ce groupe.

Dans l'ensemble, ces résultats sont d'accord avec les quelques observations antérieures sur les Uru et les Chipaya (2 crânes uru d'Imbelloni ; quelques mensurations de Pomansky) soulignent l'unité morphologique de ces deux groupes.

Les Uru appartiennent au vieux fond dolichocéphale américain, de Lagoa Santa, à crâne élevé. Il est plus difficile cependant de les faire entrer dans l'un des deux groupes, leptide ou platyside, d'Imbelloni, ainsi que le

souligne d'ailleurs cet auteur. Si d'une part, comme il l'indique « les Uru reproduisent fidèlement la race laguide en ce qui concerne le crâne cérébral » par leur dolichocéphalie prononcée, la hauteur de la voûte du crâne, le volume en forme de toit avec lophos marqué, ils se rapprochent au contraire du type fuéguide par la hauteur de la face, la hauteur du nez, la leptorhinie, caractères leptomorphes étrangers aux véritables laguides.

Ces caractères opposés placent les Uru entre les véritables laguides-mélanésiens et les fuéguides australoïdes.

Quelle peut exister dans ce cas à un possible métissage d'un type laguide primitif avec des éléments d'autre origine, peut-être fuéguides, ainsi que paraît enclin à le croire Imbelloni ? S'agit-il au contraire d'une certaine variabilité du type laguide-mélanésien ?

Ces problèmes se posent non seulement pour les Uru, mais aussi pour d'autres populations dolichocéphales américaines. Ils soulignent l'intérêt de l'étude des derniers groupes dolichocéphales du continent avant leur extinction complète.

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[Notes et documents bibliographiques sur les Chorog]

J. Velland

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Translated from the French by A. Brunel

Human Relations Area Files

1965

[Title page]

/Uru/

[1] In several previous works we have cited a series of unpublished documents on the Uru.

Some of these documents were published by Créqui-Montfort and Rivet in their study on "La langue uru ou Puquina /The Uru or Puquina Language/," which appeared in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, XVII, XVIII, and XIX. 1925, 1927.

Others are unpublished or were published unknowingly in local or obscure periodicals.

It seemed to us necessary, as a sequel to Créqui-Montfort's and Rivet's work, to publish the texts of some of these documents. We were unable to reproduce them in their entirety, but we extracted from them the chief passages concerning the Uru.

For other, minor works, we have merely listed bibliographic references.

Notes on the Uru

[2] The Uru give themselves the name of kot'suñs, "people of the Lake." In old tales they are sometimes called jetsuts (cochuns), a personal pronoun of the first person plural with an exclusive sense, meaning in their language "we, the kind of us" as opposed to other men. The name ochi-puna, found in Father de la Calancha's chronicle, corresponds to ochits-suñs (cochuns suñs), literally "our people" or "we, our kind of people," as opposed to other peoples. The Uru call other men nost'naka, "different people," or nost'aus'chay, "dry men," "land people." Similarly, Aymara-and Quichua-speaking Indians call Aymara agriculturists suaña jaque, also /meaning/ "dry men."

The Aymara of the mountains call their Uru neighbors /jo/ uru or uro (ururu, duro). [illegible] the second a sound

[illegible]

[illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible]

[illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible]

[illegible] ... [illegible] ... [

Archivo-I D.S-6.5 (no date) 1959-1960 tif'24 Ura tif'24

[16th Century]

[45] [illegible] /
[illegible] its own, without cultivation, and which they call quinua [illegible] or cereal; all of these Indians are fond of and eat the meal of same...../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del origen y genealogia real de los Reyes Incas del Peru /History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru/, 1608. Constantino Bayle edition. Madrid, 1840, p. 154.)

[46] [47] [48] /Of/.... The Uros were useless that the Inca sent for when the army was short, and they were compelled to follow the flags, not knowing even how to hold a bow; they went into battle almost without weapons and they and some of the Puquinas were killed like flies because they had no military training, they let themselves be killed like animals. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibidem, p. 184.)

Garcilaso de la Vega

[49] ...and the Puquinas, Collas, Urus, and Yunca Indians, and other nations that we create and dull, and owing to their crudeness, even speak their own languages poorly..... /Translated from the Spanish./

(Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales /First part of the Royal Commentaries/..... VII, Chap. 4.)

Oliva (Rev. Father Anello)

[50] [51] ...(Manco Inca) ordered that...useless people, as the Uros were, who are ignorant and useless, should each one of them gather one reed tube full of lice each month, so that no one should be idle...../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de sus Incas Reyes /History of the Kingdom and Provinces of Peru, of its Inca Kings/...., 1598. 1895 edition, Lima.)

Ramirez (Baltasar)

[52] The Uru Indians are a people who live on lakes, such as the lake of Chucuito and that of Paria, and in other parts.

Aitchland--4 D.E-4.5 (no date) 1909-1911 NTH Uro 5704

[16th. Century]

/31 cont./

[195] They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes,
[148] which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tule....."

[128] ...They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant,
although not very good.... They dress badly and eat, aside
[101] from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land;
they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They
[98] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general
[85] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered
in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now
pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some
order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/...., 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua: Juicio de límites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/, Barcelona, 1906, I, 295-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[124] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities
of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and
pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats
[101] and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so
wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they
were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species
of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/...., Madrid, 1601-1615, III, 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[133] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has
only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said
to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a
bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to
cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current,
according to what they say.

Archives--A D.F-4.8 (no date; 1910-1960 1934 Uru 1934

[16th Century]

/32 cont./

[195 [991] [124] according to what they say. It is crossed on a remarkable contrivance, peculiar to the Indies, a straw bridge placed on the water itself, which is of such light material that it does not sink, and it is a very safe and easy crossing....there grow large quantities of a type of reed that the Indians call totora, which they use for a thousand things, because it is food for pigs and for horses, and for the people themselves; and with it they make house and fire, and boat and whatever is needed; so much do the Uros find in their totora. These Uros are so [101] brutish that they themselves do not regard themselves as men. It is said of them that when asked what people they were they replied that they were not men but Uros, as though this were [341] another class of animals. Entire pueblos of Uros were found living on the lake, on their totora rafts, joined together and fastened to some large rock, and they may fetch themselves off from there and move a whole pueblo to another location; and thus when sought today where they were yesterday, no trace of them is to be found, or of their pueblo..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia natural y moral de las Indias /Natural and Moral History of the Indies/. 1590. Book II, Chap. VI.)

Noticia sobre los Indios Uros en un Memorial de la Epoca del Virrey Toledo /Note on the Uro Indians in a Memorial of the Epoch of the Toledo Viceroy/.

[195 [48] [511] The Inca, being below Lima, sent one of his captains, called Casiracapa, to those heights with many men, to survey the land and recount to him what he saw there, /33/ and while traveling through the land he came across some people whose dwellings were like those of animals, and who lived in them like brutish animals, around a large Lake, naked, and eating nothing but roots of plants that grew in the Lake, and some Fish if they caught it, and when the Captain saw these people, [928 [919] he recounted the fact to the Inca and was sent by him to remove them from the Lake and resettle them among the

1 [i.e., Lake Titicaca outlet--Ansart]

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them:
648 The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-
728 settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the
599 inhabitants, unable to bear with it, asked Casiracapa to rid them of those people, because they robbed them, ate their livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the Captain advised the Inca of this and he was ordered to return them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it;
[101] these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where
[131] they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small
[269] villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable: they are infidels in addition. Your Excellency would perform a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so
[356] that they and their descendants might become Christians, and giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings defy description. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

175 Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima, 1568/.

[119] This document from the General Archives of the Indies in Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed by Marie Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-150, 1951.

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Repartimiento general de los Indios que se an de ocupar en la labor de las Minas y beneficio de los ingenios lamas y relaves de la Villa Imperial de Potosi, con las /34/ ordenanzas que en ello se an de quedar, fechas por el Escmo, Senor Don Francisco de Toledo, Virrey que fue de estos reinos /General Repartimiento of the Indians who are to be employed in work in the Mines and labor in connection with the mills, llamas, and metal sweepings of the Imperial Town of Potosi, with the ordinances that are to apply to it, ussed by his Excellency, Señor Don Francisco de Toledo, when Viceroy of these kingdoms/ (Lima, 16 August 1578).

175 162 This text gives two successive censuses, one in 1578, the other in 1596.

[648] [466] For the work in Potosi two Uro mitayos were the equivalent of one Aymara mitayo, whence this information on the number of Uros in the census of the population of 16 provinces subject to the mita /forced labor/.

	1578		1596
Uros:	2,558	in Paria (Poopo)	3,038
	67	" Pune	62
	400	" Quillagas y Asanaquis	400
	581	" Aullagas y Uruquillas	581
	53	" Urinoca	53
	2[illegible]	" Andamarca y Cofquemarca (Carangas)	256
	[illegible]00	" Totora	100
	[illegible]2	" Cinquicona y Sanaya	102
	147	" Machaca la chica	147
	221	" Machaca la grande	111
	138	" Viacha	?
	203	" Tiaguanaco	?

4:Vellard--8 D, E-4, 5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th Century]

/34 cont./

1578			1596
175 162			
632	"	Guaki	632
58	"	Copacábana	88
380	"	Puno	380
245	"	Paucarcolla	240
419	"	Capachica	515
242	"	Moho y Conima	141
350	"	Carabuco	—
162	"	Guaicho	—
442	"	Hachacache	442
44	"	Guarina	?
58	"	Caracoto	108
120	"	Juliaca	120
59	"	Nicasio	159
79	"	Ayaivi y Chuchero	49
230	"	Lampa de Esquivel	231
23	"	Lampa de Xare	25
141	"	Canavilla	141
210	"	Cavana	216
210	"	Atuncolla	210
276	"	Mañasso	276
75	"	Horuro	75
149	"	Arapa	149
589	"	Samany Susi	589
276	"	Táraco	265
91	"	Azangaro	91
46	"	Caxiguana	46
128	"	Chupa	128
/35/ 94	in	Achaya	98
—	"	Carauco	44
—	"	Numa	22
—	"	Coata	448

/Table given in Spanish./

(Document contributed by Miss Marie Helmer.)

4:Vellard--9 D.E-4.5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24 Aymara SF5

[16th Century]

A U 175 162 /35 cont./

Machuca (Juan Lozano)

. . . In the bay of Atacama, where the port (Cobija) is, there are 400 Uro Indian fishermen. . . . Likewise in the city district and environs of Tarapaca, which extends from the port of Pisagua and Hique-Hique, where there are Uro Indian fishermen, to the port of Loa, there are many mines. . . . The repartimiento of the heirs of Lucas Martin Begaso is under the jurisdiction of the city of Arequipa and there must be some 2,000 Aymara Indians and more than 1,000 Uro Indian fishermen in the said territory. . . . /Translated from the Spanish./

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Reports on the Indies/, II, Appendices, pp. XXV, XXVI, and XXVII.)

U 175 162 433 735

Aside from the 4,000 Aymara Indians of Lipez, there were in this repartimiento another 1,000 Uro Indians, a poor people who neither sow nor reap and who subsist on the hunting of guanacos and vicuñas and on fish and roots found in the marshes, which they call coroma; and herewith the 4,000 Aymara Indians claim poverty, because while rich in native livestock and reaping and sowing and conducting trade and barter in this town of Potosi, Tarapaca, and Atacama, and founding many metals, which they extract from the mines, they excuse themselves from paying tribute to H. M. under pretext of being poor, like the 1,000 Uro Indians who truly are. . . . /Translated from the Spanish./

A 175 162 433 735 [648] [651]

(Ibidem, Appendix 3.)

U 175 120 [131]

Jujuy Archives

Dr. Ernesto Sourrouille, in the historic studies he carried out in the Jujuy archives and with private documents (testaments, grants, etc.) told me, that at the western source of the Orosmayo River, in the Department of Santa Catalina, south of the Cerro Esmoraca, there lived a tribe of Uro Indians like those who share a boundary with the Atacamas. . . . /Translated from the Spanish./

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/35 cont./

175 (Juan Alfonso Carrizo, Cancionero popular de Jujuy /Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy/, p. XV, Tucuman, 1935.)

/36/ Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada /Moral Chronicle/ of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

[162] [181] In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor Lorenço de Aldana gave us...; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uro Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscene and dark-skinned /renegrida/ they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. [103] The chief pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Volume I, p. 353.)

[162] [797] [181] This pueblo (of Challacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians who were being catechized by our Order.... These are crude Uro Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned /renegrida/, without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all [296] prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish in the lake of Paria...those who live on land /do so/ in [342] sepultures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails...the [137] Uro Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here [291] they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold [797] land) than some mats of these cattails.... Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion. [103] There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a [797] Priory with a subsidiary church of Uro Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away.... There is another pueblo four leagues

[17th Century]

/36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town.... Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake.... They are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Simillake.

...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

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[1624-1924 Centuries

/37 cont./

195 701 721 648 Nearly all of this first book of Chapter XVII is devoted to the great rebellion of these Indians, led by mestizos or Spanish bandits, like their last chief, a certain..."Don Pedro Laine, a fierce and bold man, the son of the Auditor /Contador/ Ansa, who is regarded by them as a great sorcerer.../cited in Spanish/."

(Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustin en el Perú /Moral Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru/. Lima, 1653. Vol. II, Chap. XVII, First Book.)

195 Diligencias e informaciones hechas para sacar de la isla del Choro y del Paraje de Villivilli en el Lago Poopo a los indios sus habitantes, considerados como infieles y perniciosos /Measures and inquiries carried out to remove from the island of Choro and the region of Villivilli in Lake Poopo their Indian inhabitants, regarded as being infidels and destructive./

[131] Report made by General Don Francisco García Picado, Corregidor and Lord Chief Justice of Oruro, at the request of the Duke de la Palata, Viceroy of Peru, on the existence of savage Indians on Paria Lake.

[197] Among the witnesses whose testimony was gathered by the commissioners /Commissaires/ we find..."the Teaching [635] Father Fray Nicolas de Loayza, a religious of the Order of Our Father Saint Augustine...of Chacacollo, the principal [169] pueblo of the district of the corregidor of the province /38/ of Paria, and of its native Indians called Urus, and of some outsiders who live in said pueblo and the neighboring areas under its authority...a person who has known them for 35 [197] years and has more than sufficient experience...teaching them the Christian doctrine in three languages: the general one, Aymara, and their own mother tongue, which they call Ura.../cited in Spanish/."

(Document partly published in the Revista del Instituto de Sociología Boliviana in Sucre, by Gunnar Mendoza L. under

[16th 17th Centuries

/38 cont./

the title: "Posición geográfica de los indios Urus en el Lago Poopo /Geographic location of the Uru Indians on Lake Poopo/." III, No. 3, 50-55, 1943-44. This document was made known to us by Dr. Guillermo Francovich, at the time Rector of the University of Sucre.)

Ludovico Bertonio

The (words) listed here are peculiar to the Aymara of the Lupaca Province....But not on this account should one judge that this vocabulary will be of use only to the priests and other persons who reside in the Province of Chucuyto, and among the Lupaca Indians, because without any doubt wherever the Aymara language is spoken, and in the whole nation of Aymara Indians...because the Aymara nation, although spread out in many and various Provinces, is very similar in language, and manner of speech generally, and thus he who knows well the Lupaca language will without difficulty understand the Indians of other Provinces...except for a few special words, very few, as we have said.

...It is certain that in this Aymara nation, if we count the small ones and the large ones, there are more than 1,000 pueblos or slightly less. Let us see now how many are the preachers who, knowing this language well, with the necessary clarity and proficiency, teach the Gospel. I would not be far wrong if I stated that they are barely 20.../Translated from the Spanish./

(Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara.../Vocabulary of the Aymara Language/, printed in the house of the Compañía de Jesus de Juli, a pueblo in the Province of Chucuito. By Francisco del Canto, 1612; preface A1 and A2.)

Lizarraga

...This province (Omasuyo) is heavily populated, and most are Puquinas; they are well favored /son recios/ with

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[16th - 17th centuries]

/38 cont./

native livestock, and in addition they share in more maize and wheat than those of other parts, because of /39/ having on their left the province of Larecaja, abundant in both.... /Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción colonial /Colonial Account/. Biblioteca Argentina. XIII-XIV. Buenos Aires. 1916. I. 227.)

Constituciones sinodales del Obispado del Cuzco, expedidas el 29 de Setiembre de 1891, por el Ilmo Sr. D. Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of Cuzco, issued on 29 September 1951 by the Illustrious Don Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo/.

...Because in many pueblos of this our Diocese as a rule all Indian women, or most of them and some of the Indian men, do not understand the Quechua language, but rather Aymara or Puquina, and for this reason do not know the mysteries of our Faith, and do not confess their whole life, not even at the hour of death, in order to remedy this we order that all parish priests among the Indians, in accordance with the mandate of the third Council, should hear confessions in the language peculiar to their parish, /whether/ Quechua, Aymara, or Puquina, and because this is so different in each pueblo where said language is spoken, within a year of their being appointed to said parishes, they should prepare with the help of Indians who know Spanish /Indians/ a short Confession and Catechism wherewith to confess and instruct these persons, which they must [illegible] under penalty of 20 pesos the first time and twice as much the second, being warned that they will even be deprived of their parishes, if they are negligent in this respect.... /Translated from the Spanish./

Statement of the Bishop of Cuzco, D. Antonio de la Raya, charging the Jesuits on 12 March 1549 to give examinations to clergymen applying for Indian parishes:

[16th -17th Centuries]

/To cont./

...because in like manner it is necessary that the said Aymara and Puquina languages should be taught in this city, since they are spoken in many parts of this diocese and there are great deficiencies in the administration of the holy sacraments because the priests do not know them..../Translated from the Spanish./

Constituciones Sinodales del Obispado de Arequipa hechas y ordenadas por el Illmo. y Rvdo. Senor D. Pedro de Villagomez, Obispo de la Santa Iglesia de Arequipa, en el primero Synodo que se celebró en dicho Obispado que fue por el ano de 1638 /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of Arequipa, issued and ordained by the Illustrious and Reverend D. Pedro de Villagomez, Bishop of the Holy Church of Arequipa, in the first Synod held in said Diocese, which took place in the year 1638/.

/40/ ...The Catechism must be taught in the Puquina language. Heedful that in some parishes of the Diocese the Puquina language is spoken, therefore, in conformance with the disposition of the law and of the Provincial Council, and having made inquiries as to who is most familiar with this language, we entrust the translation and interpretation of the Catechism which the said Council ordered to be published in the said first two languages (Quechua and Aymara), to Dr. D. Alvaro Mogrovexo, curate of the curacy /doctrina/ of the Zarumos, and to Dr. Miguel de Arana, curate of the Habaya and Locumba curacy, so that they may translate it into the Puquina language..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Book I, f. 17, Chap. V.)

...in the Catechism of the Lima Council no prayers were included for the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, and so that the Indians may learn them, they are ordered to be included here, in the two languages, and to be translated also into Puquina, that is to say, one for the elevation of the Host and one for that of the Chalice..../Translated from the Spanish./

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[16th - 19th centuries]

/40 cont./

175 (Manuscriptos peruanos en las bibliotecas del extranjero /Peruvian Manuscripts in Foreign Libraries/, published by Ruben Vargas Ugarte, 1935. Vol. I, pp. 270-71.)

175 Report on the Province of the Pacajes

648 ...and when the Incas came and conquered this Province of the Pacaxes they caused the Uro Indians to leave the vicinity of the water, and made them live with the Aymaras and taught them to live on and cultivate the land, and ordered them to pay tribute of fish and to make straw hampers. Since they were very crude people, they did not order them, as they usually did, to worship the sun and serve it; and through the [199] [197] contact they have had with the highland Indians they have come to speak the Aymara language and have almost given up their own language, which was Puquina..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Madrid, 1881-1897, Vol. II, p. 55.)

000 /The bibliography on pp. 40-41 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

113

[For bibliographical references to Spanish accounts from the 16th and 17th centuries containing some ethnographic information on the Uru, see category 116, pp. 1-16.]

G. Valland SF24 Uru

Tome VII

TRAVAUX

DE

L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ÉTUDES ANDINES

1959-1960

PARIS - LIMA

4:Vellard SF24 Uru

NOTES ET DOCUMENTS BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES SUR LES OUROUS

par

J. VELLARD

Dans divers travaux antérieurs, nous avons cité une série de documents historiques sur les Urus.

Quelques-uns de ces documents ont été publiés par Créqui-Montfort et Rivet dans leur étude sur « La langue uru ou Pukina », parue dans le *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, XVII, XVIII et XIX, 1925, 1927.

D'autres sont inédits ou ont été publiés isolément dans des revues d'accès difficile.

Il nous a paru nécessaire, continuant la publication de Créqui-Montfort et Rivet, de donner les textes de quelques-uns de ces documents. Nous n'avons pas pu les reproduire en entier, mais nous avons extrait les principaux passages intéressant les Urus.

Pour d'autres travaux récents nous nous contentons d'indiquer les références bibliographiques.

NOTES SUR LES URUS

Les Urus se donnent à eux-mêmes le nom de *Kot'suñs*, peuple du Lac. Dans les anciens récits ils sont parfois appelés *uchumi* (ouchoumi), prénom personnel de la première personne du pluriel au sens exclusif, signifiant dans leur langue *nous autres*, en opposition aux autres hommes. L'appellation d'*ochozuma* relevée dans la chronique du P. de La Calancha correspond à *uchumi suñs* (ouchoumi souñs), littéralement *notre peuple* ou *nous autres le peuple*, opposé aux autres peuples. Les Urus nomment les autres hommes *toxa'naka*, les gens différents, ou *kont'sun'chay*, les *hommes secs*, les *terriens*. De même les pêcheurs aymarisés appellent les Aymaras agriculteurs les *huaña hake*, également hommes secs.

Les Aymaras des communautés traitent leurs voisins urus

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de uru et uro (ouros, ours) en donnant au second u un son intermédiaire entre ou et o ; ou encore *urito* (ouritch), diminutif affectueux, ou *chuno uruno*, enfants cadets. Mais en même temps ils leur donnent le nom méprisant de *huelé* ou *huelé*, bâtard, sans père ni maître, ou au contraire celui très respectueux de *huke* ouke, hommes sacrés.

Les pêcheurs du lac Titicaca sont appelés par les autres indigènes *uru, uro, huelé-huke* (hommes du Lac), *uno-huke* (hommes de l'eau), *challua-uiru* (pêcheurs), en aymara ; *luga-yuro* en espagnol ; *uru, uro-kuno* (hommes uros), *cocha kuna* (hommes du Lac), *kocha-la* (ceux qui vont sur le lac), en quechua.

DOCUMENTS DES CHRONIQUEURS ESPAGNOLS

Molina (Fr. Marvin de)

... mas como las gentes del Perú son muchas, muy diferentes en la forma y en la lengua, según la grandeza de la región y provincia, no vivían todos de una misma manera ni tienen las mismas costumbres, antes en algunas partes son algunos muy bestios y torpes como en el Collao o en otras partes ; porque algunos vivían junto a la laguna grande de Titicaca y que se sustentaban de totora y pescado, que en la misma laguna había, y estos se llaman Uros, de la cual generación hay hoy en día, y de los otros Collas y Puquinas, algunos de ellos o los más en general se dan a criar ganado y algunos moran cerca de la dicha laguna, entreverados con los dichos Uros ; y estos comen pescados crudos, los cuales toman con balsas que tienen hechas de totoras ; y estos traían unas ropas hechas de carrizo, los cuales segaban y cortaban de la ribera de la laguna y los tejían en modo de estera, y de allí hacían una forma de jubones que sabían traer ; y ninguna cosa siembran, ni tienen cuidado de hacer casas, y solamente viven de yerbas, aunque también hay entre ellos una simiente semejante al mijo, la cual nace de su propia voluntad, sin labrar, y llámanla quinua y canagua ; en la misma hoya la quieren y comen todos estos indios...

(*Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Incas del Perú* — 1590, Edition de Constantino Bayle, Madrid, 1946, p. 214.)

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... Los Urus eran Indios que el Inca mandaba traer cuando se veían falta de ejercito y los forzaban a seguir las banderas, no sabiendo aun tomar el arco en la mano ; los cuales casi sin armas iban a la pelea y mataban de ellos y de algunos de los yanaconas como moscas ; porque no tenían ejercicio militar, dejaban se morir como bestias.

(*Ibidem*, p. 194.)

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA

... y así los indios Puquinas, Collas, Urus, Yuncas y otras Naciones que son rudos y torpes y por su rudeza, aun las propias Lenguas las hablan mal...

(*Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales...*, VII, chap. 4.)

OLIVA (R. P. ANELLO)

... Mandó (Sinchi Roca) ... a los inutiles, como eran los Urus, que es gente sucia y inutil, en que cada uno de ellos *tiene* al otro un cercado de piojos de cuenta, todo en orden a que nadie estuviese ocioso...

(*Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de sus Incas Reyes...*, 1598. Edition de 1895, Lima.)

RAMIREZ (BALTASAR)

Los indios Urus es *gente* que bive en las lagunas, como en la laguna de Chuquito y en la de Paria, y en otras partes. Estos hacen sus casas en el agua sobre unas balsas de heno o enea, que en el Perú se llama totora, y en la Nueva España tule...

... Mantienense del pescado de las lagunas, que es mucho, aunque no muy bueno... Visten mal y comen, fuera del pescado, lo que pueden hurtar a los comarcanos de la tierra ; es gente ruda y tosca y casi bestial. No solian pagar tributo ni servir ; y en la visita general que hizo Don Francisco de Toledo los hizo empadronar y poblar fuera del agua, y así ora tributan y sirven y biben en doctrina y algun concierto...

(*Descripción del Reyno del Perú...*, 1597. Cité par Victor M. MAURTUA : *Juicio de límites entre el Perú y Bolivia*, Barcelone 1906, I, 295-296.)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] (Cervantes de)

... esta tierra llegaron los Tiburones que vuelta de un paraje que llaman Isleros, que es comida para caballos y guerreros, y los indios Uros hacen balsas, casas, comida y barcos, y quanto han menester. Estos Uros son tan salvages, que preguntados quienes eran, respondian que no eran hombres, sino Uros como si fuesen otra especie de animales...

(*Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Indias* [illegible] — Madrid 1601-1615, III, 5ª década, p. 93.)

Acosta (P. José de)

Existen esta laguna (Titicaca) dos cosas muy considerables, tiene un salto desaguadero y esta es muy grande, desagua a lo que dicen en Sondicono ; en el cual no es posible hacer puente, por la hondura y anchura del agua ni se pasa en barca, por la furia de la corriente, segun dicen. Pescan con notable artificio, porque de balsas, por un puente de paja, echado sobre la misma agua, que por ser materia tan liviana, no se hunde, y es pescar muy seguro y facil... cria gran copia de un genero de juncos, que llaman los indios Totora, de la cual se sirven para mil cosas, porque es comida para puercos y para caballos, y para los mismos hombres ; y de ella hacen casa y fuego, y barca y cuanto se quieren ; tanto hallan los Uros en su totora. Son estos Uros los brutales, que ellos mismos no se tienen por hombres. Cuentan de ellos, que preguntados que gente eran respondieron, que ellos no eran hombres, sino Uros, como si fuera otro genero de animales. Hallaronse pueblos enteros de Uros, que moraban en la laguna, en sus balsas de totoras, trabadas entre si y atadas a algun peñasco, y cuando llevaron de ahi, y moraron todo un pueblo a otro sitio ; y asi buscando hoy alcanda estubieron ayer, no hallaras rastro de ellos, ni de su pueblo...

(*Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. 1590. Libro II, cap. VI.)

Noticia sobre los Indios Uros en un Manuscrito de la época del Virrey Toledo.

Estando el Inga mas arriba de Lima embio un Capitan suyo llamado Canincapa a estos ellos con mucha gente, para que viese la tierra, y le diera razon de lo que en ello avia.

y andando corriendo por todas partes dio con unos gentiles que en viviendo una montiña, y viviendo como brutos animales desnudos, y alrededor de una gran Laguna desnuda, y en medios otra cosa sino los ojos que en la Laguna se criaban, y algun Pescado si lo tomaban y visto por el Capitan esta gente, dio orden el bagé de ello, y fue por el mandado los sacase de la Laguna y los repartiese por los Pueblos Comarcanos, el qual los sacó y repartió. Otros muchos les dabos que estos hacian en las partes donde estaban, burlando todo lo que podian que los mandaban no los quitasen cabo porque el Gobernador les quitaba aquella gente, porque los robaban, y comian sus ganados, y no tenian hombres de provecho para otra alguna; dio el Capitan noticia al bagé de ello y fue por el mandado que los bolviese a la Laguna donde los havia sacado, con pena de muerte que los pusiese en cabeza de ello; estos gentiles que digo se llaman Urus, la laguna donde fueron hallados, es la de Poris donde el presente estan usando su antiguo oficio, que es burlar y comer; algunos han echo Publicacion, sobre a burlar y es cosa maravillosa lo que de estos Indios se dice que burlan a los ganaderos que allí residen un dia de puercos y en una noche amanesce, lo que si bastara no lo dijeran no se podria creer, yo he averiguado bien Indios burlar dos cantaros de la tierra y comerlos en dos dias sin hallarles cosa que podiese aprovechar: asi trabajan los unos, havia V. E. gran servicio a Dios, Sat. sacandolos de allí para que ellos, y sus descendientes fuesen Christianos dandoles una manera de vivienda porque a la mala cosa no hay escriptura que bien la pinte.

(*Documento dactilografiado por la Dra. Raúl Porras Barrenechea.*)

Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Carabaya que corre en cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568.

Ce document des Archives générales des Indes à Séville (A. G. I.) section *Justicia*, liasse N° 470, a été analysé par Marie Helmer dans son Premier, III, pp. 115-156, 1951.

Repartimiento general de los Indios que se an de ocupar en la labor de las Minas y servicio de los ordenes labor y beneficio de la Villa Imperial de Potosi, con las

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ORDENANZAS QUE EN ELLO SE AN DE QUEDAR, FECHAS POR EL ESCMO. SENOR DON FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO, VIRREY QUE FUE DE ESTOS REINOS (Lima, 16 Août 1578).

Ce texte donne deux recensements successifs, l'un en 1578, l'autre en 1596.

Pour le travail à Potosi deux mitayos Uros équivalaient à un mitayo aymara, d'où l'indication du nombre de Uros dans le recensement de la population de 16 provinces soumises à la *mita*.

	1578		1596
Uros :	2.558	à Paria (Poopo)	3.038
	67	» *Puno*	62
	400	» Quillagas y Asanaquis	400
	581	» Aullagas y Uruquillas	581
	53	» Urinoca	53
	266	» Andamarca y Colquemarca (Carangas)	266
	100	» Totora	100
	602	» Chuquicota y Sanaya	602
	147	» Machaca la chica	147
	61	» Machaca la grande	161
	136	» Viacha	?
	206	» Tinguanaco	?
	632	» Guaki	632
	58	» Copacabana	88
	380	» Puno	380
	245	» Paucarcolla	240
	419	» Capachica	515
	242	» Moho y Conima	141
	350	» Carabuco	—
	162	» Guaicho	—
	442	» Hachacache	442
	24	» Guarina	?
	58	» Caracoto	108
	120	» Juliaca	120
	59	» Nicasio	159
	79	» Ayaivi y Chuchero	49
	230	» Lampa de Esquivel	231
	23	» Lampa de Xare	25
	141	» Canavilla	141
	210	» Cavana	216
	210	» Atuncolla	210
	276	» Mañasso	276
	75	» Horuro	75
	149	» Arapa	149
	589	» Samany Susi	589
	275	» Taraco	265
	91	» Azangaro	91
	46	» Caxiguana	46
	128	» Chupa	128

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94 à Achaya	98
— » Carauco	44
— » Numa	22
— » Coata	448

(*Document communiqué par* Mlle Marie HELMER.)

MACHUCA (JUAN LOZANO)

... En la ensenada de Atacama, ques donde esta el puerto (Cobija) hay cuatrocientos indios pescadores uros... Asimismo en el termino y contorno de Tarapaca, ques desde el puerto de Pisagua e Hique-Hique donde hay indios uros pescadores hasta el puerto de Loa, hay muchas minas... El repartimiento de los herederos de Lucas Martin Begaso es juridicción de la ciudad de Arequipa y tendrá como dos mil indios aymaras y mas de mil indios uros pescadores en el dicho distrito...

(*Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, II, Apendices, pp. XXV, XXVI y XXVII.)

De mas de los cuatro mil indios Aimaraes de Lipez habia en este repartimiento otros mil indios uros, gente pobre que ni siembran ni cogen y se sustentan de caza de guanacos y vicuñas y de pescado y de raices que hay en cienagas, que llaman coroma ; y con esto se hacen pobres los cuatro mil indios aimaraes, porque siendo gente rica de ganado de la tierra y que cogen y siembran y tienen contrataciones y rescates en esta villa de Potosi, Tarapaca y Atacama, y que funden muchos metales que sacan de las minas se escusan de pagar tributos a S. M. a titulo de pobres, como los mil indios uros que lo son verdaderamente...

(*Ibidem*, Apendice 3.)

ARCHIVES DE JUJUY.

El Dr. Ernesto Sourrouille, en los estudios historicos practicados en los archivos de Jujuy y en documentos privados (testamentos, donaciones, etc.) me dijo, que en la vertiente occidental del rio Orosmayo, en el departamento de Santa Catalina, al sud del cerro Esmoraca, vivia une tribu de indios Uros, de las mismas que partian limites con las atacamas...

(Juan Alfonso CARRIZO, *Cancionero popular de Jujuy*, Pag. XV, Tucuman 1935.)

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CALANCHA (P. ANTONIO DE LA)

Dans sa *Cronica moralizada* de l'ordre de Saint-Augustin, le P. de la Calancha parle longuement et en divers passages des Urus.

A la Provincia de Paria que nos dió el ilustre bienechor Lorenço de Aldana... ; Los más indios que la abitan son Indios Uros, gente la mas barbara del Perú, obcena i renegrida ; comen la carne cruda, abitavan en Lagos, i solo se inclinan a lagunas. Los principales pueblos desta Provincia son Paria o Challacollo...

(Tome I, p. 353.)

Este pueblo (de Challacollo) tenia dos mil i quatrocientos indios tributarios que doctrinava nuestra Orden... Estos son indios Uros barbaros, sin policia, renegridos, sin limpieça, enemigos de la comunicación y nada afectos al culto de nuestra fe ; tienen por sustento i grangeria pescar en la laguna de Paria... los que abitan en tierra, es en sepulturas debajo de la tierra por el frio, i quando viven en la laguna, son sus casas sobre barbacoas i éneas... los indios Uros nacen, se crian i viven en esta laguna sobre el agua en la enea, que aca llaman totorales, son muy espesos, y deste genero de juncos livianos, aqui abitan sinmas ropa ni cubierta (con ser tierra muy fria) que unas esteras desta enea... Su lengua es la mas oscura, corta i barbara de quantas tiene el Perú toda guttural, y asi no se puede escribir sin gran confusión. Ay otro pueblo que es llamado Capinota i es Priorato con un anejo llamado Charamoco de indios Uros, el qual doctrina el Religioso doctrinante de Itapaya, por estar una legua uno del otro... Ay otro pueblo quatro leguas leste oeste de Challacollo llamado Toledo cuyos indios son lustrosos, abiles, politicos..., vinieron estos indios de otras Provincias i fundólos alli el Inga, para que fuesen maestros de aquellos Uros, pero no pudo (como ni los religiosos an podido) aprovechar jabon para blanquear a un Etiope : algo menos barbaros estan oy, pero siempre sin policia...

... Quantas veces an entrado nuestros religiosos, con peligro de la vida (no por la ondura del agua, sino por lo espeso de la totora) a sacar Indios de mas de treynta y quarenta años sin bautismo, que nunca salieron a poblado... Sus idolatrias son adorar al sol i a esta laguna... Son inclinados a urtar... son lobos porque se comen una oveja cruda i traen la uña del dedo pulgar de la mano derecha tan larga y tan afilada,

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que descuellan una sin necesitar de cuchillo... Años a que oia yo decir en aquella Provincia por refran : De indio Uro, ningun ombre esta seguro...

(*Ibid.*, I, 650-651.)

Dans le second tome, La Calancha décrit les Uros du Titicaca sous le nom de *Ochozumas*. Ces Indiens avaient leur quartier général dans les totorales du Desaguadero et dans l'îlot de Simillake.

...Son señores deste totoral, le tienen todo contaminado, i echos calles, y ocultas sendas por todo el, i arman peligrosissimas celadas a los que ignorando el puesto, se atreven a entrar en el totoral, como despues veremos. Estos Indios Ochozumas, con la seguridad de la guarida se an atrevido en años atras azer grandes insolencias, robando, i talando los pueblos i estancias comarcanas, urtando ganado, ropa i lo demas que podían aver a las manos. Estos ultimos meses, a sido grande su demasia aziendo entradas muy a lo claro i descubierto en el pueblo de Guaqui, cabeza del Corregimiento de los Pacages, de suerte que tenian aterrorizada la tierra, i mal seguro el camino Real destos Reynos...

Presque tout ce livre premier du chapitre XVII est consacré à la grande révolte de ces Indiens, conduits par des métis ou des bandits espagnols, comme leur dernier chef un certain... Don Pedro Laine ombre feroz i atrevido, este es ijo del Contador Ansa, que esta entre ellos tenido por un grande echizero...

(*Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustin en el Perú*, Lima 1653. Tome II, Cap. XVII, libro primero.)

DILIGENCIAS E INFORMACIONES HECHAS PARA SACAR DE LA ISLA DEL CHORO Y DEL PARAJE DE VILLIVILLI EN EL LAGO POOPO A LOS INDIOS SUS HABITANTES, CONSIDERADOS COMO INFIELES Y PERNICIOSOS.

Information faite par le Général Don Francisco García Picado, corregidor et Justicia Mayor de Oruro, sur la demande du duc de La Palata, Vice-roi du Pérou, sur l'existence d'Indiens sauvages dans la Lagune de Paria.

Entre les témoins dont la déposition fut recueillie par les Commissaires figure... el Padre Lector Fray Nicolas de Loayza, religioso de la Orden de Nuestro Padre San Augustin... de Chacacollo, pueblo principal del corregimiento de la provín-

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cia de Paria y de sus indios originarios llamados urus, y de algunos forasteros que existen en dicho pueblo y sus distritos... persona que por discurso de treinta y cinco años los conoce y tiene mas que suficiente experiencia... enseñandoles la doctrina cristiana en tres lenguas : la general, la aimara y la suya materna que llaman la ura...

(Document publié partiellement dans la *Revista del Instituto de Sociología Boliviana* à Sucre, par Gunnar Mendoza L. sous le titre : *Posición geografica de los indios Urus en el Lago Poopo* : III, N° 3, 50-65, 1943-44. Ce document nous a été communiqué par le Dr Guillermo Francovich, à cette époque Recteur de l'Université de Sucre.)

LUDOVICO BERTONIO

Los (vocablos) que aqui se ponen son propios Aymaraes desta provincia Lupaca... Pero no por esto deve uno juzgar, que este vocabulario servira solo a los sacerdotes y a otras personas q residen en la Provincia de Chucuyto, y entre indios Lupacas, porq sin duda ninguna doquiera que se hable la lengua Aymara, y en toda la nación de Indios Aymaraes... porq la nación Aymara aunq estendida en varias y diversas Provincias cõforma mucho en el lẽguaje, y modos de hablar generales y assi el q sabe biẽ esta lẽgua Lupaca sin dificultad entendera a los indios de otras Provincias... ecepto algunos vocablos particulares, bien pocos, como deximos.

... Cierto es que en esta nación Aymara entre pequeños y grandes ay mas de mil pueblos o poco menos. Contemos agora quantos son los Predicadores que sabiendo bien esta lẽgua, con la claridad y suficiencia que lo requiere, enseñen la doctrina Evangelica. No dixera mal si afirmara que apenas llegan a veynte....

(*Vocabulario de la Lengua aymara*... Impreso en la casa de la Compañía de Iesus de Juli, Pueblo de la Provincia de Chucuito. Por Francisco del Canto, 1612 ; Préface A^1 et A^3.)

LIZARRAGA

... Esta provincia (Omasuyo) es muy poblada, y por la mayor parte son Puquinas ; son recios de ganado de la tierra, y participan de mas maiz e trigo que los de la otra parte, por

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tener sobre mano izquierda la provincia de Larecaja, abundante de lo uno y de lo otro...

(*Descripción colonial*. Biblioteca Argentina XIII-XIV, Buenos-Aires, 1916, I, 227.)

CONSTITUCIONES SINODALES DEL OBISPADO DEL CUZCO, EXPEDIDAS EL 29 DE SETIEMBRE DE 1591, POR EL ILLMO SR. D. FR. GREGORIO DE MONTALVO.

... Porque en muchos pueblos de este nuestro Obispado generalmente todas las Indias, o las mas y algunos indios no entienden la lengua quechua sino la aymara, o puquina y a esta causa ni no saben los misterios de nuestra Fe, ni se confiesan en toda la vida, ni aun a hora de la muerte, para cuyo remedio mandamos que todos los Curas de Indios, conforme a lo mandado en el Concilio tercero, confiesen en la lengua propia de su curato, quechua, aymara o puquina, y porque esta es tan varia y diferente en cada pueblo donde se habla la dicha lengua, dentro de un año que fueren proveidos en los dichos curatos, haran con Indios ladinos un Confesionario y Cathecismo breve con que confiesen e instruyan las tales personas, lo cual harán so pena de veinte pesos por la primera vez, y doblados por la segunda, apercibiendoles que se procederá hasta privarlos de su curato, si en esto fueren negligentes...

ACTE DE L'ÉVÊQUE DE CUZCO, D. ANTONIO DE LA RAYA, chargeant le 12 mars 1549 les Jésuites d'examiner les ecclésiastiques candidats à des cures d'Indiens :

... Porque asi mismo es necesario que las dichas lenguas aymara y puquina se lean en esta ciudad, por hablarse en muchas partes de este obispado y hacerse grandes faltas en la administración de los santos sacramentos, por no saberlas los curas...

CONSTITUCIONES SINODALES DEL OBISPADO DE AREQUIPA HECHAS Y ORDENADAS POR EL ILLMO. Y RVDO. SENOR D. PEDRO DE VILLAGOMEZ, OBISPO DE LA SANTA IGLESIA DE AREQUIPA, EN EL PRIMERO SYNODO QUE SE CELÉBRÓ EN DICHO OBISPADO QUE FUE POR EL ANO DE 1638.

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... Hagase cathecismo en la lengua puquina. Atento que en algunas doctrinas del Obispado se habla la lengua puquina, por tanto, conformandonos con lo dispuesto por derecho y en el Concilio Provincial, aviendonos ynformado de quien save mexor esta lengua, cometemos la traducción e ynterpretación del Cathecismo, que el dicho Concilio mandó publicar en las dichas dos primeras lenguas (quechua et aymara), al Dr. D. Alvaro Mogrovexo Cura de la Doctrina de los Zarumos y al Dr. Miguel de Arana, cura de la Doctrina de Habaya y Locumba, para que le pongan en la lengua puquina...

(*Libro I, f. 17. Cap. V.*)

... en el Cathecismo del Concilio Limense no se pusieron Oraciones para adorar al Santisimo Sacramento y para que los Indios las aprendan, se mandan poner aqui, en las dos lenguas y que se traduzcan tambien a la Puquina, o sea una para la elevación de la Hostia y otra del Caliz...

(*Manuscriptos peruanos en las bibliotecas del extranjero*, publicados por RUBEN VARGAS UGARTE, 1935. Tome I, pp. 270-71.)

RELACIÓN DE LA PROVINCIA DE LOS PACAJES

... y cuando los Incas vinieron conquistando esta Provincia de los Pacaxes hicieron salir a estos indios Uros de junto al agua, y les hicieron vivir con los aymaraes y los enseñaron a vivir y cultivar la tierra, y los mandaron que pagasen de tributo pescado y hiciesen petacas de paja. Por ser gente muy tosca, no les dieron orden como habian de adorar al sol y servirle ; y con la comunicación que han tenido con los indios serranos han venido a hablar la lengua aymara y casi han dejado su lengua, que era puquina...

(*Relaciones geograficas de Indias*, Madrid, 1881-1897, t. II, p. 55.)

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BULLETIN 143

HANDBOOK
OF
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 2
THE ANDEAN CIVILIZATIONS

Prepared in Cooperation With the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation

[title page]

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THE URU-CHIPAYA

By Weston La Barre

THE URU

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Uru* (*Uro, Huno, Ochomazo, Ochozuma, Uchumi, Kjotsuni, Butina, Pukina, Puquina, Urocolla, Uroquilla, Yuracare* (not to be confused with eastern Bolivian *Yuracare*), *Kiuchacatati* or "Big-livered People," and *Chaeumankkeri* or "Water-greens Eaters," the last two opprobrious *Aymara* nicknames, inhabit the region of Lake Titicaca and some of the watercourses of the inter-Andean Plateau (map 1, *No. 6;* map 4). "Uro" or "uru" seems to have been used commonly in the 17th century to mean "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. It is now the most common name of these people. They call their language *Puquina.* 101

The *Uru* language has no connection with either *Quechua* or *Aymara.* It is probably the same, however, as the *Puquina* of the 17th century (Oré, 1607), although it is not the same as the *Puquina-Uro* of De la Grasserie (1894). The *Puquina* spoken by the Desaguadero *Uru* is closely related to the *Chipaya* of Lake Poopó, and Métraux (1936 a) therefore established an *Uro-Chipaya* family. Rivet's classification of *Uru* as *Arawakan* has not been widely accepted by linguists. We consider *Uro-Chipaya* to be an independent linguistic family. 197

Uru was called a "lengua general" of Perú by 16th-century writers (the "Relaciones geográficas de Indias" in 1582 calls it "one of the three general languages of the kingdom"), although its known distribution at a later date was confined to a few people scattered on the islands of Lake Titicaca, in the Río Desaguadero swamps, and near Lake Poopó. Vázquez de Espinosa (1942) found *Puquina* spoken in Sucre and *Uru* settlements in the Cochabamba Valley. *Uru* evidently once had a much wider distribution than in recent times. 197 175

The Highland *Uru* all now speak both *Aymara* and *Uru,* and a few know a little Spanish. 191

The *Uru* of the coast of Tarapacá and Tacna are similar culturally to the *Chango* and are sometimes even called *Chango.* They are said to be descendants of the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca sent as colonists (mitimaes) in *Inca* times. But, as all now speak Spanish and no trace 101 [197]

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of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chearaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

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Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 115, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (pana-solma) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of varicolored llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden floats for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of disguises has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

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224 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

233 **Herding.**—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the
231 swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

241 **Farming.**—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 **Food preparation.**—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then
[262] toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

273 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

276 Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.
171

HOUSES

342 Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed
[284] vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over
[354] the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and
[392] makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The
[184] Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

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DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Anciently, it is said, the *Uru* went entirely nude, which is quite incredible in view of the bitterly cold winters in this region. The essential male costume is like the pre-Columbian *Chipaya* uncu—a sleeveless, sacklike garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This is woven of llama yarn on a simple bar loom staked in the ground. Recently, most *Uru* males have adopted trousers of the *Aymara* style: short, with a slit at the heel, and tailored of native homespun after a Colonial pattern. The slit permits the trousers to be rolled up more easily when a man fishes from a balsa or wades in shallow water. Leather sandals are sometimes worn when traveling, but people usually go barefoot. A knit wool cap, with *Aymara*-style earflaps, is sometimes topped with a crude, *Aymara*-manufactured felt hat. A belt is sometimes worn, and occasionally a thick woolen poncho. Caps woven of bird feathers were known in ancient days.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts, girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at the top over each shoulder with a large-headed copper pin (tupu). When traveling in cold weather, the women wear woven woolen wimples over the head under the hat.

Women part their hair in the middle and wear it in two braids tied behind the back with vicuña-wool filets; only a few still wear the ancient style "Titicaca braids"—countless small braidlets all over the head. Women wash their hair in fermented human urine. *Uru* men wear their hair short in quasi-European fashion or in an all-around tropical bang.

BOATS

The *Uru* are famous balsa builders (pl. 115, *bottom*). Their craft, though actually rafts made of totora reeds, are shaped like boats and are highly navigable even in narrow, shallow swampways. The reeds are cut with knives attached to poles, then, after drying, are stacked in shocks like corn. Nearly every able-bodied *Uru* male has quantities of this material in all stages of preparation for balsas. During spare moments in their houses, they are continually braiding ichu grass into tough ropes to bind the reed bundles. The keel is formed of a long, thin, tubular bundle of reeds; and separately lashed to this keel are two thick, cigar-shaped pontoon-bundles. Each of these pontoons is built up of reeds so arranged as to be very thick in the middle of the boat and to have upturned points at each end. An acute-angled wooden tool with a groove inside one arm is used to tighten the binding. To keep out small waves, gunwales consisting of much thinner bundles of totora are lashed to the upper outside

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edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 15 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skillful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

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metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade. 325 [439]

Pottery.—Although not now made at Ancoaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles. 323

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone. 324

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas. 322 [439]

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara:* the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipia, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkilu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-choklo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charanga. 534 [177] [237]

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes. 439

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas. 462

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into ayllus, named Titicana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Inca* anan-saya), and xanacha (*Inca* mana-saya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like 178 621 616 601

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601 171 the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

585 Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water 591 of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) 587 states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women 588 during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

622 If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

791 The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also 796 a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they 791 believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking 780 omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their 782 deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

796 The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), 782 sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood 777 near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

538 171 Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

184 197 The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Where- 433 as the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

231 262 The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

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342
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Chipaya
[285]
[286]

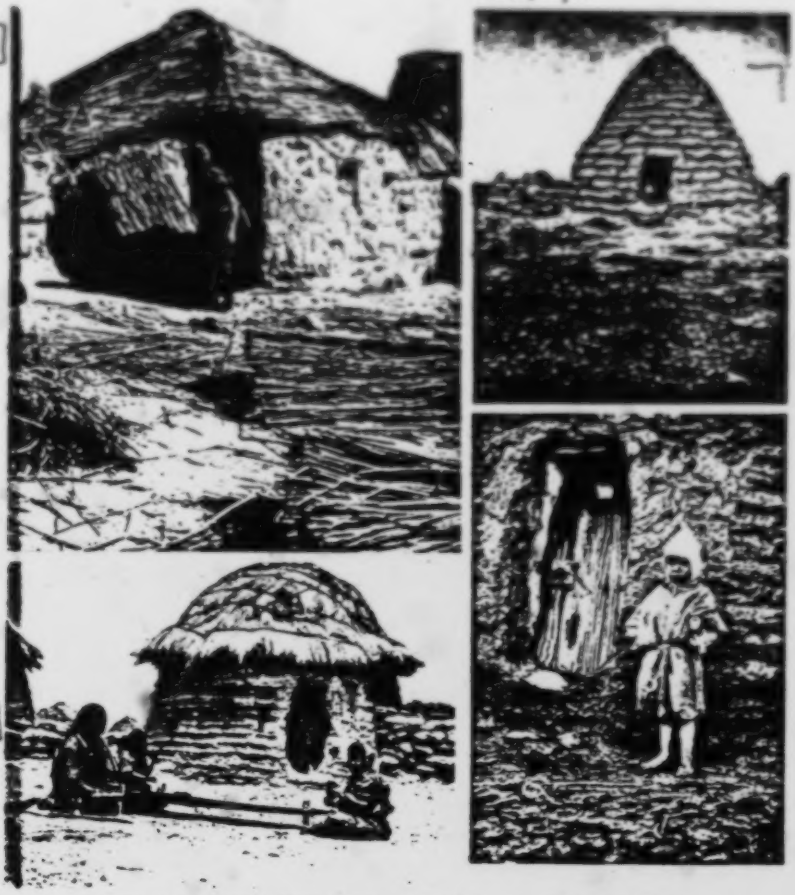

PLATE 113.—**Uru and Chipaya houses.** *Top (left)*: *Uru* mat-covered house. *Top (right)*: *Chipaya* sod house. *Bottom (left)*: *Uru* house. Weavers in foreground. *Bottom (right)*: Door of a *Chipaya* sod house. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-A]

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Chipaya

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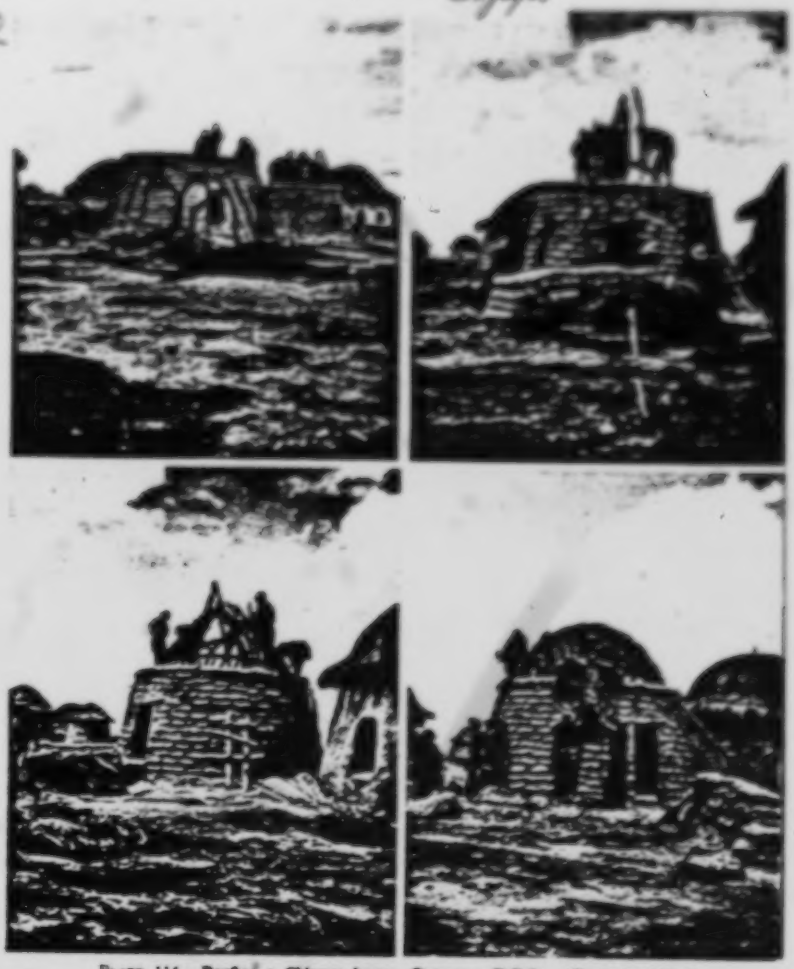

PLATE 114.—Roofing a Chipaya house, Carangas, Bolivia. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-B]

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PLATE 115.—**Uru fishing and gathering totora reeds.** *Top:* Man putting down a tripod fish net. *Bottom:* Towing bundles of reed with a balsa. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P 582-C]

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Chipaya

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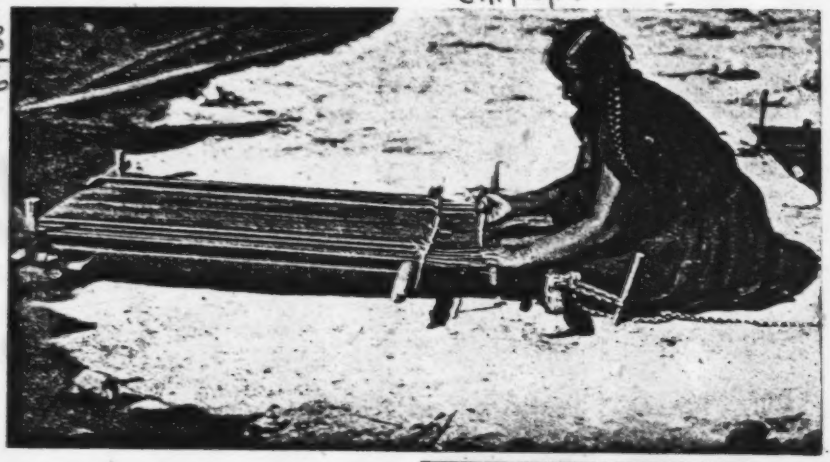
516



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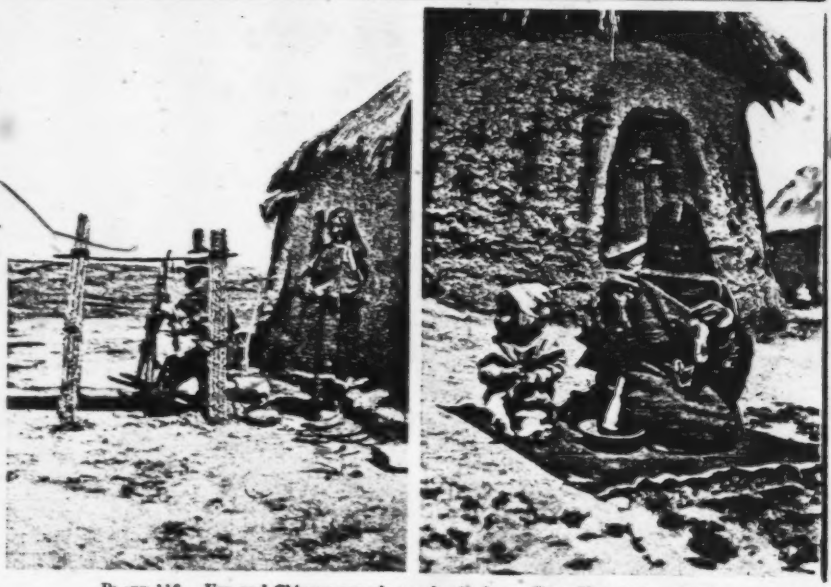

PLATE 116.—**Uru and Chipaya weaving and spinning.** *Top: Uru* woman working at native loom. *Bottom (left): Chipaya* man at upright loom. *Bottom (right): Chipaya* woman spinning. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-D]

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Chipaya

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[285]

291
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[227]

PLATE 117.—**Uru and Chipaya Indians.** *Top* (*left*): *Uru* man making a mat. *Top* (*right*): *Chipaya* man. *Bottom* (*left*): *Uru* man holding a fishing net. *Bottom* (*right*): *Uru* man. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-E]

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Chipaya
211
308
[42]

[342]

PLATE 118.—**Chipaya women.** (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-F]

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Chipaya

778
782

PLATE 119.—Chipaya sacrificial rites.

[P. 582-G]

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Chipaya

172 ←

252
415 →

291

[534] ←

[524] →

PLATE 120.—**Chipaya country and Chipaya Indians.** *Top (left):* Chullpa, or ancient burial tower. *Top (right):* Woman shelling with feet. *Bottom (left):* Dancer. *Bottom (right):* Playing a game. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-H]

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Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The maλku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own maλku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant.

The cult of the maλku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "sevarios," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the maλku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candies are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca.1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
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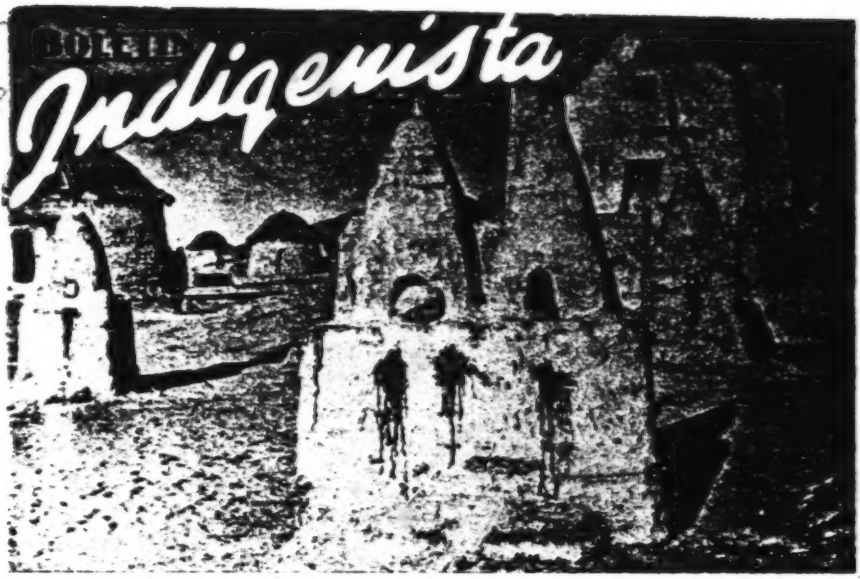
Indigenista



Población Chipaya del Altiplano boliviano.—*Foto Instituto Lingüístico de Verano de Bolivia.*

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[title page]

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca.1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISITA A LOS CHIPAYAS

Recientemente han convivido con los chipayas de la aldea de Santa Ana, grupo muy poco conocido del Cantón Sabaya de la Provincia Carangas, en el Departamento de Oruro, Bolivia, los profesores Jorge Ruiz y Augusto Roca, de quienes son las palabras que siguen:

"Los Chipayas fueron acorralados por los aymara-kolla en las desérticas salinas del suroeste del Altiplano. No obstante esto, se mantienen relativamente vigorosos y lejos de ser extinguidos. Se puede calcular que quedan unas mil personas, disponiendo de una extensión de territorio muy limitado en proporción al número de sus componentes. Al igual que sus hermanos, los urus, parece que en sus orígenes tuvieron medios de vida esencialmente lacustres, pero al ser arrojados a la región de los desiertos y de los pantanos salados, que en el transcurso de las épocas geológicas se secaron, se convirtieron en pueblo pastoril y agrícola ajustando sus medios de vida en forma asombrosa, a las condiciones adversas del territorio en el cual se ven obligados a vivir.

Los pocos viajeros quienes hayan tenido la suerte de arribar a la aldea de Santa Ana de Chipaya, estarán de acuerdo en que la impresión que causa es de un *chullperío* viviente.[1] El pueblo se presenta dividido en dos secciones llamadas *sayas* con sus casas circulares desparramadas en desorden y todas con la puerta en dirección al este. El único elemento extraño que se nota, es su pequeña iglesia con torre separada de la nave principal y que presenta las mismas formas arquitectónicas de la torre de la iglesia de Sabaya.

La primera impresión que uno recibe de los habitantes es la pureza de sus vestidos que no presentan ninguna influencia extraña a ellos, especialmente se nota entre las mujeres, quienes en su totalidad presentan su característico peinado compuesto de muchas trenzas finas y los hombres con el tocado clásico de la *ira,* camisa sin mangas que les llega a la cintura, tejida de lana, a rayas. Esta impresión hace suponer poca mezcla con sus vecinos aymaras aunque, evidentemente, ha habido

[1] *Chullpa*: Monumento funerario pre-incaico del Perú y Bolivia.

[Spanish text continues on p. 216]

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is d i v i d e d into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleevless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

mezcla con los kollas, puesto que se encuentran tipos de rasgos característicos de este grupo.

Aparte de sus actividades agrícolas y pastoriles, el rasgo más sobresaliente de este pueblo, es su religión que, si bien básicamente no difiere mucho de las creencias y ritos aymaras, se ha conservado en estado más puro. Su idolatría se caracteriza por la veneración y deidifi-

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Mujer Indígena Chipaya.

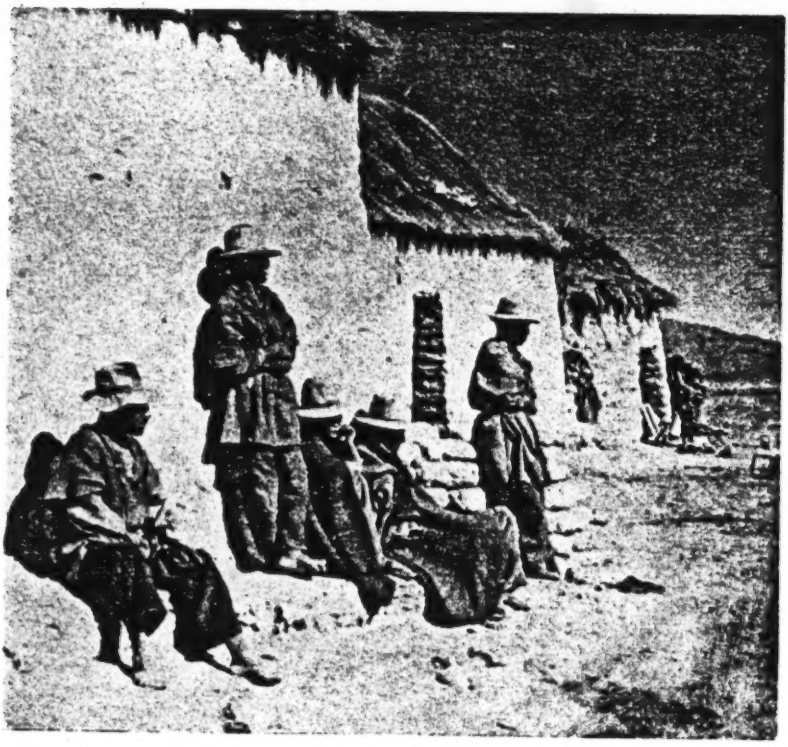
cación principalmente de los accidentes geográficos como son las montañas, los ríos, las piedras, etc. Y aún parece haberlos impresionado la torre de la iglesia, a la que denominan *Mallku Mayor* en el pueblo. Asimismo, desparramados en la población y sus alrededores, se encuentran pequeñas torrecillas o adoratorios llamados también *Mallkus,* que representan indistintamente, demonios y santos de la Iglesia.

Habiendo tenido el privilegio de convivir durante casi un mes con los chipayas, creemos encontrarnos en la obligación de dar algunas recomendaciones a las entidades gubernamentales que corresponda, en vista de la situación real en que se encuentra este valeroso pueblo que

[Spanish TEXT continues on P. 219]

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characterstic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally



Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on P. 219]

debe ser conservado por su valor antropológico, y sobre todo, por su valor humano:

1.—La devolución de las extensiones de terrenos de pastoreo de que fueron despojados por las comunidades aymaras vecinas.

2.—Que se realicen periódicas visitas de personal médico sanitario para atender las necesidades mínimas de vacunación, asistencia a enfermos y servicios preventivos.

3.—Provisión de material didáctico para ayudar al funcionamiento de la escuela.

4.—Provisión de herramientas agrícolas, adiestramiento básico en prácticas mejoradas de agricultura y ganadería.

5.—La realización de un estudio científico comparativo con el anteriormente hecho por Métraux, hace unos treinta años, y extensivo a las comunidades aymaras vecinas para determinar el grado de influencia que haya tenido un pueblo sobre el otro. Asimismo, estudiar detenidamente las demás ramas etnográficas y folklóricas de los Chipayas.

6.—Ejecutar un plan de excavaciones arqueológicas, en el lugar denominado Capilla Perdida, a cinco kilómetros al noroeste del pueblo de Santa Ana de Chipaya, que parece ser la antigua residencia del pueblo chipaya, según ellos, en la época en que todavía eran *chullpas*.

7.—Establecer contacto, con fines de estudio, con el grupo de los indios Morato al parecer un sub-grupo de la tribu chipava, que actualmente, en reducido número, lleva una vida nómada en los territorios al sudoeste de los chipayas y que hablan una lengua distinta".

(De *Educación Boliviana,* Vol. 5, Núm. 1, pp. 31-33)

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of this gallant village which should be preserved because of its anthropological value and, above all, for its human value:

1.—Return of the extensions of pasture land of which the villagers were deprived by the neighboring Aymara communities.

2.—Periodic visits of medical and sanitary personnel in order to care for the minimal necessities of vaccination, care of the sick and preventative services.

3.—Teaching material to aid in operation of the school.

4.—Agricultural tools and basic training in improved practices of agriculture and animal husbandry.

5.—Realization of a scientific study comparable to that done by Métraux thirty years ago, to be extended to the neighboring Aymara communities in order to determine the degree of influence which one town has had upon the other. Likewise, a detailed study of the remaining branches of ethnography and folklore of the Chipayas.

6.—A plan of archeological excavations on the site called Los Chapel five kilometers to the north-west of the town of Santa Ana de Chipaya, which appears to be the ancient residence of the Chipaya people, according to their own account, during the period in which they were still *chullpas*.

7.—The establishment of contact, for study purposes, with the Morato Indian group, apparently a sub-group of the Chipaya tribe, which at the present time, in reduced numbers, carries on a nomadic life in the territory to the south-west of the Chipaya and whose members speak a distinct language".

(From *Educación Boliviana*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 31-33).

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7:Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

Américas

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Cover

Valdivia, Chile, street after the earthquake (see page 3)

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MEMO FROM THE EDITORS

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● While the tragic story of the earthquake and tidal wave damage in Chile moved the world to offer immediate relief, the country began to plan a long-range program of reconstruction and rehabilitation. A comprehensive report on what's happening on this score is presented in "To Rebuild Chile," by AMÉRICA's editor George C. Compton, on page 3.

● "Land for the Farmer" (page 9), by João Gonçalves de Souza, Director of the OAS Program of Technical Cooperation, points up the conditions in Latin America that make agrarian reform urgent, and gives an up-to-date summary of what has been done in this regard. Dr. Gonçalves de Souza, who is also Director of the Pan American Union Department of Technical Cooperation, is an expert in problems of land tenure and has written several studies on the subject, dealing especially with his native Brazil.

● In "Latin America's 'Rising Expectations'" (page 26), we print excerpts from a speech by OAS Secretary General Dr. José A. Mora. His remarks about economic development needs are especially timely as the date for the Bogotá meeting of the Committee of Twenty-one on economic cooperation draws near.

● The very old and very new appear side-by-side in this issue. "Here the Past Lives On," (page 19) by Rubén Ruiz Camacho, describes the life and customs of the Bolivian Chipaya Indians, who are living much as their ancestors did 450 years ago. The author, a Colombian journalist, has written many articles for Colombian and Bolivian papers and magazines. He is presently working as an audio-visual specialist in the Colombian Ministry of Agriculture.

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By contrast, this article is preceded by a brief commentary on the progress of "Fabulous São Paulo," written by AMÉRICAS associate editor George Meek.

● Manuel Cirerol Sansores, an archaeologist who is a native of Yucatán, México, offers his original version of the celebrated Maya legend of "The Dwarf King of Uxmal," on page 23. The author has written several books and articles on Maya themes.

● Matilde de Ortega, noted Ecuadorian writer and critic who is now with the Editorial Division of the Pan American Union, interviewed Brazilian artist Marcelo Grassmann, one of whose works is shown on the page opposite.

● Free-lance writer Reese Wolfe was born and raised in San Francisco and lived for two years in Costa Rica. During a recent four-months' trip through South America he met the postman-scientist who is described in "The Postman Who Caught Butterflies" on page 30.

● "Plowshares, Not Swords," (page 34), the story of a vocational school in an unusual setting in Costa Rica, was written by Carmen M. Montes. A Puerto Rican journalist, she is now working for the U. S. International Cooperation Administration in Nicaragua.

[Title Page]

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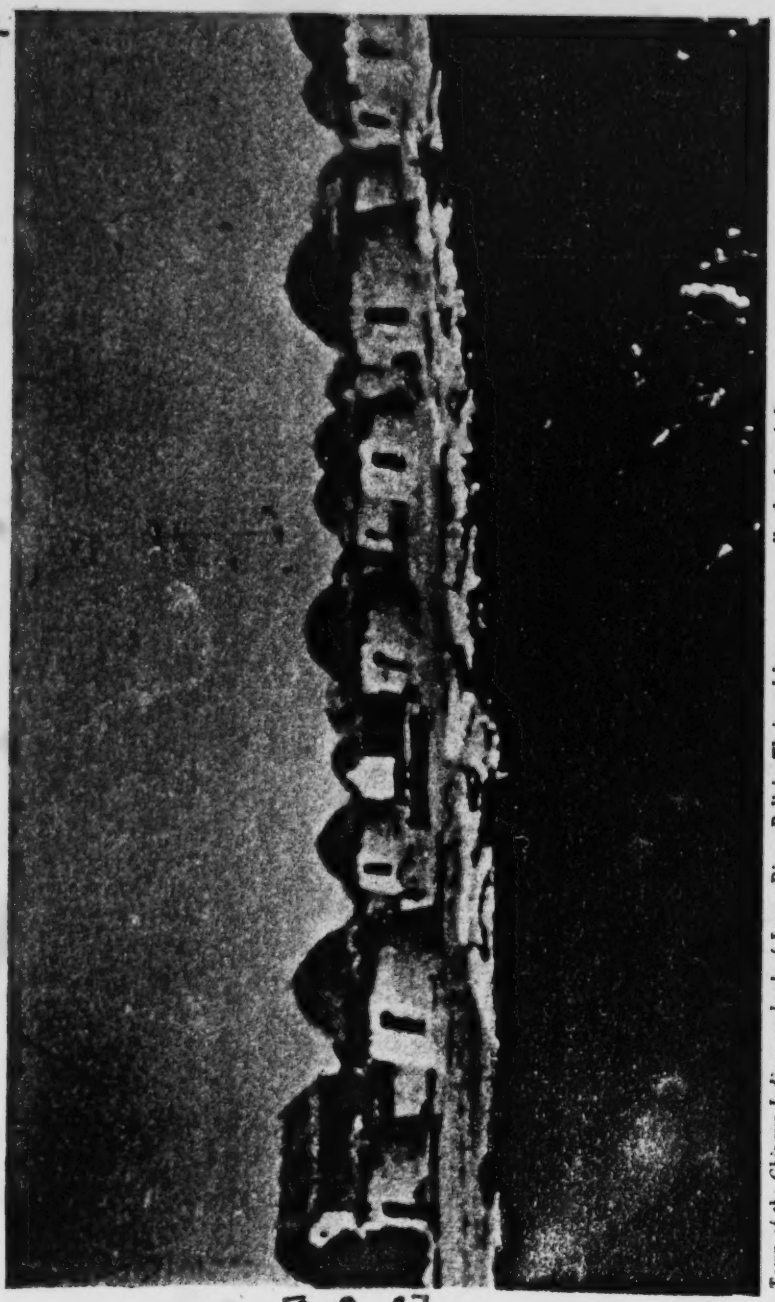

Town of the Chipaya Indians on bank of Lauca River, Bolivia. Their sod houses are usually thatch-roofed

[P. 19-A]

7:Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

[P.19-B]

Here The Past Lives On

RUBÉN RUIZ CAMACHO

020

IT MIGHT STILL BE A.D. 1500 in a remote section of Oruro Department of Bolivia today. Here is the retreat of the Chipaya Indians, the living people who can give us an idea of rural life in a distant corner of the great Inca Empire. The few hundred individuals of Santa Ana de Chipaya are the remainders of a once numerous people whose territory extended to the northern shores of Lake Titicaca. Their language, Uru-Chipaya, was called "one of the three main languages of the kingdom" by the sixteenth-century chroniclers of Peru, which included what is now Bolivia. Over the centuries the more powerful Quechuas and Aymaras have seized their lands, forcing them back into a region where life is particularly difficult. But they have made remarkable use of their harsh, ungenerous environment. In their isolation, they have retained their pre-Columbian customs more completely than any other Andean group.

And they are isolated. The modern world did not even know of their existence until it was reported by the famous Peruvianist Max Uhle toward the end of the nine-

[R19-C]

teenth century. To reach them today, you travel by train from La Paz to the city of Oruro, then by car or bus to Curaguara de Carangas. From there you must walk over a desert worthy of Siberia to the left bank of the Lauca River, where a canoe must be found for the crossing, before you go on to the village.

Little is known of Chipaya history. It has been conjectured that they may be the descendants of one of the first groups to reach the American continent. They call themselves the descendants of the *chullpas*, the ancient inhabitants of the area who, according to legend, hid themselves in reed baskets when the sun appeared for the first time.

The *chullpas* are still in the neighborhood, silent mummies resting in the square sod houses they built long ago. The word *chullpa* is also used for the burial houses. The ghost villages of *chullpas*, their doorways invariably facing east, can be seen by travelers today. Modern Indians avoid them with superstitious dread. It is claimed that the Chipayas are feared by the stronger Aymaras be-

[Text continues on p. 20-B]
[p. 19-D]

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Chipaya woman

Below: Chipaya sacrificial rites

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cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year to the various families by the head of each moiety.

to individual families by the head of each moiety. The altitude and the high salinity make the land infertile, and crops are meager. Sowing is done with a spade or sometimes a pointed stick, pushed into the earth with a strong thrust, forming a dry hole in which the seed is planted.

The people of the Andes have been master weavers for long over a thousand years. Modern Chipaya women carry on the art on looms like the ones their ancestors used, weaving the cloth for the family clothes from hand-spun llama wool. The women dress almost exactly as their ancestors did when the Spanish arrived. The basic garment is a rectangular shirt, woven in one piece with an opening left for the head. The blue sleeves that are sewn on are a modern addition. A black or gray tunic (*urku*) with a decorative border is worn over this, covering the whole body from the shoulders to the ankles. This ancient style has been slightly altered under ecclesiastical influence; now most of the women sew up the sides to form a sort of skirt. The sash is woven with black and white geometric designs. An ample mantle completes the costume. Long pins with large flattened heads are used to secure the mantle, and as ornaments in the hair. When the sun is strong, they protect themselves with an *unkuña*, a folded cloth worn on the head, exactly like the ones shown on Inca pottery.

Perhaps the most striking pre-Columbian survival is the famous "Titicaca coiffeur" still worn by many of the

women. The hair is divided into innumerable tiny braids, each decorated with a small flat piece of bone, or a miniature bronze idol exactly like those found at Tiahuanaco.

Chipaya men wear a costume similar to the *tipoy* used by various Indians in eastern Bolivia. It resembles the shirt worn by the women, but is fuller because it is square. In former times it was the only garment worn by the men; trousers are a recent addition. Colorful decorated pouches are always slung from the belt. The short striped poncho is known as the Chipaya cape. The hair is cut short all the way around and is covered with a cap similar to the *chullo* of the Aymaras; the distinction lies in the broad ear flaps worn by the Aymaras in contrast to the smaller ones and the much finer cloth of the Chipaya caps.

Every Chipaya family owns at least one drum. These instruments are common in the altiplano, but the square shape of the Chipaya drum makes it unique. It is also unusually small, measuring six to eight inches on a side and about two inches in thickness. It is covered with tanned llama skin, stretched over a wooden frame. This instrument is thought to be pre-Columbian, since its unusual construction is so dissimilar to that of the drums introduced by the Spaniards. The Chipayas make two kinds of flutes. The straight Andean flutes are generally made of bamboo, which is brought from other regions and becomes brittle very quickly in the dry climate here.

[TEXT continues on P. 22-B]

7:Ruiz Camacho J -3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

142
291
302

Features, hair style, and cap of this Chipaya mark him as different from Aymara

[P. 21-C]

7:Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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302

Woman displays braided hair style and pin, another the cloth worn on the head for protection from sun

[P.22-A]

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *malleus;* the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P. 22-B]

tains; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Mallcu Mayor*. The other *mallcus* are represented by small conical sod towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; cheeses and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *yatiri*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

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Antiquity and Survival

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VOL. I: 1-6

THE HAGUE, 1955—1956

[title page]

8:Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955
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[p. 303-A]

The People of the Lake

BY CYNTHIA FAIN

The Author of this article has just published at Arthaud's in Paris a book with some thirty illustrations, entitled Bolivie [1]). *Her husband was recently French Ambassador in La Paz for two and a half years, and she was thus enabled to acquire a thorough knowledge of the country. She is a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and a member of the Société Française des Explorateurs and of the Comité du Film Ethnographique du Musée de l'Homme. This article was written following an expedition directed by professor* Jehan Vellard *to film an Uru village near Lake Titicaca* [2]).

[Footnotes appear on p. 303-C - Ed.]

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101 Professor VELLARD from the University of San
114 Marco, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake
12 Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were
174 the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with
197 certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.
174 Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they ex-
[361] tended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro, which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru',
[177] meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the
175 Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers,
[361] DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds
[348] them in low esteem, remarking that they have no
[351] talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

[p. 303-B]

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of information: "the Incas refused to teach them the sun-worship, being content to receive a tribute of fish and baskets", and elsewhere it is said that either from a hygienic standpoint, or to occupy their leisure moments, the Incas demanded yearly a reed filled with lice. Threehundred and fifty years later, the situation has remained unchanged. Their secret mythology, which Professor VELLARD has studied, is extremely nebulous and confused. The Uru consider themselves to be the first race of pre-humans whose blood is not red. They had long legs, long heads and they never suffered from the cold or damp of the lake. There followed successive creations intermingled with cataclysms, far from the sun's rays, and a deluge; among all the peoples only the Uru, the Kaote-ake, the People of the Lake, survived, but subsequently other races appeared, the Wone-ake, who cultivated the earth and were their enemies, and who vanquished them.

The Uru appear from earliest times to have been an accursed race, an unfortunate people forever oppressed, taking refuge in a form of passive hostility. „They are brute beasts", remarks Father ACOSTA in

[113]

1) See Review in the corresponding section of this issue.
2) See also: VELLARD, JEHAN: *Dieux et Parias des Andes, Les Ourous*. Paris, Editions Emile-Paul, 1954.

[p. 303-C]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and ill-treated, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.

Professor Vellard had arranged with KENNETH WASSON, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, JORGE ROJAS and AUGUSTO ROCA, and a young professor, RICHARD ARBELOT was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14.000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one sunny winter morning.

Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brazil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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more reliable authorities have dated Tiahuanacu about the ninth century; thanks to the recent C_{14} investigations, we shall doubtless in the near future be able to obtain precise information on the subject. The site appears to date from two periods; the ponderous and primitive monoliths have little relation with the finely sculptured "Gate of the Sun".

It is conceivable that at the period of its construction Tiahuanacu was considerably nearer the lakeside than at the present day, but in many cases lakes have been known to shrink in a remarkably short space of time. The lake of Guanacache in upper Argentina, now very small, was within living memory a large navigable extense of water. There is in the church of Tiahuanacu village an early colonial painting showing a boat skirting the edge of the lake beneath willow-trees, with a wooded background; at present there is not a tree in the landscape. It is possible that the climate of the region may have suffered certain modifications. "Practically nothing is known of the Aymara Empire, except that it extended over a considerable territory as far as Northern Argentina and down to Arica on the Peruvian coast. Certain place-names are of Aymara origin and their well-shaped, finely decorated vases are found in Ecuador and as far north as Central America. The conventional geometric style of decoration gives the impression of a people organized and disciplined, but the only important relic of the past is their language, very rich in technical terms, suitable for the expression of abstract ideas, clear and concise, a language which denotes a long evolution towards a high standard of civilization" [3]). When the Incas arrived with their Quechua followers from the region of Urubamba about the eleventh century, they conquered the country, but the Aymara population remained, retaining their language, their customs and their distinctive physique.

We stop for a moment at the village church which

[113] [3]) BAUDIN, LOUIS: *L'Empire Socialiste des Incas*. Paris, 1928.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 309-A]

[p. 304-B]

Iru Itu
8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

Fig. 1: The Uru lady who by unanimous consent had taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate.

8:Pain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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Iru Ifu
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Fig. 2: The village church.

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Fig. 3: Our leading lady and her mother, who was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen.

[P. 306-A]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SP24 Uru SP24
Iru Itu

Fig. 4:
An Uru fisherman.

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[p. 306-B]

Iru Itu
8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

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Fig. 5: Uru woman sitting in front of her house.

[p. 307]

Iru Itu
8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24
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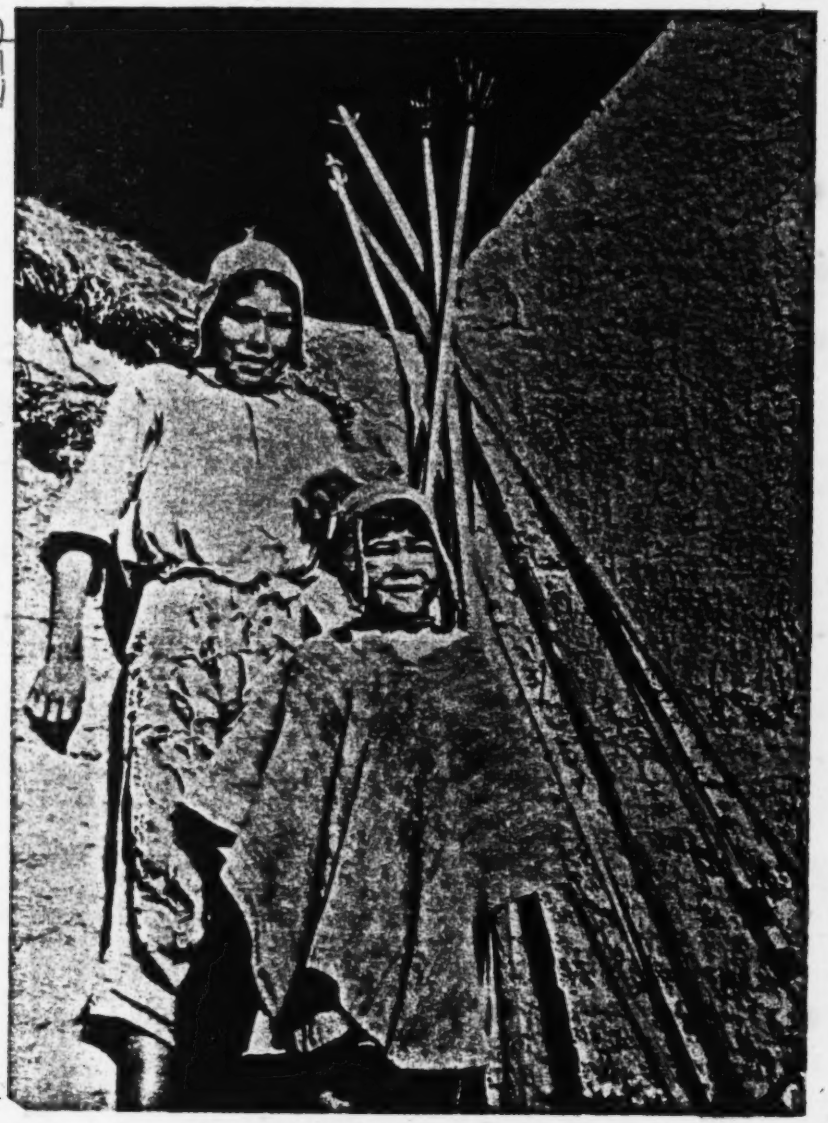

Fig. 6: Leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old.

A 346 We stop for a moment at the village, church which
[778] is protected, like our temples in the Far East, by a guardian god in the form of one of the monoliths
A 346 taken from Tiahuanacu. The early paintings in their
353 charming frames are in bad condition and some
358 much-needed repairs were proceeding on the roof; there is an embossed silver altar as we find them even in small villages in the highlands of Bolivia,
A and a rather decayed but well-proportioned gilded
782 baroque pulpit. As we were about to leave, an Indian
788 woman entered. She held in one hand her bowler hat and in the other a bottle of alcohol. Having made a deep genuflection she presented the bottle to a statue of the Virgin, crossed herself, kissed her thumb,
U and was gone.
114 We followed the road towards the lake till we came
487 to a cart-track which seemed to run parallel with the Desaguadero river as it flows out of the lake. After a short distance the track ended. The professor said: "We just go straight ahead keeping the river in sight". The ground was strewn with boulders and clumps of spiky grass, the two cars heaved and rolled; finally we disembarked the photographic material and followed on foot, the professor like the Pied Piper leading the procession. The cinema material represented a considerable weight which at that height seemed twice as heavy. For two hours we gasped and stumbled along; finally nearing the river we heard a dog barking and saw a small adobe
U house inhabited by a raucous bad-tempered woman
[361] of uncertain age who sent us to the devil. We panted
U up a little hill, and on the other side there appeared
114 a number of small adobe houses. The professor was still in full cry, striding ahead heedless of the panting group to the rear. But finally realizing that there
U is a limit to human endurance, he gave way grace-
123 fully, and we had lunch. The meal being dispatched,
622 we approached the village, where Vellard called on the mayor, and, accompanied by a number of the
U
124 inhabitants, joined us. He explained that we must go to the house of the local centenarian, where we should film her, her daughter Jesusa and her son-in-law of some eighty-odd years.

[i.e., the village of Tiahuanacu --Analyst]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

[124] [126] in-law of some eighty-odd years. While they talked the purest of pure Uru we could make a sound-recording.

[363] A badly bombed area of London is in good repair compared with the Uru streets. Finally having climbed over crumbling walls and fallen into deep holes, we arrived at the house. Seated against the wall in the sun was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen. The mayor who spoke fluent Spanish said she was well over a hundred. Had she been less deaf and more comprehensible, I am sure we should have discovered that she had waved to General Sucre during the wars of the Liberation. Seated on the low wall was the daughter, a young seventy. The mayor explained what we wanted. The centenarian mumbled, but Roca's efforts with the recorder were unsuccessful. We left her to provide local colour and material for photographs of the most amazing wrinkles. The son-in-law seemed completely inert, so turning to the daughter the mayor asked her to talk. Realizing that a unique occasion was offered her probably after a lifetime of oppression, she settled herself firmly on a solid piece of wall, and the floodgates of Uru eloquence opened. She launched forth into what was apparently her life-history, accompanied by the most extraordinary mime. Mother, who was past seeing, hearing and still less, caring, continued to mutter, the husband, when the recital became particularly spirited, would stop chewing his *coca,* lift his head and open his mouth, but no sound issued forth. Apparently the mechanism had definitely run down, and he relapsed again into a state of ruminating coma. Encouraged by the general enthusiasm, our star became more and more expansive. By now most of the inhabitants had arrived on the scene, and judging by the expression on the faces of the other ladies, she had by unanimous consent taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate. She held the audience spellbound for one and a quarter hours, when either her vocal cords relaxed or she had come momenta-

[191] [165] [126] [276]

[J. 309 - B]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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Iru Itu

rily to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Roca, not having sleepingbags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies.

Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *puna*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or great-coats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* [4]). This latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to retire to our respective quarters.

[4]) Yarema, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 310-A]

retire to our respective quarters. Before leaving, I arranged the remaining provisions, carefully propping up a thermos containing our precious hot coffee for the morning. I have but few manias, the principal one being to brush my teeth. I therefore hunted for a bottle of water and found it empty. My hygienic preocupations vastly amused my companions, and someone offered me a bottle of lager. Not wishing to lose face I accepted, declaring that there was no better mouthwash, but feeling secretly rather sick at the idea of a combination of colgate and beer. But on carrying out the experiment, I found out that there *is* no better mouthwash in existence. By now the moon was high and full, and so strong was the light that finding it impossible to sleep I switched on the engine for heat, as in spite of my vicuña-lined sleepingbag, the cold was intense. I read for an hour or so, which gave me such a headache, that I had to take aspirin with the remaining beer. The next morning Abelot and I wound our way down to the river, which was frozen at the edge. We broke the ice, drew some water and washed, much to the surprise of the villagers. Again I brushed my teeth with the last drops of beer before the astonished gaze of the people who had never seen such a strange exhibition.

Arriving at the mayor's, we found the rest of the company singularly unglamorous and, o tragedy, someone had kicked over the thermos of coffee. We ate some apples and biscuits, but our depression melted away in the brilliant sun. The sky was blue as it is only to be seen on the Roof of the World. While the professor went off to take some sound-recordings, we explored the village. There was practically no sign of animal life or cultivation. This was normal, as the Aymara peasants refuse to allow the Uru, whom they consider as pariahs, to cultivate the ground. They have a narrow strip of shore on which to build their *balsas*.

We returned by the little church. Very occasionally a priest comes over from Guaqui on the lake. There

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 313-A]

[p. 310-B]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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501

Fig. 7: The [illegible] with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of gondol[illegible].

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

Fig. 8: An Uru house made of adobe and covered with rushes.

[p. 311-B]

Iru Itu

8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

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Fig. 9: The mayor of Iru Itu, who spoke fluent Spanish.

[p. 312]

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Iru Itu

346 There
[996] were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken [231] up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony 126 path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him [396] standing motionless and followed the younger one [283] down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

824 Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered [731] from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among [501] the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the [267] stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, [203] the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

132 Fortunately in these last few years the climatic con-
137 ditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more in-
501 creased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and
396 one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long
283 braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

[p. 313-A]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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Two men work simultaneously
396 [983] [912] tightening the braids with little wooden hooks, taking care that the two parallel cylinders have exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a third man waters the cylinders, so that the reed remains [412] slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the 501 reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fisherman holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsas measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a punt-pole when circulating among the rushes. The [961] [132] life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

126 123 The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the raucous lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the previous day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards, [788] [201] and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the 126 forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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126 angle. The professor was taking chest- and head-
114 measurements and making notes. We lunched,
123 giving the remains to the children, who looked so-
252 mewhat suspiciously at cold ham, tomatoes and cake,
and hid it away in their skirts. As we reached the
car, we saw a thin column of smoke, and, sure
enough, the village cooking fire was alight. Owing
[511] to the poverty of the village, they have only enough
fuel to light about one fire every day or every two
[091] days. Two girls in scarlet skirts, little cotton jackets
which had once been pink, and dusty battered bow-
ler hats, crouching on all fours, played the part of
[415] bellows. The youngest, remarkably pretty and re-
markably dirty, ran into the house and emerged drag-
114 ging a large iron pot. My thirst for ethnology was
satiated and I felt sure that Vellard had already gone
into the question of Uru cooking, and that further

[p. 314-A]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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temptation should not be placed in his way. I drove hurriedly down to the mayor's house and told the others that I personally felt that another twenty-four hours of hunger and thirst, while the professor studied Uru cooking, was an unattractive prospect. One of the boys wanted to go to Guaqui, so we took him as guide. He directed us along quite a respectable track, which we had missed by a few hundred yards. As we passed the raucous lady's abode she hailed us with a volley of oaths. She had kept a stone in readiness, which, her anger impeding her accuracy, fell wide by a long distance. We finally joined the main highway to La Paz and almost immediately went down with a flat tire. Carlos opened the trunk and as he lifted the jack, out toppled the little Primus-stove. We looked at each other, and swiftly and silently, we pushed it back into oblivion.

[p. 314-B]

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American Anthropologist

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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO

By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *totora* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—viz., scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.[1]

Location. According to Polo, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Akaallo mayu*, some 20 km. from Ancoaqui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoaqui*, on the left[2] bank of the Desaguadero, 23 km. from Lake Titicaca *Iruito*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31'40"),

[1] The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1935 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uru-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South American ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

[2] Métraux, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 28, p. 75) is in minor error in locating this *communidad* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

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Nenacora, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Ahuallamaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiáque*, an islet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sojapata*, 5 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Uros"; it is an *estancia* where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro *haciendas* of *Chcaraque*, *Taguan*, *Tocacatoni*, *Chiconi-uma*, *Mochacomarca*, *Urcuni-uma*, *Huallaquiri*, *Calayampani*, and *Tocani* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taguan* (W.LaB.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero numbered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.[3]

In March 1938[4] the population of Ancoaqui (*koaq'o-haq'e*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *communidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *ilacata* (head of the *communidad*,? from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancoaqui and the entire region as well in 1931.[5]

This Aymára *communidad* of Ancoaqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancoaqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

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[3] José Toribio Polo, *Indios Uros del Perú y Bolivia* (Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfico de Lima, 1901, 10: 445–482), p. 446. D. M. Jimenez de la Espada (in Neveu-Lemaire, *Los lagos de los Altiplanos de la América del Sud*, *La Paz*, 1909, p. lviii) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of Chucuito." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; Chucuito, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[4] As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Aymára ethnography.

[5] Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 73. The legal term "communidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organization of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the *altiplano*). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Communidad"—as opposed to the term "finca" (= "estancia," "hacienda") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so-named.

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Environment. The Rio Desaguadero, as its name implies, is the outlet of Lake Titicaca and flows roughly south to Lake Poopo.[6] Near the lake, where uptilted strata testify to a major geological upheaval at some time in the past, the river flows relatively swiftly through the rocky gate, but on reaching a broad valley between the range of foothills west of the Tiahuanacu plain and a corresponding range in Peru, it slows down considerably. The Desaguadero endlessly bifurcates as the river reaches the Uru swamps. The giant *totora*-reeds stretch higher than a man's head, and clumps of these are alive with numerous and almost tame waterfowl of many varieties, which apparently have never been hunted other than with *bolas*. In the clear, cold water of the river, dozens of varieties of water plants can be seen waving in the current, and in and out of these can be seen darting abundant fish—although these last belong to only about four or five varieties. Near the village half-wild cattle can be heard and occasionally seen plunging through the swampy shallows to eat the succulent white roots of the *totora* (the Uru have scant mainland pasturage for cattle or llamas). In the mountains back of their lands are pumas and vicuñas, but nearby there are only *viscachas* (a bushy-tailed, rabbit-eared rodent of the chinchilla family), the *altiplano* fox (Aymará *q'amaq'e*), and the domesticated guinea-pig.

The stony, dry soil at this altitude, when uncultivated, bears only *t'ola*, a kind of greasebrush used as a fuel, as is also *yareta*, a low, gray-green, semisubterranean mass suggesting a large, woody, resinous cauliflower; and a few small-flowered herbs. The altitude of the Uru country is about 12,000 feet, hence, though it is not far south of the Equator, the air is cold and rare. The rainy season, from late November to early March, comprises the summer. Although the middle of the day can be more than uncomfortably warm

[6] The best way to reach the Uru is to proceed northwest from Guaqui, on Lake Titicaca, by land over a small range of mountains or by water on the Lake, to the little village of Desaguadero, which straddles the river of that name at its head, being thus in both Peruvian and Bolivian territory. *Balsas* are the only means of transportation on the river, and it is imperative to secure experienced rivermen as guides through the elaborate waterways of the swamps in the middle Desaguadero. Storms on the river and the temporary loss of a baggage-*balsa* in the swamp made it for me, my one half-breed and two native companions, a two-day trip, though it should normally be made in one long day's travel. Instead of boating laboriously upstream on the return trip to the Lake, one may go by land cross-country north of Jesus de Machaca. The cold, dry winds from the mountains in this region speedily entail the minor inconvenience of chapped and bleeding lips, and in certain seasons it is a nuisance to find in travelling that rivers on which one had been depending for drinking water have dried up. Weapons, with which I stupidly neglected to provide myself, are probably more nearly necessary in this region than elsewhere in the *altiplano*. Bandelier noted cannibalism near Sajama in 1898, and according to Bolivian authorities, the flesh of murdered whites was so employed during native uprisings as late as 1923 in this Jesus de Machaca region.

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in summer when the sun is shining, the temperature in this relatively dry region invariably falls quite low in the cold nights, necessitating a sleeping-bag and heavy blankets. Winters are bitterly cold: this period lasts from June to November, the "dry season." Morning mists are common, and electrical storms are frequent in summer, as is hail, but the winter snows are comparatively light.

Linguistic Identification. The Uru have been the source of a long and intricate scholarly debate, which is by no means adequately settled yet. In 1607 the missionary Geronimo de Ore published in Naples a famous, but rare book, his *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum*. This contains about thirty pages in the "Puquina" tongue, with translations into Aymará, Quechua, Spanish, and Latin. The only specimen of this language in modern works was the Paternoster from Ore printed by Hervas, until Brinton published extracts from Ore's Puquina rendering, and the numerals from one to ten. On the basis of the Paternoster alone, Hervas believed that the Puquinan was an entirely separate stock. Adelung-Vater, however, copying Hervas' quoted Paternoster, came to the opposite conclusion, inclining to believe that it was related to Aymará. This opinion was fully adopted by Sir Clements Markham, who declared Puquinan "a very rude dialect of the Lupaca" (a sub-tribe of the Aymára). He was followed in this by von Tschudi.[7]

These authorities, to be sure, had only the Hervas Paternoster from Ore's *Rituale*. It is evident that neither Hervas, Adelung-Vater, Markham, nor von Tschudi had ever seen Ore's original work, since all of them believed that the Lord's Prayer was the only "Puquina" extant in print—whereas thirty pages are to be found in the *Rituale* with translations. However, whether or not Puquina be finally equated with Uru, one thing seems certain: neither one is basically related to the Aymará stock, regardless of extensive borrowings from both Aymará and Quechua. Comparison of the Puquina numerals in Brinton indicate that they are quite independent of both Aymará and Quechua. Brinton himself, with complete appropriateness remarks:

> It remains puzzling to me why the Puquina, which seems to have been spoken only by a few wretched villagers about Lake Titicaca, should have been classed by writers in the sixteenth century as one of the *lenguas generales* of Peru. Not only does Ore refer to it by this term, but in one of the official *Relaciones Geograficas*

[7] Daniel G. Brinton, *Note on the Puquina Language of Peru* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 28, 1890) pp. 242–248; Adelung, Vater, et al., *Mithradates*, Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1806–17), pp. 2, 548–550; Clements R. Markham, *On the Geographical Position of the Tribes which Formed the Empire of the Yncas* (Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 41: 281–338, 1871), p. 305; J. J. von Tschudi, *Organismus der Ketschua Sprache* (Leipzig, 1884), s. 76.

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[*de Indias*, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1582, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the kingdom." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace.

Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Ore with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raoul de la Grasserie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquinas, known also by the name of Urus, Uros, Hunos and Ochomazos, etc." Ehrenreich also lists the "Uro or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Grasserie:

> In the midst of the Kolya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raoul de la Grasserie seems to belong to a different peopl:.

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uros of Iruitu [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruitu ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uro of Raoul de la Grasserie is totally different from my Uro."[9]

More recently Métraux has done linguistic work with both the Chipaya of Lake Poopo (Carangas) and the Uru of Ancoaqui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chipaya, of the group he calls "Uro-Čipaya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Métraux with my own and Polo's make it clear that:

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chipaya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

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[9] Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York 1891), pp. 223–224. Raoul de la Grasserie, *Langues Américaines: Langue Puquina, Textes Puquina Contenus dans le Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum de Geronimo de Ore* (publié à Naples en 1607 avec texte espagnol en regard, traduction analytique interlinéaire, vocabulaire et essai de grammaire, Leipzig, 1894), p. 67. (De la Grasserie used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Brinton, according to Chamberlain, used a British Museum copy of Ore.) Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Ethnographie Südamerikas im Beginn des XX Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturvölker* (Archiv für Anthropologie N. F. 3: 39–75, 1905), p. 65. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896; cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uron: A New South American Linguistic Stock* (American Anthropologist 12: 417–424, 1910), p. 418, from which this résumé is taken. See also M. Uhle, *Reisen in Bolivia und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlung 23, 1896), pp. 357–360; *idem*, *Ueber die Sprache der Uros in Bolivia* (Globus 69, 1896), p. 19.

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197 2. The Uru-Chipayan stock is unrelated to either Quechua or Aymará, so far as is determinable from the heretofore solely lexical evidence; the phonemic systems of Aymará and Uru, for what this evidence is worth, seem quite wholly distinct.

114 197 802 3. There is an as yet unexplained misunderstanding concerning Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquina-Uro." The basis for this last judgment is, in part, the numerical systems:[9]

English	*Quechua*	*Aymará*	*Puquina*	*Uru*
One	huc	maya	pesc	či
Two	iscay	paya	so	Bisk
Three	quimsa	kimsa	capa	ček
Four	tahua	pusi	sper	Ba'Bi'
Five	pichka	pesqa	tacpa	ta'snuku
Six	soccta	soxta	chichun	taxčuku
Seven	canchis	paqalqo	stu	Doko
Eight	pusacc	kimsaqalqo	quina	onko
Nine	iscon	jatunka	checa	san'Gu
Ten	chunca	tunka	scata	kalo

Polo's numerals for the Uru, quoted in Chamberlain, even less resemble Ore's Puquina (shi; piske; chep; pácpic, páctic; pacnucu; pacchui; tohoco; cohonco; sankau; kalo) than do my recordings, and neither Puquina nor Uru resembles Aymará or Quechua.

114 197 There remains, however, the vexing problem of the identity of the Uru and Puquina of Brinton, Ehrenreich, Uhle, Hervas, and Adelung-Vater. Métraux, following Rivet and De la Grasserie, has brought impressive evidence of their identity. He writes: "The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language *bakina*, *pakina* to distinguish it from Aymará. This fact had already been brought to my attention at La Paz; it was later confirmed for me by all my informants." Chamberlain, however, thoroughly convinced by Polo's vocabularies, argued the absolute distinctness of Puquina and Uru, and has followed Eric Boman in stating that they are separate stocks

[9] Quechua quoted unchanged from Brinton, *American Race*, p. 223; Aymará from my own field notes; Puquina from Geronimo de Ore, *Rituale*, in Brinton *op. cit.*; and Uru from my own *hanq'o-hanq'e* notes. Since I am not wholly familiar with Uru, the rendering aims more for phonetic accuracy than phonemic economy. The vocabulary, moreover, embodies the considerable language difficulties of having passed from Uru through Aymara and Spanish (the two languages of my interpreter et Ancuaqui) to the present English. Other references in this paragraph are to Alfred Métraux, *Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya de Carangas*, (JSAP 27, 1935), pp. 111–128, 325–415; (JSAP 28, 1936), pp. 155–287, 337–394; *idem*, *Contribution à l'ethnographie et à la linguistique des Indiens Uro d'Ancoaqui* (Bolivia) (JSAP 29) pp. 75–110; *idem*, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67–102. Polo, *op. cit.* in Chamberlain (American Anthropologist 12: 417–34, 1910), pp. 412–413.

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(but further complicating the matter by bringing in the dispute about the possible relationship of Atacameñan and Uran, which relationship he finally denies).[9] The problem, of course, awaits the attention of the linguistic specialist who shall have complete access to all the documents in the case. Garcilaso de la Vega, it is true, in his *Historia General de las Indias* listed "the Puquinas, Collas, Urus, Yuncas, and other Indian nations." But the Colla and Yunca were subdivisions of the Aymará-speaking stock, which weakens Chamberlain's citation of this as proof of the distinctness of the Uru and the Puquina. *Prima facie* evidence suggests that they are the same; meanwhile, where are we to find any considerable group in the Lake Titicaca region to have spoken the non-Aymará, non-Quechua "lengua general" of "Puquina" *except* the linguistically moribund and heavily Aymarized Uru-Chipaya?[10]

Name. The present-day Uru of the Rio Desaguadero have been given various names by chroniclers and ethnologists. De la Grasserie gives the synonymy *Uras*, *Uros*, *Huaos*, and *Ochozumos*, as well as the controversial "Puquinas"; Calancha, however, gives the name as *Ochozumas*, and Brinton *Ochozomas*. Posnansky says the name of the Uru for themselves is *Uchumi*, and their language *Uchumitaka*; they also call themselves *Kjutsuni*, but never "Uros" or "Puquinas." Métraux, however, found the Ancoaqui Uru

[9] Métraux (JSAP 27, 1936), p. 89. Eric Boman, *Les Antiquités de la Région Andine de la République Argentine* (Paris 1907–1908), pp. 67–73. Boman (p. 72) identifies the Desaguadero Uru with the Changos, also called "Uros," of the Pacific coast farther south, making them the pre-Quechua, pre-Aymará, pre-Yuncan aborigines of the Peru-Bolivia region. Chamberlain thinks they must have been Inca "colonists; so too Brinton (*American Race*, 221) who notes that Oliva (quoted in A. Bastian, *Culturländer des Alten Amerikas* (1878 Berlin, vol. 2), p. 98) reported some of them were found on the coast near Lambayeque. Since "Chanca" was one of the Aymará nicknames for the Desaguadero Uru, this coastal group of "Changos" may indeed be Uru. Winsor, *The American Indian*, 2nd ed. pp. 312–313, lists and maps a northern "Puquinan" stock and a southern "Uran" stock; but on the linguistic map of South America (Fig. 82) he places "Puquinan" north of Lake Titicaca, and "Uros" in northern Chile, apparently following Boman on this point.

[10] The possible Arawakan affiliation of the Uru-Chipaya is another matter. Rivet and Crequi-Montfort have discussed this problem at length. Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 402–403, suggests connections of the Chipaya with the Chané and the Arawakanized Chiriguano, on the basis of mosmorphic characters in myths; but he further suggests the possibility that both the Chané and the Chiriguano got their mythical figures from the Aymará-Quechua general Andean folklore, as well as from the Uru-Chipaya. This second direction of diffusion appears to me more plausible: the myths Métraux (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67–102, collected from the Uru-Chipaya are nearly all taken identical with those of the neighboring Aymara. It is my opinion, however, that neither Nordenskiöld's nor Métraux' myth material is sufficiently specific in reference to bear any such burden of proof; some of them show Asiatic, Siberian, Shamanic, and Nootka parallels, *i.e.*, the data are pan-American, indeed, proto- and pre-American.

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calling themselves "Bukina" or "Pukina," which agrees with the synonymy of Ehrenreich, Hervas, *et al.* The "*Uroquillas*" of the early chroniclers appears to have meant the Uru; but Chamberlain's "Urinsaya" is the name of a *moiety*, not of the tribe, and is moreover an Aymará word.

Bertonio, a missionary of the late 16th century, gives the Aymará name, probably opprobrious, "*Kiuchacatati:* Big-livered [People], Nickname of the Puquinas." Chamberlain notes the Quechua name for the Uru as *Yuracare*, but Mossi says their Quechua designation is *Urocolla*. Paredes says the Aymára call the Uru "*Chancumankkeris*" [etymologized by my interpreter as *čanku-manq'eri*, lit. "water-*helecho*-eaters," i.e. eaters of the water-plants of the genera *Myriophyllum*, *Potomogeton*, *Clanaphora*, *Elodea*, and *Chara*] or "Chancu." The tradition was that their ancestors were brought from the Pacific coast by the great Colla or Aymára conqueror, Tacuilla, but the Aymára say that the "*achachila*" or place-deity of the Uru is the swamp itself, much as Mt. Illimani is the place-deity of the Aymára in its region. Neveu-Lemaire[12] says that the Uru were the group from whom the Inca exacted the famous tribute of lice.

Posnansky notes several place-names—Urubamba, Urupampa, Urmiri, Urucollo, Uru-Uru (Oruro), and others—which he believes incorporate the name Uru, but these are etymologizable in Aymará, in which language "uru" means "day," or according to some authorities "worm."[13] Polo suggests the implausible etymology from "uri" (Aymará "unconquered, brave"); but in the 17th century "uro" or "uru" seems to have been in current use in the sense of "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. A punning proverb, "De indio Uro ningun hombre esta seguro" ("No man is safe from an Uru Indian"), appears to testify to the treachery of an incompletely subjected minority.

Temperament. The temperament of the Uru has been spoken of in no very flattering terms by all who have known them. Acosta said that they were so brutish as not even to have considered themselves human: "Son estos *Uros* tan brutales que ellos mismos no se tienen por hombres." Garcilaso de la Vega called them "rudos y torpes," rude and stupid. Even the

[12] Neveu-Lemaire, *Los Lagos, LX–LXI;* this authority also says that the name of the Departamento of Oruro and its capital city in Bolivia comes from the reduplication "Uru-uru." Other authorities in this paragraph not heretofore listed: Arturo Posnansky, *Antropologia y Sociologia de las Razas Interandinas y de las Regiones Adyacentes* (La Paz, 1937), p. 59; Lvdovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara*, Iuli (Chucuito) [Peru] 2 vols. 1612 [facsimile edition, J. Platzmann, Leipzig 1869] vol. 2, p. 303; Honorio Mossi, *Diccionario Quechua* (Sucre, 1860); Rigoberto Paredes, *Mitos, Supersticiones y Supervivencias Populares de Bolivia*, 2nd ed. (La Paz, 1936), p. 25.

[13] In connection with the meaning "day" see the myth in Métraux JSAP 27: 305 ff.

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FIG. 1. Uru houses. *Above*, hut with corbelled sod roof; note crude plow at right side of hut and balsa poles by door. *Below*, typical round Uru house with mat roof, Aymára style rectangular house to rear; Desaguadero swamps in the background.

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sympathetic Bertonio lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Vn nacion de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento," Paredes calls them "brotado . . . despreciables, de poco entendimiento, ásperos y zahereños." The Belgian traveller Walle says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression; it betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Posnansky writes:

> El Uru no tiene placeres, desconoce ahora el juego. La riza jamás asoma a los labios de su cara inmóvil, sin la menor mímica, tostado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus niños son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes; acurracados y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Urus es el de un pueblo amordazado.

Métraux preferred their congeners, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

> The Uru have a character and a genius as sombre as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this illwill is added the unhealthy rapacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the *altiplano* Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field-work with the Aymára, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hate-filled group; in my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . rather more vivacious and handsome than the Aymára"[14]

History. Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymára. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states that those on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in holes in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymára, Inca, and Spanish.

Language. I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The utter independ-

[14] J. de Acosta, *Historia de las Indias* (1591), p. 62. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 4. Bertonio, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 380. Paul Walle, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall). Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Métraux (JSAP 27), p. 89; (28), p. 207.

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ence of this latter, however, is evident to anyone familiar with the Aymará. Inasmuch as the almost unique grammatical sketch of Uru has appeared in a somewhat obscure and inaccessible publication,[15] a summary of the language of this little-known group may be of value to scholars and linguists.

The sounds b, v, d, f, ll, rr and z do not seem to occur in the language of the Uros. The adjective always precedes the noun, and has no mark of gender. The infinitive of the verb has several different terminations, apparently according to the words from which, when secondary, it is derived. Three tenses, present, past, and future, are distinguished by prefixed or suffixed particles, but the material at hand is not sufficient to enable one to settle the whole matter of conjugation, etc. In compound nouns Polo says (p. 480), "the components are arranged in the order which their signification expresses, *e.g. chekere-koche* (shoe), from *chekere* (what is covered), and *koch.* (foot)." The number of Uran words, whose etymology is known is, however, too small to settle this point completely.

The nymerical system of the Uros deserves a few words. There are separate words for 1, 2, 3; then 4, 5, 6, are, respectively, *pácpic*, *paknucu*, *pacchui*, in which a common first element *pac* appears; 7, 8, 9, *tohoco*, *cohonco*, *samaco* (also *sankau*) seem to have a common terminal *-co; kalo*, 10, is unrelated to the other numerals; 11, 12, 13, etc., are *kalosi*, *kalo-pishe; kalo-chep*, etc.; 100 is *kalo-kalo* (also *pac*); and 1000 could be expressed by *kalo-pac*.

Among the principal suffixes in the Uran language are the following:

-ai; in names of male relatives, etc. (*apoi*, fathers; *suhuai*, son; *chichuloi*, brother, etc.)

-chi; in certain names of female relatives, etc. (*achichi*, grandmother; *machi*, daughter; *ushakpischi*, girl).

-ni; in certain adjectives (*chokni*, green; *chikni*, old).

-si; a frequent termination in nouns (*coasi*, water; *maksi*, cigar; *chocsi*, coca; *lucsi*, spoon; *tucsi*, stomach; *potsi*, axe; *chequisi*, lasso; *chici*, moon; *masi*, stone; *pacsi*, bridge.

Among the suffixes of the infinitives are: *-oi*, *-ono*, *-ani*, *-aru*, *-chi*, *-i*, *-ini*, *-k*, *-n-qui*, *-si*, *-u*, *-ui*, etc. There is a negative or privative particle *ono-*, used as a prefix (*e.g. ono- chumi*, "ugly," *i.e.* "not beautiful.") *This particle is also used some times* with nouns (*e.g. ono-karchi-ki* handless.) Incorporation (or at least collocation) of the pronoun in the verb occurs, as, *e.g.*, *lulicunkipec*, "dost thou desire to eat"? This word is derived from *luli*, "to eat"; *cun*, "thou"; and *kipec*, "to desire." The Uran language belongs to the class of American tongues which do not possess grammatical

[15] Polo, in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Lima*, 10, 1901, pp. 445-482, from which Chamberlain's, and the present sketch, have largely been taken. Métraux' excellent work is predominantly on the Chipaya of Carangas; Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquinan" is not undisputedly identifiable with Uru; and Alonzo de Barcena's *Lexica et Praecepta in Quinqne Indorum Linguis* (Lima ?1590), which is said to have contained a sketch of the language, is not known to exist in even a single copy.

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193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 [191] All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[18] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

171 179 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *taki* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incaica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

144 [149] [178] *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [55] [201] *family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Salina, Pilo and* Quispi (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 142 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[18] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90-110.

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slant. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymára. Walle (page 155) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Posnansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient Amerindian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *čuñu*-consuming Aymára (*čuñu* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fishermen, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymára and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymára-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymára, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymára; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymára is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymára nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymára; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymára, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tututin*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[17] the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the

[17] In Vienna-Lemaire, *Las Lagos*, p. LXI.

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bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *iro* (Aymará *unku*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*makči*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *almiła*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulči*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *škara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *iktara*), complete the male costume. The belt called *časi* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *urku*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *čočo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *'ulpas* of Incasica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

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(Aymára rectangular houses are *ičU*-grass thatched, not matted in the Uru fashion). Possibly because of the scarcity of wood, "rafters" in the roof are made of thick bundles of reeds, the main supports laid east and west, with secondary supports arched north and south. Some of the round houses have a roof framework made of bent sticks laid at right angles and grass-rope lashed at their crossings. On this framework of wood or *totora*-bundles large mats, employing the full lengths of these giant reeds, are laid in two sections, so that there is a sort of pseudo-ridge to the roof, running from over the door to the west wall; this ridge is made by the meeting of the butts of the reeds. Grass ropes are laid over these mats to hold them down in the wind, and tied to wooden pegs in the mud walls of the house. There is no smoke-hole save the door, so the roof mats become speedily coated with soot and are quite waterproof. One must stoop in entering the door, but a man can stand upright in the center of the house. A mud "stove" is placed to the right (north) of the door, in which *t'ola* (a kind of grease-brush), *yareta* (woody, turf-like masses of a semi-subterranean shrub), or *takia* (llama-dung) are burned for fuel, owing to the absence of wood in the region. The cord used on the roof-mats to twine the ends of the single reed elements, is true two-element twisted rope, the torque of the twisted strands of wiry grass holding the whole together. The rope used in binding *balsas*, on the other hand, is of tightly plaited grass, possibly because the more laboriously made plaited grass rope has greater strength and durability than the twisted kind.

Anciently, according to the 18th century writer Alcedo, the Uru lived in caves and holes in the ground, but they share the round type of house with their congeners the Chipaya. The same round house type is seen elsewhere scatteredly in the *altiplano*. Forbes noted "beehive" houses in out-of-the-way places, and in the 16th and 17th century descriptions such as that of Cobo are indications that the round hut was the original Aymára style. Métraux noted round mud houses with corbelled domes like those of the Chipaya, at Krulliri, near Toledo; and villages of round houses may be seen the west of the railroad halfway between La Paz and Oruro.[16]

[16] David Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (Journal Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 2: 193–305, 1870), p. 255. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 69, also says the Uru formerly lived in caves or holes dug in the ground, and roofed with mats. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1895), Vol. 4: pp. 166–667. Métraux (JSAP 28: 190–194) says that the rectangular huts of the Aymára are built after Spanish patterns, and that only the chiefs at Chipaya used them, others building the older round type of house. The round style is useless, however, for tracing the provenience of the Uru: Braun noted Quechua storehouses of this kind in southwestern Bolivia, Nordenskiöld the same form among Aymára at Tunari, near Cochabamba (Otto Braun [Letter to Nordenskiöld in 1931]; Erland Nordenskiöld, *The*

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342 Another house type, beyond the rectangular-thatched and round-matted forms, is that to be found in several examples on the plain just to the north of Ancoaqui. These have a rectangular ground-plan, and instead of being thatched with grass or *totora*-mats, have a pyramidal "dome" corbelled of the same turfs that the walls are made. One of these photographed was on a slight artificial elevation, and had a shallow "moat" around it, possibly to provide dryness and drainage during the long rainy season. Another has two doors, both east and south, suggesting that shepherds might watch their llamas from these tiny huts, which are too small for family habitation; one of them has a chimney-hole in the roof.

Posnansky[19] says the Uru of Sojopaca built temporary shelters, apparently of mud, "like beavers," and figures a carefully domed *putuku* on the islet of Simillaque, as well as a round, stone-roofed house on the Isle of Panza. Uru round houses at Ancoaqui have vertical walls, but some of those of the Chipaya (Posnansky, Figs. 39 and 56) are battened inward, like truncated domes. On islands in the Desaguadero swamps I noticed temporary shelters of *totora* shaped like an old-fashioned straw beehive with a point, erected to shelter the *balsa*-builders.

326 *Food.* The Uru have repeatedly been referred to as being chiefly fishermen, but fish are by no means exclusively their diet. Their linguistic con-
327 geners to the south, the Chipaya, are chiefly pastoral, and the Uru likewise
328 have pigs, donkeys, some few chickens, sheep, and cows, but no llamas or alpacas. Of the cows Métraux writes:

> those on the border of the Desaguadero [have] become amphibian. They pass the whole day in the water browsing on aquatic plants. From a distance one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan marsh.

[311] These half-wild creatures are so "pastured" because of the acute lack of land among the Uru, whose agriculture,[20] for the same reason, is thus greatly circumscribed. The Uru have dogs, which they call *puku*. Like the Aymára, and most *altiplano* Indians, the Uru keep domesticated guinea-pigs in their houses. Pigs wander about the village also, but are sometimes placed in

[342] [317] [113] *Ethnography of South America seen from the Mojos of Bolivia* (Comparative Ethnographic Studies 3, Göteborg, 1924), p. 19; see also Bernabé Cobo, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 2: p. 62; Huaman Poma de Ayala, in Means, *Peru and Overseas*, p. 188, Fig. 86 (in Métraux loc. cit.).

[19] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 188 and Figures 104, 111.

[113] [20] George McCutchen McBride, *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia* (American Geographic Society, Research Series 3, New York, 1921), p. 10, says the Uru "form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them."

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FIG. 2. The woman of Ancoaqui, Rio Desaguadero, Bolivia. Note style of headdress, Tiwanaku hair-style braided, dress, pottery and clutching

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earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *čuñu* (Uru *ounî*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*sulu*, *kauri*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likša* or *likši*, or *xawinshawia* according to Palavecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *chicha* of masticated maize also; *likši* is made from a plant called *kisuri* or *kisui*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koyčoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred on the low time. Fish fences, *kruša*, of *totora*-bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*ekrua*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W. Loh.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the liga-

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ture of the bundle. The whole is thrust vertically into the earth. The end of the bundle emerges a few centimeters above the surface of the water. They repeat the operation until a sufficiently compact weir is raised to hold the fish. The barrier has the form of an angle which opens in the direction of the current. The two wings are straight or curved slightly inward. They end in an opening about a meter wide whose edges, more resistant than the rest of the weir, are made of two bundles 20cm. in diameter. Unlike the others, these bundles have transverse ligatures a few centimeters above the surface. Facing this passage there is generally an islet of *totora* which protects the weir from the wind and to which the fisherman can attach his *balsa*. Here he places the net. He watches the fish that are engaged between the two barriers and thus conducted toward the net which closes the weir.

The Uru also make their *totora* sails to their boats into tent-like shelters over themselves when fishing. To drive the fish into their weirs, they attach bunches of reeds to a pole and agitate the water up and down.

Cord nets attached to a frame are also used in Uru fishing. The frame of this type of net (called *kakpara*) is a tripod lashed at the divergent ends of the feet to a stick bent into a ring: these conical nets are quite large and about all one man can handle. Métraux further mentions a smaller rectangular-framed scoop net with a pole handle: "The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or sitting until he sees interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net carefully, then pulls it out of the water with a rapid motion." The Uru also have large bottom-nets or drag-nets, which neither Métraux nor the author were able to see in use as they serve for fishing only in very deep water. These are trailed behind several *balsas*, their bottoms weighted with perforated stones, and require a number of persons to handle them.

In fishing for a species of *Trichomycterus* (*T. pictus*, Aymará *suli*), the Uru of the Desaguadero also use a spear, called *piri*, which has eight or so diverging spikes at its end on which the fish is impaled in shallow water.[8] Although fish are reasonably plentiful in Lake Titicaca and the Rio Desaguadero, Agassiz early noted the poverty in variety of the fauna: the genus *Orestias* of the family *Cyprinodontidae*, and the genus *Trichomycterus* of the family *Siluridae* comprise all the known species. The *Orestias* (= Aymará *suloja*, *ispi* = ? Uru *ulkertala*) are minuscule fish, viviparous, and of marked sexual dimorphism, which may account for the number and variety of

[8] Posnansky (pp. 77-78) believes that this term indicates affinities with Amazonian Arawaks, among whom the root *pir-* means "fish," as in the fish names: *piro-suka*, *piro-matsha*, *piro-ovara*, *piro-pitinga* ("painted fish"), *piro-arucú* ("red fish" of great size, which is dried like *charqui*), *piro-lapa*, *piro-coma* ("schools of fish"), *piraúa* (the terrible sharp-toothed fish of tropical rivers which attacks even humans), *piro-uassú* ("big fish"), *piracatinga* ("stinking fish"), *matapiri*, etc.

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native names for so exiguous a number of scientific varieties. These occur in the species: *O. Cuvieri, O. Pentlandi, O. Humboldti, O. Jurzivai, O. Bairdii, O. Orbignii, O. frontosus, and O. Nevesi.* Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suli, mauri;* Uru *tisi*) these species are present: *T. dispar Tschudi,* and *T. rivulatus.* Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify clearly with the scientific classifications are: (Aymará) *pri-lasa, pristeu, kuri-mauri, umanii, Kavali;* (Uru) *keri, tiz, lahi, ch'ula, lalkiri,* and *mak'lali* —whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and female of the same species.

Fish are preserved and prepared in several ways. The smaller kinds (*ispi, salala, ulkerlala*), salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. The larger varieties (*suli, mauri, tisi*) are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire, and thus smoke-dried are preserved for periods of scarcity, according to Posnansky. But what appears to be the same process, described by Palavecino, is evidently a method of *cooking:*

> These ovens, which the Uru call *wanko*, consist in a hole dug in the soil, whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 cm. The rounded edge is raised at the surface of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uru light a fire in it and introduce more or less flat stones. When the stones are incandescent, they take them out, all except those on the bottom. They lay on these a layer of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a layer of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is closed with stones, and covered with reeds. The fish is thus cooked by steaming.

Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South America.

Hunting is almost as important to the Uru as fishing, neither of which is basic in Chipaya economy. The river marshes abound with birds of many kinds: waterhens (*wesla, lokya*), ducks (*orgwa*), geese (*wajata*), loons (*palle*), herons (*ahili*), various diving birds and gulls; a large unidentified black bird they call *tiwanku* or *lilianku*. Other unidentified birds are: *lalita, kulawaina* (*waina* is Aymará for "youth, young man"), *alowa, lawani.* Of these aquatic birds, only the "hobo" (*palle*) is not hunted or eaten, because of its rank, oily flesh. Most frequently hunted is a kind of red duck called *p'owayan.*

The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Posnansky says men hunting alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or twisting the neck. The Uru are able users of slingshots woven or braided of varicolored llama-wools, and they also use *bolas,* made with two large

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wooden balls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.* They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking; spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*pokena*), and kill with their *balsa* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*hiki*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *ch'arki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña*; *sahuja*, a word obviously related to Aymará *kaja*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold* small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lassoed, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the viscacha (*ghital*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their balsa-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, reed-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, balsa-boats and their sails, and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymara neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

* An Uru bola from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

* The Aymara have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "bone-numbing" weather: *g'ala* ("snow"), *hiñuta* ("to split"), *sami* (verbal), *g'acota* ("makes icy"). I.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-wooled vicuña scream. The Aymara schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "chulo" (interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") yell of this familiar phrase: *g'ala hiñuta sami g'acota, ara ara!*

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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knives on the ends of poles, then stacked in shocks like corn, after they have been dried spread out in the sun. Nearly all able-bodied Uru males have quantities of these materials in various stages toward the manufacture of the complete boats. In their houses, even, in spare moments, men are continually braiding *ch'a*-grass into tough ropes to bind the boats together.

Though shaped like a boat, the *balsa* is of course actually a raft. A handful of reeds is bound together and repeatedly thickened with more reeds as the middle of the cigar-shaped element is reached, then tapered off again into a point. The only tool used in the manufacture of this is a wooden hook (*kayka*) with a handle at an acute angle to it, used to tighten the lashing of grass rope. A more tubular and thinner sheaf of reeds forms the keel of the *balsa*, and two of the fat cigar-shaped bundles are separately lashed to it, forming a sort of sea-sled type of hull, which cannot be overturned in a storm; the thinner ends of these cigar-shaped bundles are slightly raised fore and aft of the boat. To form gunwales, a still thinner and tubular sheaf of reeds is lashed (during its own round-and-round binding with braided grass rope) through the original lashing of the hull-elements. One of these gunwales (*pinda*) is placed on each side of the top of the hull-elements to prevent splashing of water onto the occupants of the boat as it is poled along. The Uru *balsa* thus differs from the Aymara[9] type in that its two large basic elements are lashed to a central "keel" and not to each other (though the bulwark lacings are similarly looped through the lacings of the two hull-elements); it has therefore five instead of four elements. The Uru also rig their *totora*-mat sails with a slight difference from the Aymara. Sails, however, can only be used on the Lake and on the open river "before the wind" since the boat has no center-board and cannot tack. In the narrow waterways a punt pole or gaff (*tabo*) with a stubby trident at its end is used to push the boat along. The wood for these comes from the yungas of the Cordillera Real's eastern, tropical slopes. (See Posnansky, *Fig.* 83.) A complete *balsa* cost in 1937 from ten to sixteen *bolivianos*, then worth about 1*d*.

Of the textiles we have already noted twined single-element totora balsa-sails, twined many-element mattress-mats of reed, fish- and bird-nets (which they themselves make of cord obtained in Guaqui from La Paz), and single-element twined reed mats of totora. Métraux has an excellent description (page 86) of the preparation by soaking, pounding, and rolling of the wiry grasses of the region (*Stipa ichu*, *Festuca orthophylla*, and *F. dis-*

[9] Lorenzo D. Parodi, *Los balsas usadas por los Aymaras en el lago Titicaca* (Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. 11, Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 165-169. Métraux' description (*BAE Jr.* 94) is of the Aymara type.

9:La Barre E-4.5 (1938) 1941
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ch'ewa) for the manufacture of gram rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *bolas*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *tawara*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*pununa*) llama-wool (*punñi*) as incessantly as the men make gram rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*wat"[i]*) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the heald-rod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymára. The women's wide girdles or *fajas* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their coca-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gorros* of the Aymára type (Uru *Ikava*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.[9] The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymára at Guaqui, Tiahuanacu and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "sogas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Uru *bolas* (Aymará *lloci*, Uru *K'oki*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

[9] Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the *altiplano* whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lacrumarca on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *auiro* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.

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FIG. 3. Making an Uru balsa, Arcosqui, Bolivia.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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whereas the *bolas* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a pretextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *čala* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into *garros*. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.[9]

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toskola* [cf. the term for penis, *siäi-*("eggs") *skola*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *čulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Opilvie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*hapoka*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *balsa*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *balsa*-making hook (*hayla* or '*hayá*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[9] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 262, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

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difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*piri*) and *balsa* (Huss), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *poko* (Aymará *pusi'ña*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'ou*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusi'ña* or *poko* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *llenos*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *kaka*, *coca*, net-thread, *kokawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*llenos* and *lawara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: [illegible]

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they are, Titicana, Kenko, Kasa, Koipa. The group is also divided into two moities: aman-saya and mana-saya; their Uru names are ti aini, ninaita. They may be translated by their Aymara equivalents: "upper section" and "lower section."

Posnansky adds information for the Uru of Iruita:

In the village of Iruita may be noted—although somewhat blurred at the present time, as with the "markas" of the Aymara—the typical division into *Anansaya* and *Urinsaya* (*Manansaya* and *Aransaya*) which they call *Manko* and *Aruju*. However, the real *Manansaya* for them is the *Titicana-Tujus*, where the Aymaras live, to the east, in the high and mountainous lands. The expression *tujus* has in their language the meaning "man of the *sierra fuera*" (sierra seca).[47]

Kinship System. I collected the following kinship system at Ancoaqui:

father = apai	mother = atalai
brother = tilai	sister = kaiyo
son = ampuwa	daughter = takuowaa-ca
husband = kakwawa	wife = takuowawa
older brother = tonkalil	older sister = kontakinai
middle brother = moranlil	middle sister = moranai
younger brother = alkalilik	younger sister = alkinai
father of father = tenapalani, tapapalai	father of mother = tatale-ap
mother of father = apanna	mother of mother = [ti]ata-lanna, apanna
father of wife = alilai	father of husband = tenaya
mother of wife = tatalama	mother of husband = tapanna
brother of wife = atalalil ti	brother of husband = tilai
sister of wife = annai	sister of husband = tip'i
brother of father = alilal, tololo	brother of mother = alilal
sister of father = nai	sister of mother = nai
cousin (male) = [an]tololo, tuktololo	cousin (female) = malaya
brother-in-law = wani	sister-in-law = nai
husband of sister = tinonnatalako	
son-in-law = wani	daughter-in-law = wani
son of son = alil [?Aymara], karwa	daughter of son = takon-alil
son of daughter = ulum	daughter of daughter = unnin
son of brother = tilil-auwa	daughter of brother = tililimal
son of sister = tililuuwa	daughter of sister = tilipanni.

male baby, little boy = ol-lon-tula, ulum, ukala; little boy = ol ana; boy = ana; youth = tuuk ana; young man = towi, tau; man (homo) lutti, (vir) tona.

[47] Mitmaes (JSAP 27), p. 87. Cf. also (JSAP 27), pp. 91, 108, 107. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 70.

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female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa šu; young girl = pax-pak-uš; young woman = ux.

Marriage. Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

Political Organization. If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *kilacata*, commonly called *ilacata* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde*?) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *xoraturčiki* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *kilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[25] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchku* (*kuču*) or *si:a quirkitha* (*kirkič'a*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *vilaača* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusip'ia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguana.

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[25] Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.

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Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.[39] The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Ťuristatio* (= Aymara *Ťunupa?*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotsomptái* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Ťukun-uuvo-somptái* (the goddess of the Lake), *Palani-somptái-malku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *malku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kaluari-čiči* (god of potatoes), *Kjosi-somptái* (god of the earth) and *Somptái-malku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uro est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,[40] however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

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[39] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprisingly, believe in the superstition of "three-on-a match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper reserves and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps, for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

[40] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya: "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tuhuanaru and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanaco fell down."

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We the Kjotuñi [q'otoñi, from Aymará q'oto, "lake", and Uru Iuñi, "men people"]* are the oldest on this earth. A long time we were here, before when the sun was hidden.

Here where you see the salt, in the time of our *Achichic* [ancestors], everywhere there was water with many fish; many rivers rose and flowed. Then our nation was large and happy.

Before the Sun hid himself for a long time we were in this place. Then the Kollas [Aymára] came, despoiling us of our lands; they used our bodies for *Kjuskoy* [kuto, human sacrifice] when they laid the foundations of their temples.

When the Lake dried up we came out in search of food and thus encountered the Aymára.

Before *Comak-pata* [Aymará, "time or epoch of darkness"] Tiahuanacu was built.

We have built our houses where our ancestors lived. The broken pots of many colors, and *tepos* [copper pins] you find when plowing the ground, belong to them.

Métraux recorded in Quechua at Oruro a myth which tells of the tricking of the armadillo by the fox, who misled him concerning a fiesta; hence (say the Uru) the mantle of the armadillo is uneven on his neck and shoulders. Most of the Uru-Chipaya tales were learned from the Aymára.

Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes. Small children own property which cannot be sold without their consent; when a little girl refused to sell me a small cloth, in spite of my offering what must have appeared a fabulous sum, that was the end of it.

In greeting a white man on the road, the Uru, like the Aymára address him as *Wiracocha*, "sir," or *kurai* "mister."

The Pleiades are called *kurkuru*, Venus *kuak-kuia* ("big-I"), the Milky Way *kutu-tikitai* (from *tika* "road"?) and another constellation *tuscuscu*; a comet is called *mallale* (from the Aymará).

* Not, as Posnansky supposes, from the Aymará *suñi*, "puna." The remaining "uru" is again obvious from the reference in the second paragraph. Further, the phoneme *t* is lacking in Aymará.

1:Métraux--1 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uro SF24
Ancoaqui

Introduction

It was solely with the intention of obtaining some elements of comparison for my Cipaya dictionary that I, in the company of Professor A. Fonseca, made a one week visit to the Uro of the Desaguadero in June, 1931. These Indians live in the village of Ancoaqui, on the right bank of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from the Bolivian port of Chaqui. There are only a handful of them, 40 at the very most. Even taking into account those who were absent and the small agglomerations spread throughout the region, I seriously doubt whether the remaining Uro number a hundred. It was, therefore, imperative to record their language. The case of the Uro is typical of the rudimentary and anarchic state of South American ethnography. For a long time these Indians have been considered one of the most interesting ethnic elements of the Andean region. Nevertheless, no one has thought of living among them and devoting a serious and methodical study to them. The excellent monograph of Dr. Bingo (It was Mr. de Créqui

[Text continues on p. 2]

1. Créqui Montfort (G. de) and Rivet (P.). "La langue uro ou puquina /The Uro or Puquina Language/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, new series. Vol. XVII (1925), pp. 211-264; Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 111-139; Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 97-116. To the works assembled in this article the following must be added: McCurdies McBride (C.). "The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia." American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 3. New York, 1921, p. 17. "There are the Uros that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains

Caranga:-
Chipaya

/111 cont./

Forward

In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion, and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya, convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/ to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/ as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting inquiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me. Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered. Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have had painful informants in them.

A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly, I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they had ceremonies before me practically the entire cycle of their main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, unfold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[Text continues on P.6]

/113 cont./

Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously.

Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My documents have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); ĉ corresponds to the Spanish "ch." ĉ to the French "ch." ĵ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and ĵ is the "j" of the same language. The combined sign b͡ is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel ĕ is a very open e close to a closed a.

2:Métraux--129 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Urc SF24

Cayanga-
Cipaya

/393 cont./

964 with her spoon and other effects. This is the fate which the earthly goods left by the Cipaya undergo, and the charred remains of their buildings are piled up beside the enclosure where their body re-
[152] poses. The husband gave out a few more wails near the tomb and returned home, escorted by a large number of individuals who
965 came to take their share of the funerary feast. The widower's family had been occupied with it since morning and had slaughtered two sheep and put enormous bottles full of quinua pulp on the fire.
[91] Among the Cipaya as among the Aymara, mourning obligations force the survivors to make considerable sacrifices and to dissipate their meager capital.

Passing near the hut of the widower this same evening, I saw him with one of his children on his back and the other near
[152] him busy preparing his dinner. On /394/ seeing me he let out some moans, too modulated to be the expression of any sentiment. This was the last evidence of regret that the dead woman received. From the next day on she was forgotten, and the village, disturbed for a moment, sank back into silence and indifference.

Myths and tales

• 121 The way that I made among the Cipaya was dedicated in large part to gathering as many elements as possible of their agonizing language. In the hope of being able to make a grammar out of it, I busied myself as much as possible with assembling expressions, phrases, and coherent narrative. Accomplishing
[91] this task was not always easy for me. The Cipaya know only Aymara outside their own language and, with the exception of the corregidor and two or three young people, do not know a word of Spanish. In order to be able to deal with them, I almost al-
[24] ways had to have recourse to my Aymara interpreter, and the impossibility which often arose of being able to communicate

Childress--230 C-S (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 9724 thru 9734

Cayuga--
Cayuga

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Cayuga. They offer a dual resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and hesitancy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of tagua (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the fortnight they drew, pay, and chew their cocs, but never succeeds in the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Cayuga to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him coincided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The five tales which I was able to save down were practically all dictated to me by the renegade of Cayuga, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Chaco to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, numerical measures, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about them or animals to me. It will be realized these tales are very abridged and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are serious fragments of myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

Accession--183 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 5F24 thru 5F26
Cayuga-
Chippewa
Arapaho 5F5

/183 cont./

	Men	Women
Transport	0	0
Irrigation	0	-
Cultivation	0	-
Instrumental music	0	-
Basket-making	0	-
Crochet	0	-
Trade	0	0
Fishing	0	-
Bird hunting	0	-

Comparative Study

The comparative study which I am going to make of the Cayuga objects and industries and those of ancient and modern Iroquois populations could not be exhaustive. I lack too many books to undertake the complete bibliography of the subjects with which I propose to deal, and I fear /183/ that for lack of memorial many parallels between certain forms of the material life of the Cayuga today and of the old Iroquois tribes may have escaped me.

Village and huts. I have already indicated the strange confusion which the ordering of the village of these Indians presents to that of us here city. Cases for example. The towns and towns are have as exact equivalent in the two ages, particularly in the two cases as districts of Cayuga. Longhouse and Longhouse in for the alignment of chapels as cemeteries, they are nothing more than Christianized longhouses.

At the time of the Conquest had for a century afterward the Iroquois lived in huts similar in every respect to those of the Cayuga with the exception of the chief, who, like the present-day navigator of the "canoes" of Cayuga, lived in quadrangular houses. It is under Iroquois influence that the Iroquois hut evolved into its present aspect, which differs little from Creole houses. But even in our day

Indians-216 6-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

The Uro Language

(Chipaya Dialect) (2)

1. Gathered by the author during January-February 1931.

Introduction

My trip to Chipaya had as its basic goal saving the Uro language. Nothing was closer to my heart during my entire stay than collecting as complete documentation as possible on this dying language. My zeal was sustained by the conviction that I was certainly the last ethnographer who would have the chance to gather the last sounds of an unimaginably very old speech. I must admit that the results did not come up to my efforts and that I am far from having obtained the documents which I hoped to collect. Nevertheless, if my dictionary and texts give only a partial ideal of Uro-Chipaya, this is because in 1931 it was already too late to collect the elements of this language which would have permitted an exhaustive study of it. If the Indian twelfth hour of which the German ethnographers love so much has not already sounded for the Uro language, I can assure you that its days are numbered. Its disappearance is a matter of only a few years. Nothing is more disappointing than being present at the death of a language. Every instant one is confronted by gaps, by blanks filled by foreign elements which give the language the appearance of a patched cloth. One would like to reconstruct the missing pieces, one hunts for words and expressions, but this pursuit is for the most part in vain: the word has disappeared from the consciousness of all the individuals composing the group. However painful an investigation conducted under these [illegible] conditions may be, it does not lessen the possibility of making some interesting observations on the way in which one language is substituted for another. Uro, as much in Chipaya as

/146 cont./

According to the latest news the group of Iru-Itu seems to be reduced to some 12 people, although since 1946 the level of the lake has risen considerably; in February 1947 it had already risen 80 centimeters. This rising movement is continuing, and the totora beds are slowly beginning to reform.

The old Uru remembered having seen in their youth, around 1870, an even worse drought than that of these last years. But at that time they were more numerous and the group was able to subsist. Now it is too diminished to reconstitute itself and its disappearance seems definite.

I visited the Uru of Iru-Itu for the first time in 1938. During my stay in Bolivia from 1940 to 1944 I was in constant contact with them. Their misery and their decline did not allow me to glean important observations on their material culture, already studied by the numerous ethnographers who have stayed among the Uru of the Desaguadero. Their imminent disappearance made it necessary, however, to bring together everything which might still exist among them: anthropological observations, traditions, and linguistic records, in order to compare them with the other populations of the region and especially with the different groups of fishers on Lake Titicaca.

These are the results of this study, the publication of which we are beginning.

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Note I

Accounts and Conversations

The linguistic records at our disposal on the Uru are reduced to some quick observations and more or less expanded vocabularies gathered by travelers in the course of brief stays in the region of Iru-Itu. Métraux is the only one to have published texts in the Chipaya dialect. No text exists in the Iru-Itu dialect, and the best sources of linguistic information on

h/Vellard--2 D.E-5 (1930-1954) 1949 4F24 Uru 4F24

/147 cont./

this group are the handwritten monograph of Crépin-Montfort and Rivet, Métraux's vocabulary, and, at a less important level, the various publications of Posnansky containing numerous words more or less well noted down and translated.

The conditions under which most of the documents on the Iru-Itu group were obtained largely explain the imprecision of the meaning of numerous words and the often very different notation on which Crépin-Montfort and Rivet rightly insist. There is no doubt, however, that many of the words have a very broad meaning and that their pronunciation varies within rather large limits, especially with informants belonging to different generations, or influenced to varying extents by Aymara. One even notes considerable variations in the course of a conversation with one person.

During my long contact with the Uru, I collected an important vocabulary of more than 1,000 words, as well as numerous phrases making it possible to analyze the structure of the language.

The extent of this vocabulary and of the collection of phrases makes it impossible to publish them now. I have therefore been forced to make a selection of elements and conversations obtained from my informants. These texts /148/ relate to the daily life of the Uru. Beyond their interest in this respect, they illustrate most of the ordinary grammatical forms. Study of them also permits a comparison with the only known Puquina text, that of Oré, which is much more extended than it had been possible to do with the documents at our disposal up to now. This comparison, which gives evidence of very close grammatical and lexicographic affinities, will be the subject of a special note in the second number of this journal.

Two informants were utilized in the course of our long linguistic investigation. They belonged to two different generations and displayed considerable variations, not only in phonetics but also in vocabulary and syntax. Both spoke Aymara, the younger one fluently, and the older rather badly;

/189 cont./
could be *tukú- nus*, "woman," "spouse." Note the placing of the particle *Lúq*, "for," between the root and the ending of the verb.

It was interesting to publish these texts, which make possible some useful comparisons with Orbi Publish text, which will be the subject of our next note, and with Métraux's three Chipaya texts.

Considerable phonetic differences exist between Uru and Chipaya. For example, the ending *?ai*, as characteristic of Uru but which already is tending to become *?a* or to be dropped, becomes *ja* in Chipaya. Chipaya pronunciation is much harder, with a greater frequency of gutturals, no doubt as a result of Aymara influence. The Chipaya vocabulary contains a much higher proportion of Aymara, Kolla, and even Spanish words, and this does not originate solely from the nature of the texts gathered by Métraux: the trip of a Chipaya to Chile, and life in the barracks, one finds the same character in his second text, describing life in the fields. Outside the variable proportion of foreign words, differences in vocabulary are slight.

The syntax of the two groups is identical, but nevertheless much less varied in Chipaya.

All this underlines the close linguistic affinities of these two groups. It is the same language, practically extant, spoken by two small, completely separated populations; it is better preserved among the Uru and more altered among the Chipaya, and already displays considerable variations from one generation to another within the same group.

The differences are much more marked in the very content, rather than form, of the texts. The Uru mainly describe their work as fishermen and, to some extent, their customs. Métraux was able only with difficulty to obtain from the Chipaya a few phrases on their work /183/ in the fields and on animal husbandry, and his texts are mainly accounts of

Hrdlicka--31 D.C-5 (1938-1964) 1949 9F24 Uru 9F24

/132 cont./

125 Outside of Posnansky's small Chipaya group, no informa-
[41] tion exists on height or body measurements in these groups to
our knowledge.

126 We ourselves prepared only a very short series: six men
and three women, all adults. The fact that we are dealing
[42] with the last Uru must not be forgotten. Outside these nine
subjects, there were no other Uru adults at Iru-Itu other than
a young Uru woman about 30 years old and two very old women
whom it was impossible to measure and who allowed themselves
[44] to be photographed only with difficulty. The children were
largely Uru-Aymara half-breeds. The consanguinity of most
of our subjects is another inconvenience of this small series.

• 131 In spite of these defects it seemed necessary to us to pub-
lish our results, which allow useful comparisons with the works
of Posnansky and Imbelloni and will without doubt be the last
[47] observations on this group. Some other Uru are scattered in
the region and already interpenetrated into the Aymara popula-
tions; their affiliation will be difficult to establish.

134 It is regrettable that the ethnographers who visited the
region when the Uru were still numerous did not seek to obtain
a few essential anthropometric measurements. However, it
must be recognized that working conditions were not very
favorable; the Uru proved to be opposed to any examination of
this type, and the cold climate as well as their heavy, woolen
garments were also obstacles difficult to overcome. Patient
negotiations were necessary, for example, in order to get some
of them to allow themselves to be photographed without their
woolen caps, and most refused.

162 /133/ In 1942 the population of Iru-Itu was as follows:
--- 6 men, whose ages varied between 40 and 55 years.
--- 6 women between 30 and 80 years old.
--- 9 children, 5 boys and 4 girls, between 4 and 15 years
old.

4cVellard--1 D.F-4.5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

/29/

131 PS In several previous works we have cited a series of historic documents on the Uru.

Some of these documents were published by Créqui-Montfort and Rivet in their study on "La langue uru ou Pukina /The Uru or Puquina Language/," which appeared in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, XVII. XVIII. and XIX. 1925. 1927.

Others are unpublished or were published individually in hard-to-obtain periodicals.

It seemed to us necessary, as a sequel to Créqui-Montfort's and Rivet's work, to publish the texts of some of these documents. We were unable to reproduce them in their entirety, but we extracted from them the chief passages concerning the Uru.

For other, recent works, we have merely listed bibliographic references.

Notes on the Uru

101 The Uru give themselves the name of Kot'suñs, "people of the Lake." In old tales they are sometimes called uchumi (ouchoumi), a personal pronoun of the first person plural with an exclusive sense, meaning in their language "we, the like of us" as opposed to other men. The name ochozuma, found in Father de la Calancha's chronicle, corresponds to uchumi suñs (ouchoumi soufis), literally "our people" or "we, our kind of people," as opposed to other peoples. The Uru call other men tom'naka, "different people," or komt'sun'chay, "dry men," "land people." Similarly, Aymaracized fishermen call Aymara agriculturalists inaña hake, also /meaning/ "dry men."

The Aymara of the settlements call their Uru neighbors /32/ uru or uro (uruu, uuru), giving the second u a sound

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
5F24 Uru 5F24

Professor VELLARD from the University of San Marco, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.

Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they extended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro, which correspoods to the Uru words 'Uru uru', meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers, DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds them in low esteem, remarking that they have no talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and ill-treated, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.

Professor Vellard had arranged with KENNETH WASSON, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, JORGE ROJAS and AUGUSTO ROCA, and a young professor, RICHARD ARBELOT was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14.000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one stilly winter morning.

Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brazil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

[p. 304-A]

8.Pan T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
BP54 Uru BP54

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Caranga:-
Chipaya

/111 cont./

Forward

[12] [101] [119] In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion, and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had [123] singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya, convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/ [124] to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/ as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting inquiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me. Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered. [69] Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have had pitiful informants in them.

[21] A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly, I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they had celebrated before me practically the entire cycle of their main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would [183] have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, unfold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these [98] Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[Text continues on P. 5]

2:Métraux--5 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/113 cont./

Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously. Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My documents have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of maĭ'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); $\underline{\overset{\vee}{c}}$ corresponds to the Spanish "ch," $\underline{\hat{y}}$ to the French "ch," $\underline{\overset{\vee}{j}}$ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and $\underline{l'}$ is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign $\underline{k^x}$ is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel $\underline{e}$ is a very open e close to a closed $\underline{a}$.

2.Métraux--10 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 1924 Uru 1924

Caranga:-
Chipaya

/115 cont./

number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion: Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayi'u, numbers 169 inhabitants (58 at Warta ayi'u and 111 at Tuanta properly so called), and Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayi'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who gave me the list of people in this "moiety" did so reluctantly and very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population. The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

Chapaya

Aymara and Kolla (Quechua) communities, outside the monogamous moieties, for [illegible] of practices of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two practically independent units, without any other use than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions that, of recent creation, the corregidor.

An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form on the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two [illegible] inflamed by alcohol. These combats are considered a necessary complement of the merry-making. Battles between the two parts of Chapaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at exceptional time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to fight each other in front of strangers and so there should be no deplorable incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two [illegible] ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan they are only rarely mingled.

When they are talking to a stranger the Chapaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and urin-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuyara and uran-saya, taxiri. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxiri is derived from the root [illegible] and simply indicate that these two sections are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about their social organization the Chapaya called these two sections [illegible] and [illegible]. If we were to take our information literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

Dahomey--Do F-5 (1891-1911) 1895, 1896 NFSA Lim NFSA
Cavagnac
Chipeya

/126 cont./

Social Organization

Exercise of authority. Each race is under the authority of an akiaiden who exercises the functions of a justice of the peace. He intervenes in disputes, arrests and imprisons the guilty, and receives accusations. As we have just seen, the akiaiden remain at the division of arable land but he is seldom responsible for directing work done in common, such as the upkeep of canals or the repairing of roads.

The caravan represents the tribe before the government. The one for Chipeya, my friend Paulino Konjori, was so little convinced of the legitimacy of his office, very recently created, that he accompanied me on my return to be presented to the prefect of the department and to obtain from him permission to consider the territory of Chipeya as administrative district independent of Ouachacalla. By one of those curious reminiscences of the Indian character, he did not wait for me at Oruro, where he had preceded me, and I was not able to support his efforts to bring this administrative revolution to a successful conclusion. As long as his title has not been recognized by the government, the caravan of Chipeya will continue to be subordinate to the one at Ouachacalla. During my stay I had the chance to read the letters which his superior sent him and which were often conceived in a commissary tone. I remember that once he was ordered to have his akiaiden arrest a recalcitrant debtor and another time to conduct to Ouachacalla an Indian suspected, mistakenly moreover, of murder.

Paulino Konjori appeared to have some judiciary functions, for the Chipeya made allusion before me to "demandes," i.e. complaints which had been presented to him by Indians who had been injured or believed themselves to have been. It was to him that the Chipeya came to impart their misgivings about my unusual activities and my mysterious investigations. I was lodged in his own hut, which instead of being round like the others had a rectangular plan and a two pitch roof. This form, seen in two or three

Carangas-
Chipaya

The Cipaya Indians of Carangas have been so deeply impregnated with the influence of the Aymara Indians that we may presume that, in the sphere of medicine, they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbors of the altiplano. It is completely impossible if their knowledge is more rudimentary because of their isolation and the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the medical substances, almost all of which come from the Yungas. I was able to convince myself of this by examining one day a bag of medicine which had been left by a deceased Cipaya, the father of a young Indian with whom I had a friendly relationship. In the legacy of the old man I found several pharmaceutical products which I had obtained in the Oruro market. The deceased possessed small amounts of them which he had carefully wrapped in some small rags. His son refused to sell them to me, allegedly because of their great value and the difficulty of procuring them. I doubt, however, that anyone in Chipaya could have benefited from them, for, to my knowledge at least, there is no Indian in this village who possesses sufficient skill to carry out their application.

Practically every day in the hut which I was occupying I received visits from Indians coming to ask me for remedies for various ills. The most frequent was constipation, which seems to frighten the Cipaya very much. I was also able to see a hernia and a terrible infection which the Indians treated by applying a piece of llama heart to the abscess. The Indians often called upon me to care for swellings, the result of drubbings which they had not spared themselves in their domestic quarrels. Some also came to beg me to cure them of impotence. In some not very serious cases of swellings or localized pains, the Indians content themselves with sticking a coca leaf on the skin.

At present the empirical medicine of the Cipaya seems to be limited to a certain number of insignificant recipes, frequently and easily applied. Faced with a serious case they have recourse to complicated magical processes which I had the good fortune to observe. I should not be able to say, however, if the exceptional

2.Smithsonian--127 E-5 (1930-1931) 1855, 1856 SF26 Uru SF26

Campagn-
Chipaya

/392 cont./

955 956 [57] These civilities were of the usual type, i.e., they were carried out by bending the knee before the person honored and simulating an embrace.

[57] Two dishes of meat were then carried in, signaling the beginning of the feast which the patient offered his doctor and his relatives, doubtless to repay them for their trouble.

The magician, who up to now had preserved a serious and imperturbable expression, appeared afterward in a more cheerful mood and with a smile on his lips accepted the cups of alcohol and the dishes which his client, full of gratitude, offered him.

955 [123] [58] However great the respect of the sick man for his healer was and the impression caused by the ceremony, the patient did not consider it superfluous to question me on his case and took the laxative I administered to him with gratitude. He had great need of it, all the more so since, to celebrate his return to health and the beneficent treatment of which he had been the subject, he ingurgitated a remarkable portion of the sacrificed sheep and washed down this feast with impressive bumpers of alcohol. I still do not know how this unfortunate man was able to endure these new excesses. He got well nevertheless, and this complicated ceremony seems at least to have had the positive result of actually [123] transforming his department. Up to this point I had had an enemy in him who had picked quarrels with me on every occasion; each time that I met him after this, he astonished me by his friendliness and courtesy.

I only wish that this good disposition had lasted as long as the memory of his experience.

Funeral rites.

964 [62] In the course of the weeks spent in Chipaya only one death occurred in the village, that of a woman who had committed suicide for obscure reasons, probably out of resentment against her husband. Arriving at the spot shortly after the event, I did not notice any behavior among those present which could be interpreted as ritual.

Reference--120 E-5 (1930-1931) 1934, 1938 NPSR Use Only
Carnegie-
Chipaya

/1931/

The dead woman's husband and her sisters just barely and only at long intervals gave way to a few quickly stifled sobs.

The body was carefully done up in an aksu (1), and only the

1. Cloth which the women wear around their bodies by way of a tunic.

face remained uncovered until evening, when one of the corners of the cloth which enveloped her was pulled over it and a rope was placed crosswise on it. The husband, who was not worth a sou, displayed profound anguish at the thought of not being able to build a sonke. When I gave him something to buy cigarettes, coca, and alcohol, he thanked me and seemed as if relieved of a great anxiety. He shut himself in his hut with his brother and another Indian, probably a relative. The close relatives of the woman from both sides against the widower, whom they continued to suspect of a crime, stayed at home. Between the threshold and the corpse no sun spike had been planted and a small tallow lamp was burning beside the body. The husband and his two companions, squatting at the dead woman's feet, smoked and drank with complete serenity of soul. The first, however, interrupted his bumpers of eau-de-vie from time to time with little attacks of tears, of short duration nonetheless. He likewise addressed the customary reproaches to the dead woman in a tone lacking in conviction. "Why hast thou left, why hast thou left me, when will we meet again?" At a particular moment he placed on his wife's feet a bowl full of alcohol, which he set fire to as well as to some coca leaves.

At dawn a large number of the women of the clan came and squatted in the house. They remained there a long time, immobile and silent. Toward ten o'clock in the morning the corpse was carried to the cemetery and buried with a little food, coca, and alcohol. The dead woman's spindle was buried with her, and the pots and bowls which she used were broken and thrown into the fire

Intelligence, character, and morality

Every consideration of the character of a human group, no matter how small, demands closer contact with the individuals than that which I was able to maintain with the Cipaya. The impossibility which I experienced in most cases of being able to communicate directly with them especially was an obstacle to my observations. The judgment that I make of the Cipaya is hence necessarily summary and without scientific grounds. The Cipaya inspired in me more disgust and antipathy than pity. Neither by their physique nor by their disposition did they show the affection which the ethnographer [265] from professional habit would be prone to offer them. Their features are heavy and thick, and only a few individuals, products of mixtures with their neighbors the Aymara, present the handsome profile with the curved nose characteristic of the composing race of the Bolivian Altiplano. Their short and thick-set body is made even heavier by the thick woolen clothing with which they cover themselves. Only their slender, well-formed legs are pretty to see when crossing a river. Their complexion would not be so dark if they would consent at least once in their lives to wash. The filth and the rags which cover them accentuate even more the wretched and miserable appearance of this group of human beings.

Intellectually the Cipaya are on a rather low level: they have a dull and narrow mind and visibly feel an aversion to any coherent mental effort. Without fantasy and without imagination, they have for their total literature only a few insipid and short tales, which anyway seem to be Aymara in origin. Some women are an exception to this rule and struck me by a certain vivacity in their character and intelligence. Two or three young people also appeared better endowed than the average member of the tribe.

The Cipaya nourishes no ambition, and the desire for any worldly gain cannot draw him out of his apathy. His movements are slow and measured, his ability to remain motionless is without limits. He seems to pursue constantly an internal dream which is always the

[illegible]

[illegible] Coverage-
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Sundays and always overwhelm the village. The children [illegible] themselves there in this general rollicksome: they never have fun, or so to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their dowry with a vague eye or stay squatting on their hut chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material to occupy their leisure time by looking for lice on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

The Chipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mistrust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not at all grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Chipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of strangers. They know how to appreciate well-being, and my relations with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty [illegible] only two Chipaya, who, in the middle of a festival incited me [illegible] blatantly. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by their peers. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they [illegible] forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Chipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small cheese which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for my collection: in broad daylight all feared the unkind comments [illegible]

[illegible] the village of Tiahuanaco, [illegible]
is positioned, like our temples in the Far East, by a
guardian god in the form of one of the monolithic
idols from Tiahuanaco. The early paintings in their
charming frames are in bad condition and some
much-vandal repairs were proceeding on the roof;
there is an embossed silver altar as we find them
even in small villages in the highlands of Bolivia,
and a rather decayed but well-proportioned gilded
baroque pulpit. As we were about to leave, an Indian
woman entered. She held in one hand her bowler
hat and in the other a bottle of alcohol. Having made
a deep genuflection she presented the bottle to a stat-
ue of the Virgin, crossed herself, kissed her thumb,
and was gone.

We followed the road towards the lake till we came
to a cart track which seemed to run parallel with the
Desaguadero river as it flows out of the lake. After
a short distance the track ended. The professor said:
"We just go straight ahead keeping the river in
sight". The ground was strewn with boulders and
clumps of spiky grass, the two cars heaved and
rolled; finally we disembarked the photographic ma-
terial and followed on foot, the professor like the
Pied Piper leading the procession. The cinema ma-
terial represented a considerable weight which at
that height seemed twice as heavy. For two hours
we gasped and stumbled along; finally nearing the
river we heard a dog barking and saw a small adobe
house inhabited by a raucous bad-tempered woman
of uncertain age who sent us to the devil. We panted
up a little hill, and on the other side there appeared
a number of small adobe houses. The professor was
still in full cry, striding ahead heedless of the pant-
ing group in the rear. But finally realizing that there
is a limit to human endurance, he gave way grace-
fully, and we had lunch. The meal being dispatched,
we approached the village, where Vellard called on
the mayor, and, accompanied by a number of the
inhabitants, joined us. He explained that we must
go to the house of the local centenarian, where we
should film her, her daughter Jesusa and her son-

[i.e., the village of Tiahuanaco --Analyst]

[p. 309-A]

B.Mus T-S (pa.1894) 1901
BMA Uru BMA
Iru 2 c.

ably to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house, fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Rosa, not having sleeping-bags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies.

Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *pampa*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or great-coats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* [4]). This latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to

NOTICE TO OUR RESPECTIVE BURGLERS.

[4]) Yareta, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 318-A]

B.Geog. T-1 (ca. 1934) 1855

BPM Uty BPM
T-n. 27w

tightening the braids with little wooden knobs, taking care that the two parallel cylinders have exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a third man wastes the cylinders, so that the reed remains slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fishermen holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsas measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a punt-pole when circulating among the rushes. The life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the raucous lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the previous day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards, and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every

[p. 313-B]

G.Fr.Gr. T-5 (ca.1944) 1855

DF56 Ur4 DF94
F-c 27c

night. The professor was taking chest- and head-measurements and making notes. We hastened, giving the remains to the children, who looked somewhat suspiciously at cold ham, tomatoes and cake, and hid it away in their skirts. As we reached the car, we saw a thin column of smoke, and, sure enough, the village cooking fire was alight. Owing to the poverty of the village, they have only enough fuel to light about one fire every day or every two days. Two girls in scarlet skirts, little cotton jackets which had once been pink, and dusty battered bowler hats, crouching on all fours, played the part of bellows. The youngest, remarkably pretty and remarkably dirty, ran into the house and emerged dragging a large iron pot. My thirst for ethnology was satiated and I felt sure that Velluet had already gone into the question of Ur-s cooking, and that further

[p. 314-A]

Caranga ÷
Chipaya

/111 cont./

Forward

12
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114 In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion, and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had
123 singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya, convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/
124 to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/ as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting inquiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me. Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered.
91 Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have had pitiful informants in them.

121 A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly, I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they had celebrated before me practically the entire cycle of their main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would
183 have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, unfold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these
98 Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 5]

/113 cont./

178 Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly
123 sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I
124 was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissemblings for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously.

178 Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has
771 been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves
121 only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My docu-
174 ments have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in
[126] a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

104 The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); č corresponds to the Spanish "ch," ž to the French "ch," ǰ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and l' is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign k^{x} is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel e is a very open e close to a closed a.

/115 cont./

161 number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not
[114] go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

162 The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion:
121 Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants
[161] (58 at Warta ayl'u and 111 at Tuanta properly so called), and Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayl'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can
123 only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who
124 gave me the list of people in this "moiety" did so reluctantly and
161 very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that
651 this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

651
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1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population.
[609] The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

/393 cont./

764 with her spoon and other effects. This is the fate which the earthly goods left by the Čipaya undergo, and the charred remains of their holdings are piled up beside the enclosure where their body re-
[152] poses. The husband gave out a few more tears near the tomb and returned home, escorted by a large number of individuals who
765 came to take their share of the funerary feast. The widower's family had been occupied with it since morning and had slaughtered two sheep and put enormous kettles full of quinua pulp on the fire.
[171] Among the Čipaya as among the Aymara, mourning obligations force the survivors to make considerable sacrifices and to dissipate their meager capital.

Passing near the hut of the widower this same evening, I saw him with one of his children on his back and the other near
[152] him busy preparing his dinner. On /394/ seeing me he let out some moans, too modulated to be the expression of any sentiment. This was the last evidence of regret that the dead woman received. From the next day on she was forgotten, and the village, disturbed for a moment, sank back into silence and indifference.

Myths and tales

121 The stay that I made among the Čipaya was dedicated in large part to gathering as many elements as possible of their agonizing language. In the hope of being able to make a grammar out of it, I busied myself as much as possible with assembling expressions, phrases, and coherent narrative. Accomplishing
[191] this task was not always easy for me. The Čipaya know only Aymara outside their own language and, with the exception of the corregidor and two or three young people, do not know a word
[124] of Spanish. In order to be able to deal with them, I almost always had to have recourse to my Aymara interpreter, and the impossibility which often arose of being able to communicate

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Chipaya

394 cont./

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The few tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

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/338 cont./

borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One /339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speaking Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version. This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten his expressions.

The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with a few phrases which effectively summarized their monotonous activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering, obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

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Chipaya

/339 cont./

with particular intensity during my last expedition when I was dealing with the Chaco tribes. There the stories and narratives spurt out and the poor ethnographer is generally forced to stop the enthusiasm of his interpreter in order not to be flooded. In Chipaya the obstacles that were set before me by the strangely narrow mentality of the Indians were augmented by the necessity in which I found myself of almost always having to use an Aymara interpreter. There is no Čipaya who speaks enough Spanish to act as drogman. I was almost always obliged to state my questions in Spanish and to have them translated into Aymara. As one can imagine, this system complicated my task and increased the chances of error. However, I was well pleased with my Aymara interpreter, a young, very intelligent Indian who very quickly understood the nature of my work and was an /340/ excellent assistant. I tried to avoid wrong constructions by proceeding with constant rechecks. Practically all the words in this dictionary were noted down four or five times by me and obtained from different individuals after more or less long intervals. I had all the lists of words dictated by a native verified by submitting them to others, and almost always I had the Čipaya words that I had just transcribed retranslated into Aymara. Moreover, I always tried to make sure of the exact meaning of a word by having my informant use it in a phrase. The exactitude of my dictionary will be confirmed by a simple comparison with the Uro vocabulary collected in Ancoaqui six months later, when I did not have any of my notes taken in Chipaya before my eyes.

/181 cont./

*539 [501] it will not rot. 8. This is a balsa from the big lake. 9. Its prow is raised. 10. That one is a big balsa. 11. That one is a small balsa. 12. There are no other balsas. 13. This is a house of the other people (the Aymara). 14. This is a house of unburnt bricks (adobes). 15. This is a house of the Aymara community (lit., "of the other people"). 16. What more shall I tell thee? That is all. 17. Now I want to rest, oh father.

Remarks

*539 124 This text reproduces the comments of old Manuel Inta, looking at a series of photographs of his native village, Iru-Itu, and of the region. The photographs of Iru-Itu were recognized without difficulty; those of less familiar sites provoked various reflections before being well identified (13-15).

*539 193 1. xwí, interrogative particle; kapíllá, this is the Spanish word capilla, "chapel." 4. We have not found any passive form among the Uru; to express the idea "has been seen from the back," the informant used the active voice: cèrk'- ku ɨi- nís- ɨay, literally one he has seen; ku indicates the recent past. It must be noted that this cast of mind was spontaneous, no question having been put to him; ɨ used in the text is an elision for i, "one," and has suffered a contraction with the previous vowel. 9. hoća expresses the idea of "point," being able to indicate as well as the raised prow of the balsa, a mountain summit, the nose, or the verb "to point" in the sense of being in a pointed form. 9-10-11. The narrator describes the three principal types of balsas of the Uru: with a raised, pointed prow for navigation on Titicaca (big lake); the big fishing balsas of the Desaguadero for three or four people, and the small balsas for one or two people. 13-15. tòxša, "others," or tòxša náka, /182/ "other people," the usual way to designate

*539 [501]

[101] [829]

/185/

Urus." Some authors (Posnansky) have thought that ɔ̈ûmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anonuio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the name of Ochozuma. awɨ̈ri or awäri designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead. tïkistïkni-ɔ̈ay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pït'-ɔ̈aïɔ̈ay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ɔ̈u followed by the pure root. 5. ɔ̈kït- ti designates clothes in general.

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking). 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

/18v/

Remarks

[134] This little very lifelike scene shows the usual difficulties in any ethnological investigation; the informants tire quickly, and the investigator is harassed by requests. Our two informants however were excellent.

[192] [193] 1. The suffix náka indicates the plural; takú means "word," "speech," "language." 2. s- kŏ- čay is used for kŏ- čay, the s is euphonic; compare s- mír- háčay in 9. 4. A typical example of an adjective assuming a verbal form: wáka means "all"; by adding kíčay, the past suffix, the word "all she has been," is formed. 5. awáritiš is the Spanish word, aguardiente, eau-de-vie /brandy/. 7. líka-čay, "I shall drink," formula of politeness before drinking. 8. húwa means "quick," "lively," "agile," and in a figurative sense, "intelligent," "quick-witted"; here it is a wish used as a formula of thanking; hp'- pay, "father," a frequently used honorific used for "monsieur." 9. kę- skéču; the repetition of the first syllable of the word has the value of a superlative: "very, very close"; ircát is the Spanish word retrato, portrait.

[115] 11. The informant, about 60 years old, hopes very much to die after his wife, who is, however, less than 40 years old. I am not absolutely sure of the transcription of tíkš' na- tačíkni; it is a future form of dead, literally, "who is stretched out."

[191] In this whole dialogue one will notice the rather different phonetics of the two informants. Thus čis- čay, "to talk," sometimes becomes či- čay; Carlos Kispe often leaves off endings in čay- ; he even often leaves off final syllables or letters.

Ire. 1 Fa
8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

Fig. 1: The Uru lady who by unanimous consent had taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate.

Africa 7-6 (ca.1954) 1955
SF34 Chu SF34

Fig. 2: The village church

Fig. 3: Our leading lady and her mother, who was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen.

[P. 306-A]

B/Faln T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955
8734 thru 8736

is protected, like our temples in the Far East, by a guardian god in the form of one of the monoliths taken from Tiahuanaco. The early paintings in their charming frames are in bad condition and some much-needed repairs were proceeding on the roof; there is an embossed silver altar as we find them even in small villages in the highlands of Bolivia, and a rather decayed but well-proportioned gilded baroque pulpit. As we were about to leave, an Indian woman entered. She held in one hand her bowler hat and in the other a bottle of alcohol. Having made a deep genuflection she presented the bottle to a statue of the Virgin, crossed herself, kissed her thumb, and was gone.

We followed the road towards the lake till we came to a cart-track which seemed to run parallel with the Desaguadero river as it flows out of the lake. After a short distance the track ended. The professor said: "We just go straight ahead keeping the river in sight". The ground was strewn with boulders and clumps of spiky grass, the two cars heaved and rolled; finally we disembarked the photographic material and followed on foot, the professor like the Pied Piper leading the procession. The cinema material represented a considerable weight which at that height seemed twice as heavy. For two hours we gasped and stumbled along; finally nearing the river we heard a dog barking and saw a small adobe house inhabited by a raucous bad-tempered woman of uncertain age who sent us to the devil. We panted up a little hill, and on the other side there appeared a number of small adobe houses. The professor was still in full cry, striding ahead heedless of the panting group to the rear. But finally realising that there is a limit to human endurance, he gave way gracefully, and we had lunch. The meal being dispatched, we approached the village, where Vellard called on the mayor, and, accompanied by a number of the inhabitants, joined us. He explained that we must go to the house of the local centenarian, where we should film her, her daughter Jesusa and her son-

[Tie, the village of Tiahuanaco --Analyst]

[p. 309 - A]

0.6.93 T-6 ON...1.8.94: 1.8.0
6/26 thru 6/26
Pro Tem

in-law of some eighty-odd years. While they talked the parent of pure Urn we could make a sound recording.

A badly bombed area of London is in good repair compared with the Urn streets. Finally having climbed over crumbling walls and fallen into deep holes, we arrived at the house. Seated against the wall in the sun was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen. The mayor who spoke fluent Spanish said she was well over a hundred. Had she been less dead and more comprehensible, I am sure we should have discovered that she had waved to General Sacre during the wars of the Liberation. Seated on the low wall was the daughter, a young seventy. The mayor explained what we wanted. The centenarian mumbled, but Ross's efforts with the recorder were unsuccessful. We left her to provide local colour and material for photographs of the most amazing wrinkles. The son-in-law seemed completely inert, so turning to the daughter the mayor asked her to talk. Realising that a unique occasion was offered her probably after a lifetime of oppression, she settled herself firmly on a solid piece of wall, and the floodgates of Urn eloquence opened. She launched forth into what was apparently her life-history, accompanied by the most extraordinary mime. Mother, who was past seeing, hearing and still less, caring, continued to mutter, the husband, when the recital became particularly spirited, would stop chewing his coca, lift his head and open his mouth, but no sound issued forth. Apparently the mechanism had definitely run down, and he relapsed again into a state of ruminating coma. Encouraged by the general enthusiasm, our star became more and more expansive. By now most of the inhabitants had arrived on the scene, and judging by the expression on the faces of the other ladies, she had by unanimous consent taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate. She held the audience spellbound for one and a quarter hours, when either her vocal cords relaxed or she had come to a moment

SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Ifu

city to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waived my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Boris and Roca, not having sleeping-bags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies. Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *pampa*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or great-coats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and hear this band over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* [*]). This latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to [illegible] Reflective Quarters.

*) Yareta, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 310-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

199 2. The Uru-Chipayan stock is unrelated to either Quechua or Aymará, so far as is determinable from the hereinbefore solely lexical evidence; the phonemic systems of Aymará and Uru, for what this evidence is worth, seem quite wholly distinct.

114 199 800 3. There is as as yet unexplained misunderstanding concerning Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquina-Uru." The basis for this last judgment is, in part, the numerical systems.[9]

English	*Quechua*	*Aymará*	*Puquina*	*Uru*
One	huc	maya	pesc	ñi
Two	iscay	paya	so	Bink
Three	quimsa	kimsa	cupa	ñuk
Four	tahua	pusi	quer	Ba'Ek'
Five	pichka	pesqa	tacpa	ta'tsuka
Six	socta	soxta	chichua	tazñuka
Seven	canchis	pagalqo	stu	Duko
Eight	pusacc	kimsaqalqo	quina	onko
Nine	iscon	jatunka	checa	tan'Go
Ten	chunca	tunka	scata	kalo

Polo's numerals for the Uru, quoted in Chamberlain, even less resemble Orc's Puquina (shi; pisko; chep; pácpic, pácric; pacnucu; pacchui; tahoco; cohonco; tankao;ckalo) than do my recordings, and neither Puquina nor Uru resembles Aymará or Quechua.

114 199 There remains, however, the vexing problem of the identity of the Uru and Puquina of Brinton, Ehrenreich, Uhle, Hervas, and Adelung-Vater. Métraux following Rivet and De la Grasserie, has brought impressive evidence of their identity. He writes: "The Ujo gave me decisive proof. They call their language *kahina*, *puhina* to distinguish it from Aymará. This fact had already been brought to my attention at La Paz; it was later confirmed for me by all my informants." Chamberlain, however, thoroughly convinced by Polo's vocabularies, argued the absolute distinctness of Puquina and Uru, and has followed Eric Boman in stating that they are separate stocks

[9] Quechua quoted unchanged from Brinton, *American Race*, p. 223; Aymará from my own field notes; Puquina from Geronimo de Orc, *Rituale*, in Brinton *op. cit.*; and Uru from my own *hoaq'o-haq'o* notes. Since I am not wholly familiar with Uru, the rendering aims more for phonetic accuracy than phonemic economy. The vocabulary, moreover, embodies the considerable language difficulties of having passed from Uru through Aymara and Spanish (the two languages of my interpreter at Ancasqui) to the present English. Other references in this paragraph are to Alfred Métraux, *Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya de Carangas*, (JSAP 27, 1935), pp. 111–120, 325–415; (JSAP 28, 1936), pp. 155–207, 337–394; idem, *Contribution à l'ethnographie et à la linguistique des Indiens Uro d'Ancasqui* (Bolivia) (JSAP 29) pp. 75–110; idem, *Contribution au folk-lore ondin* (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67–102. Polo, *op. cit.* in Chamberlain (American Anthropologist 12: 417–24, 1910), pp. 412–413.

/161 cont./

Aymara women:

Rosa Choque, 40 to 50 years old. Aymara from Machaca.

Francisca Arenquipa, 40 to 50 years old. Aymara from Coaqui.

María Chura, 40 to 50 years old. Aymara from Coaqui.

Half-breed children:

Victor Inta, m., 10 to 11 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Eugenio Inta, m., 8 to 10 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Ramon Inta, m., 2 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Manuela Inta, f., 3 years old, daughter of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Demetrio Tacon, f., 6 years old, adopted Aymara.

162 Totals:

6 Uru men, from 40 to 80 years old (one of whom is certainly of mixed blood).

6 Uru women, from 30 to 80 years old.

9 Uru children, 5 boys and 4 girls, from 4 to 15 years old.

3 Aymara women.

6 Uru-Aymara half-breed children.

1 adopted Aymara child.

[25] The age of all these subjects was, of course, estimated approximately. Even the relationship of several of them is doubtful.

164 One of the children of mixed blood, Victor Inta, was struck by typhus exanthematicus.

[6] This list shows the deep decline of the group. In 1938 there were four patronymic names, those of the four big families in Iru-Itu: the Inta, the Vila, the Kispe, and the Salinas. In 1942 the Salinas /family/ had emigrated or disappeared, leaving only an orphan. The Kispe /family/

...ation's mark on the terrain (1). The manner, as nearly exactly

1. My observations in this respect contradict those of one of the authors cited in

Fig. 33

...ume 1, p. 3. As I was trying to make as complete a collection as possible at Awanoogi, I gave special attention to all the objects which met my eyes, and the pottery did not seem to me to be of local fabrication. I also did not see any women working or moving it, nor did I notice any of the signs which indicate the existence of a ceramic industry in the entire Indian village.

...the grindstone, are made of a flat or slightly concave stone, against which another, oval in form and polished by use, is rubbed. These mullers are sometimes semicircular; the pressure which the

/113 cont./

178 Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly
123 sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I
124 was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously.

178 Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has
179 been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared
121 forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves
174 only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My docu-
[126] ments have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

104 The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); č corresponds to the Spanish "ch," š to the French "ch," ǰ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and l' is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign k^{x} is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel ę is a very open e close to a closed a.

2:Métraux--171 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

/180 cont./

Musical Instruments

[534] [114] The musical instruments that I got among the Čipaya have been the subject of a detailed monograph by Mr. Izikowitz, assistant at the Museum of Göteborg and an outstanding specialist in that field. I am allowing myself to refer the reader to this work (1), as

[113]

1. Izikowitz (K.G.). "Les instruments de musique des Indiens Chipaya /The musical instruments of the Čipaya Indians/." Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

he will find only a brief summary of it here.

Membranophones. There is not one family in Chipaya which [191] does not have at least one drum. This instrument, very common on the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, in Chipaya presents the peculiarity of having a square shape (Fig. 8, A /see p. 173/). It is made up of a wooden frame whose sides, made of small boards brought together with tenons, are about 20 centimeters long and six [239] to seven centimeters high. This skeleton is covered on its two faces with sheep or llama skin stretched by means of ligatures passed in a zigzag across the holes in the membrane. Along the latter there has been fastened a drum cord, or a string holding a splinter of wood which hits the membrane. They play the drum by holding its handle in the left hand and beating it with a single drumstick, the enlargement at the end of which is covered with rags.

● [126] I was able to acquire a round drum in Čipaya (Fig. 8, E). The mounting is formed by a piece of flexible wood bent into a ring, with the ends sewn together by means of leather thongs. This specimen measures 37 cm. in diameter and nine cm. in height.

/395 cont./ I do not
193 think that they must be considered as belonging to the Čipaya,
199 and for two or three of them an Aymara origin is evident. It must
201 be added that outside their language the Čipaya do not possess
197 any original cultural element, and that they should be considered as an Aymara tribe which has more or less escaped Spanish influence.

126 These texts, the first to have been collected in the Čipaya
193 dialect, are long enough to allow us to extract several grammatical rules from them. The information which they bring us on this point will be completed by the everyday phrases which will be published at the same time as my Uro-Čipaya dictionary. /The myths and texts, pp. 395-415, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/186 cont./

534 Panpipes. The Čipaya Indians have two types of Panpipes. The first (maiso) is extremely simple. It is composed of two tubes of unequal length, closed at one end and tied together with a wool cord (Fig. 8, D /see p. 173/). One of the tubes is 10 cm. long and the other 12.1 cm. This instrument was a particularly difficult acquisition for me. There was only one specimen in the whole village, [194] and it was moreover the property of the mayordomo, the official entrusted with maintaining places and objects of worship. He only resigned himself to giving it to me after much hesitation. Even before I had acquired this object it had been mentioned to me as a venerable piece. I had only one occasion to see it in use: this was at the Carnival, a particularly solemn and clearly pagan festival.

• [116] One Čipaya had the happy idea of selling me a whole series of syrinxes which present several very interesting peculiarities. They are composed of a single row of bamboo tubes (five or seven) closed by a natural node and held inserted between two sticks themselves joined by a crossed string. Each of these pipes is provided on one side with a splinter of bamboo cut obliquely on its lower part (Fig. 8, B).

What is the purpose of this arrangement, which has not been found on any other Panpipes in the Old or New World? Mr. Izikowitz conjectures that it is a question of accessories of no practical value which have been substituted for a second series of tubes. This [114] hypothesis appears very far-fetched to me, and I ask myself if it is not a matter here of the fantasy of a flute-maker who thought of rein- [191] forcing the ligature by this means. The latter, in contrast, merits our attention: it is actually a type which has only been found at Arica in the Andean region, but which still has a wide distribution in the west of the Amazon basin. Let us add that this ligature is always used for flutes with a single series of tubes.

The syrinxes which I have just described are apparently very [191] old specimens. I have seen newer ones among the Čipaya of the type common among the Aymara and among all the Indians of the altiplano in general.

/187 cont./ With the exception of the
534 bamboo splinters placed against each tube, these syrinxes are very
[191] like the rather similar ones which have been discovered at Arica and also like the Panpipes used by the Indians of the area northeast of the Andes in our day.

As for the small syrinx with two tubes, it is too simple an instrument to be considered at great length. In any case, up to the present its equivalent has been found nowhere.

[177] /188/ Aymara influence and through its medium that of Europeans have been strongly exerted on their musical instruments, just as on the rest of their culture. This penetration can be very simply explained when one thinks that aside from tola, they have no other material out of which they could make a musical instrument, and that they are obliged to import those that they use for their festivals.

Objects for purely ceremonial use

796 There are a certain number of objects which I acquired among the Čipaya, whose use is purely ceremonial and which should be
• [126] examined in a special chapter. These are, in the first place, the festive slings, several specimens of which I was able to get (1).

1. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, B.

These slings are passed over the wrist or carried crossed on the chest of individuals participating in the dances during great clan or tribal
[301] [337] festivals. Another accessory of the Indians on these occasions is the wig made of horsehair (2).

2. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, C.

/200 cont./

#17 region. Most of the specimens coming from here are rather similar
172 to those of the Čipaya but more perfect in their workmanship. The
301 features and the costume of the female figure are more easily dis-
532 tinguishable, and one can even observe that the hair style is made up of small plaits. These strange figurines have long been an enigma to the archaeologists: their use was revealed the day the Čipaya were discovered. Taking as a point of departure two slightly different types of old laurake, I have endeavored to indicate their morphological evolution and progressive degeneration (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/). Among the Čipaya the latter has been extended so far that in some cases small, simple metal plaques have been substituted for real laurake.

#17 The Čipaya are the only Indians of the altiplano who have
172 kept this archaic ornament. As they do not practice metallurgy I
26 thought at first that the laurake worn by their wives were not only
301 very old pieces but dated from pre-Columbian times. To verify
325 this hypothesis I had a qualitative analysis made of two of these pendants and some examples coming from Tiahuanaco. The archaeological laurake are of copper alloyed with tin; one of the Čipaya specimens contains zinc as well. This composition is a certain indication of its post-Columbian origin. Unless we assume that the Čipaya formerly practiced metallurgy, which is highly improbable considering their habitat and way of life, we are forced to admit that they received these ornaments from the Aymara. But, as the use of these figurines must have disappeared very early among the latter Indians since no chronicler, not even Cobo, makes illusion to them, the Čipaya examples which were cast during the post-Columbian epoque must be very old nonetheless and have been passed down in the same family for many centuries.

#171 The headband for the forehead, one last specimen of which
301 I was able to obtain, was itself also an integral part of the ancient pre-Columbian costume. Among the Čipaya its wearing must have been reserved for festival days, for the manner in which the Čipaya women dress their hair renders this ornament useless; in contrast,

/205 cont./

157 same. Boredom and silence overwhelm the village. The children
461 themselves share in this general sullenness: they never have fun, so
[859] to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a vague eye or stay squatting in their huts chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material or occupy their leisure time by looking for fleas on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

157 The Čipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant
17 than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mis-
[609] trust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of
123 strangers. They know how to appear well-wishing, and my relations
157 with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /206/ liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they never forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents
[431] of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several
152 small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya
578 is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent
[123 devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for
126] my collections in broad daylight: all feared the unkind comments of those near them.

2:Métraux--216 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24 Carangas-Chipaya

/337/

The Uro Language

(Chipaya Dialect) (2)

2. Gathered by the author during January-February 1931.

Introduction

My trip to Chipaya had as its basic goal saving the Uro language. Nothing was closer to my heart during my entire stay than collecting as complete documentation as possible on this dying language. My zeal was sustained by the conviction that I was certainly the last ethnographer who would have the chance to gather the last sounds of an undoubtedly very old speech. I must admit that the results did not come up to my efforts and that I am far from having obtained the documents which I hoped to collect. Nevertheless, if my dictionary and texts give only a partial ideal of Uro-Čipaya, this is because in 1931 it was already too late to collect the elements of this language which would have permitted an exhaustive study of it. If the fatidic twelfth hour of which the German ethnographers love to speak has not already sounded for the Uro language, I can assure you that its days are numbered. Its disappearance is a matter of only a few years. Nothing is more disappointing than being present at the death of a language. Every instant one is confronted by gaps, by holes filled by foreign elements which give the language the appearance of a patched cloth. One would like to reconstruct the missing pieces, one hunts for words and expressions, but this pursuit is for the most part in vain: the word has disappeared from the consciousness of all the individuals composing the group. However painful an investigation conducted under these /338/ conditions may be, it does not lessen the possibility of making some interesting observations on the way in which one language is substituted for another. Uro, as much in Chipaya as

/338 cont./

197 borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by
192 the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One /339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speaking Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

124 The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete
191 disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which
197 float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version. This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my [128] speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten his expressions.

126 The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with a few phrases which effectively summarized their monotonous
115 activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering, obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

/339 cont./

115 with particular intensity during my last expedition when I was dealing with the Chaco tribes. There the stories and narratives spurt out. and the poor ethnographer is generally forced to stop the enthusiasm
124 of his interpreter in order not to be flooded. In Chipaya the obstacles that were set before me by the strangely narrow mentality of the Indians were augmented by the necessity in which I found myself of almost always having to use an Aymara interpreter. There is no
[197] Čipaya who speaks enough Spanish to act as drogman. I was almost always obliged to state my questions in Spanish and to have them translated into Aymara. As one can imagine, this system compli-
115 cated my task and increased the chances of error. However, I was well pleased with my Aymara interpreter, a young, very intelligent Indian who very quickly understood the nature of my work and was
126 an /340/ excellent assistant. I tried to avoid wrong constructions by
128 proceeding with constant rechecks. Practically all the words in this dictionary were noted down four or five times by me and obtained from different individuals after more or less long intervals. I had all the lists of words dictated by a native verified by submitting them to others, and almost always I had the Čipaya words that I had just transcribed retranslated into Aymara. Moreover, I always tried to make sure of the exact meaning of a word by having my informant use it in a phrase. The exactitude of my dictionary will be confirmed by a simple comparison with the Uro vocabulary collected in Ancoaqui six months later, when I did not have any of my notes taken in Chipaya before my eyes.

/147 cont./

this group are the handsome monograph of Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, Métraux's vocabulary, and, at a less important level, the various publications of Posnansky containing numerous words more or less well noted down and translated.

The conditions under which most of the documents on the Iru-Itu group were obtained largely explain the imprecision of the meaning of numerous words and the often very different notation on which Créqui-Montfort and Rivet rightly insist. There is no doubt, however, that many of the words have a very broad meaning and that their pronunciation varies within rather large limits especially with informants belonging to different generations, or influenced to varying extents by Aymara. One ever notes considerable variations in the course of a conversation with one person.

During my long contact with the Uru, I collected an important vocabulary of more than 1,000 words, as well as numerous phrases making it possible to analyze the structure of the language.

The extent of his vocabulary and of the collection of phrases makes it impossible to publish them now. I have therefore been forced to make a selection of accounts and conversations obtained from my informants. These texts /148/ relate to the daily life of the Uru. Beyond their interest in this respect, they illustrate most of the ordinary grammatical forms. Study of them also permits a comparison with the only known Pukina text, that of Oré, which is much more extended than it had been possible to do with the documents at our disposal up to now. This comparison, which gives evidence of very close grammatical and lexicographic affinities, will be the subject of a special note in the second number of this journal.

Two informants were utilized in the course of our long linguistic investigation. They belonged to two different generations and displayed considerable variations, not only in phonetics but also in vocabulary and syntax. Both spoke Aymara, the younger one fluently, and the older rather badly;

*539 101 114 Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the *539 192 name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant [175] also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which [193] is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkičay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ču followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

*539 124

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: [206] The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give [213] thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking).
● [126] 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

/192 cont./

114 Outside of Posnansky's small Chipaya group, no information exists on height or body measurements in these groups to our knowledge.

126 We ourselves prepared only a very short series: six men and three women, all adults. The fact that we are dealing with the last Uru must not be forgotten. Outside these nine [162] subjects, there were no other Uru adults at Iru-Itu other than a young Uru woman about 30 years old and two very old women whom it was impossible to measure and who allowed themselves to be photographed only with difficulty. The children were [144] largely Uru-Aymara half-breeds. The consanguinity of most of our subjects is another inconvenience of this small series.

121 In spite of these defects it seemed necessary to us to publish our results, which allow useful comparisons with the works of Posnansky and Imbelloni and will without doubt be the last [167] observations on this group. Some other Uru are scattered in the region and already incorporated into the Aymara populations; their affiliation will be difficult to establish.

114 126 It is regrettable that the ethnographers who visited the region when the Uru were still numerous did not seek to obtain a few essential anthropometric measurements. However, it must be recognized that working conditions were not very favorable; the Uru proved to be opposed to any examination of this type, and the cold climate as well as their heavy, woolen garments were also obstacles difficult to overcome. Patient negotiations were necessary, for example, in order to get some of them to allow themselves to be photographed without their woolen caps, and most refused.

162 /193/ In 1942 the population of Iru-Itu was as follows:

--- 6 men, whose ages varied between 40 and 95 years.

--- 6 women between 30 and 90 years old.

--- 9 children, 5 boys and 4 girls, between 4 and 15 years old.

/193 cont./

162 Besides these 21 subjects, who considered themselves as pure Uru, three Aymara women living with some Urus had settled in the village with five children.

829 The concept of pure Uru is completely arbitrary;
597 its value is more social than racial. At all times adoption in
648 various forms made the incorporation of a subject of another origin into the group possible, and he was from then on con-
[128] sidered a true Uru. This was the case with an Aymara child, whom we, of course, dropped from our list.

829 Children of an Uru mother and an unknown father were considered pure Uru.

One of our informants, Carlos Kispe, was himself, as we have seen, a "without father." Although considered an Uru, all his physical and mental characteristics clearly distinguished him from the other members of the group.

The Uru considered Aymara women born in neighboring villages and their children, even if born of Uru fathers, as foreigners. This matrilineal law is interesting to note.

826 Aymara women refused to let themselves or their children be examined. Nothing could persuade the two old Uru women.

We were hence reduced to the nine following subjects:

Men

142 Manuel Inta. An old patriarch 80 to 90 years old, born of Uru father and mother. White, rather thick hair; beard reduced to a few short hairs, entirely white. Thin lips; a straight-nosed profile. No Mongolian fold, /194/ but the presence of a malo-marginal fold, very distinct, on the far part of the eyelid.
[163] Four living sons, Tomas and three others who have left the village; three daughters, among them Andréa and Célestina, and four dead children.

Tomas Inta, 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son. Considered pure Uru. No white hair. Thin lips, straight nose. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

/205 cont./

141 C. Kispe is again an exception, falling at the border of the breviskelics. The three women are macroskelic.

Macroskelic Men, x-51.0: 3 men.

Women, x-52.0: 3 women.

Meroskelic Men, 51.1-53.0: 3 men.

The extreme values for the men range from 47.9 to /206/ 52.0 (or 52.9, counting C. Kispe). The arithmetical average, even with C. Kispe, underlines the macroskelicism of the group: 50.91; when not counting this half-breed element, it falls to 50.52. The female average is 51.06.

The span among the men as well as the women is greater than stature. The arithmetical average for this difference is 5.3 c. for the first five men and 2.4 c. for the women. C. Kispe, in contrast, is of a stature greater than his span by 4.6 c. The height-span index is below 100, except for Carlos Kispe.

5 men (without counting C. Kispe: 94.4 to 99.8. Arithmetical average: 96.58.

Carlos Kispe: 101.0.

3 women: 97.5 to 99.1. Arithmetical average: 98.46.

The relation of the upper limb to stature varies from 41.3% to 49.3% among the men, with an arithmetical average of 45.8%, and from 42.3% to 44.4% among the women with an average of 43.3%.

Hematological Studies

126 143 To complete this work, and in spite of the small number of subjects, we studied the blood groups of all the inhabitants of Iru-Itu, without taking into account origin or degree of relationship. Only the two old women refused to undergo this examination.

Our investigation thus dealt with 27 subjects:

6 Uru men;

4 Uru women;

/206 cont./

126 9 Uru children;
143 3 Aymara women;
5 Uru-Aymara and Aymara children.

The blood, obtained by pricking the ear lobe and placed in an oxalate physiological solution, was examined two days later in the laboratory. Two standard serums /207/ were used, a Brazilian serum and one from La Paz. The results were checked by microscope.

143 The results were uniform. All the individuals belong to group O, which once again emphasizes the preponderance of this group in South America.

We established the leucocytic formula for three men, Manuel Inta, Andrés Vila, and Carlos Kispe:

Manuel Inta: lymphocytes: 29%; large mononuclears: 6%; neutrophiles: 65%.

Andrés Vila: lymphocytes: 51%; large mononuclears: 5%; eosinophiles: 3%; basophiles: 1%; neutrophiles: 40%.

Carlos Kispe: lymphocytes: 28%; large mononuclears: 7%; eosinophiles: 1%; neutrophiles: 64%.

We were able to make a globular count, completed by an erythrosedimentation, for only one subject, Manuel Inta:

Red globules: 4,900,000; leucocytes: 8,300.

Erythrosedimentation: 1 hour 3.5; 2 hours 13; 24 hours 60.

Red globules: 57%; plasma: 43% (after centrifugation).

Time of coagulation (capillary tube): 7 to 8 minutes.

Hemoglobin: 97% (Heilige's micro-comparator).

This single observation and the advanced age of Manuel Inta make the interpretation of the results difficult. It must be emphasized that the normal number of red globules in La Paz is from 6,000,000 to 6,500,000. The reduction observed coincides with extreme slowness of sedimentation.

Lastly, we conducted a Kahn reaction on the same subject:

Kahn Standard: +
Original Kahn: + + +

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and ill-treated, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.

Professor Vellard had arranged with KENNETH WASSON, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, JORGE ROJAS and AUGUSTO ROCA, and a young professor, RICHARD ARBELOT was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14.000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one sunny winter morning.

Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brazil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

[p. 304-A]

S:Fain T-S (ca.1934) 1955
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Iru Ifu

in-law of some eighty-odd years. While they talked the parent of pure Uru we could make a sound-recording.

A badly-bombed area of London is in good repair compared with the Uru streets. Finally having climbed over crumbling walls and fallen into deep holes, we arrived at the house. Seated against the wall in the sun was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen. The mayor who spoke fluent Spanish said she was well over a hundred. Had she been less deaf and more comprehensible, I am sure we should have discovered that she had waved to General Sucre during the wars of the Liberation. Seated on the low wall was the daughter, a young seventy. The mayor explained what we wanted. The centenarian mumbled, but Roca's efforts with the recorder were unsuccessful. We left her to provide local colour and material for photographs of the most amazing wrinkles. The son-in-law seemed completely inert, so turning to the daughter the mayor asked her to talk. Realizing that a unique occasion was offered her probably after a lifetime of oppression, she settled herself firmly on a solid piece of wall, and the floodgates of Uru eloquence opened. She launched forth into what was apparently her life-history, accompanied by the most extraordinary mime. Mother, who was past seeing, hearing and still less, caring, continued to mutter, the husband, when the recital became particularly spirited, would stop chewing his *coca,* lift his head and open his mouth, but no sound issued forth. Apparently the mechanism had definitely run down, and he relapsed again into a state of ruminating coma. Encouraged by the general enthusiasm, our star became more and more expansive. By now most of the inhabitants had arrived on the scene, and judging by the expression on the faces of the other ladies, she had by unanimous consent taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate. She held the audience spellbound for one and a quarter hours, when either her vocal cords relaxed or she had come momenta-

[p. 309-B]

B.Fam T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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Iru Ifa

There
were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him standing motionless and followed the younger one down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

Fortunately in these last few years the climatic conditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more increased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

[p. 313-A]

Brazil T-6 (ca. 1956) 1950

8934 thru 8936
T-a Zfw

tightening the braids with little wooden hooks, taking care that the two parallel cylinders have exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a [illegible] man waters the cylinders, so that the reed remains slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fisherman holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsas measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a punt-pole when circulating among the rushes. The life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the raucous lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the previous day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards, and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every

B.Mus T-6 (ca.1954) 1955

SP34 Uru SP34
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angle. The professor was taking chest- and head-measurements and making notes. We lunched, giving the remains to the children, who looked somewhat suspiciously at cold ham, tomatoes and cake, and hid it away in their skirts. As we reached the car, we saw a thin column of smoke, and, sure enough, the village cooking fire was alight. Owing to the poverty of the village, they have only enough fuel to light about one fire every day or every two days. Two girls in scarlet skirts, little cotton jackets which had once been pink, and dusty battered bowler hats, crouching on all fours, played the part of bellows. The youngest, remarkably pretty and remarkably dirty, ran into the house and emerged dragging a large iron pot. My thirst for ethnology was satiated and I felt sure that Vellard had already gone into the question of Uru cooking, and that further

[p. 314-A]

U /331 cont./
*778 Further on (p. 115) the description of a sacrifice made by a
Čipaya Indian in honor of a titi-mal'ku, i.e. the wildcat protector
U of his house will be given. In a hut which served as a storage place
[825] in Chipaya, I saw a stuffed hawk, mamani, which was likewise
pointed out to me as the mal'ku of the family which owned the hut.
U Certain characters in Aymara folklore also bear the epithet
[171] mal'ku. Thus the Wasa mal'ku, mysterious protector of wild ani-
U mals. These examples allow us at present to form a fairly clear
*778 idea of the evolution undergone by the word mal'ku and of its present
197 meaning. In the beginning this term denoted pre-eminence,
whether it was purely secular and due to social rank or derived from
the sacred nature of the object or person thus qualified. The substi-
tution of approximate Spanish equivalents for the ancient native
names designating the different degrees of authority has caused the
use of the word mal'ku in the sense of chief to disappear. It is only
preserved in the language to denote excellence, that which is worthy
of respect, and consequently the supernatural and sacred. This
evolution has been carried through to its most extreme limit, and
U today mal'ku can be translated in certain instances by "demon."
[782] In some Čipaya prayers the magician calls indiscriminately upon
"all the mal'ku"; he invites the "mal'ku" to come eat the pieces
of meat which are tossed to them in the air.

*778 /332/ The bibliographical research which I have undertaken
171 has brought me only rare examples of the word mal'ku being attri-
● 127 buted to supernatural beings or being invested with the meaning
M "sacred." The present natives of the Huarochirí region (1) worship
778
769
M
[113]

1. Tello (Julio C.) and Mirando (Prospero). "Wallallao. Ceremonias Gentílicas realizadas en la Región Cisandina del Perú Central /Wallallao. Pagan Ceremonies carried out in the Cisandean Region of Central Peru/." Inca, Lima, Vol. I, No. 2, 1923, pp. 475-549, 510, 532, 545.

/189 cont./

	Men	Women
Transport	+	+
Irrigation	+	-
Cultivation	+	-
Instrumental music	+	-
Basket-making	+	-
Crochet	+	-
Trade	+	+
Fishing	+	-
Bird hunting	+	-

Comparative Study

The comparative study which I am going to make of Uro-Čipaya objects and industries and those of ancient and modern Andean populations could not be exhaustive. I lack too many books to indicate the complete bibliography of the subjects with which I propose to deal, and I fear /190/ that for lack of material many parallels between certain forms of the material life of the Čipaya today and of the old Andean tribes may have escaped me.

Village and huts. I have already indicated the strange similarities which the ordering of the village of these Indians presents to that of an Inca city, Cuzco for example. The taxata and tuanta sayas have an exact equivalent in the Inca suyu, particularly in the two sectors or districts of Cuzco, hanan-suyu and hurin-suyu; as for the alignments of chapels or oratories, they are nothing more than Christianized zeques.

At the time of the Conquest and for a century afterward the Aymara lived in huts similar in every respect to those of the Čipaya with the exception of the chiefs who, like the present-day corregidor of the "canton" of Chipaya, lived in quadrangular houses. It is under Spanish influence that the Aymara hut evolved into its present aspect, which differs little from Creole houses. But even in our day

[16th Century]

A
U /35 cont./
175 Machuca (Juan Lozano)
162 ...In the bay of Atacama, where the port (Cobija) is, there are 400 Uro Indian fishermen....Likewise in the city district and environs of Tarapaca, which extends from the port of Pisagua and Hique-Hique, where there are Uro Indian fishermen, to the port of Loa, there are many mines....The repartimiento of the heirs of Lucas Martin Begaso is under the jurisdiction of the city of Arequipa and there must be some 2,000 Aymara Indians and more than 1,000 Uro Indian fishermen in the said territory..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Reports on the Indies/, II, Appendices, pp. XXV, XXVI, and XXVII.)

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162
433
735 Aside from the 4,000 Aymara Indians of Lipez, there were in this repartimiento another 1,000 Uro Indians, a poor people who neither sow nor reap and who subsist on the hunting of guanacos and vicuñas and on fish and roots found in the marshes, which they call coroma; and herewith the 4,000 Aymara Indians claim poverty, because while rich in native livestock and reaping and sowing and conducting trade and barter in this town of Potosi, Tarapaca, and Atacama, and founding many metals, which they extract from the mines, they excuse themselves from paying tribute to H. M. under pretext of being poor, like the 1,000 Uro Indians who truly are..../Translated from the Spanish./

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175
162
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[648]
[651]

(Ibidem, Appendix 3.)

U
175 Jujuy Archives
● 127
[131] Dr. Ernesto Sourrouille, in the historic studies he carried out in the Jujuy archives and with private documents (testaments, grants, etc.) told me, that at the western source of the Orosmayo River, in the Department of Santa Catalina, south of the Cerro Esmoraca, there lived a tribe of Uro Indians like those who share a boundary with the Atacamas..../Translated from the Spanish./

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

ence of this latter, however, is evident to anyone familiar with the Aymará. Inasmuch as the almost unique grammatical sketch of Uru has appeared in a somewhat obscure and inaccessible publication,[15] a summary of the language of this little-known group may be of value to scholars and linguists.

The sounds b, v, d, f, ll, rr and z do not seem to occur in the language of the Uros. The adjective always precedes the noun, and has no mark of gender. The infinitive of the verb has several different terminations, apparently according to the words from which, when secondary, it is derived. Three tenses, present, past, and future, are distinguished by prefixed or suffixed particles, but the material at hand is not sufficient to enable one to settle the whole matter of conjugation, etc. In compound nouns Polo says (p. 480), "the components are arranged in the order which their signification expresses, *e.g. chekere-koche* (shoe), from *chekere* (what is covered), and *koche* (foot)." The number of Uran words, whose etymology is known is, however, too small to settle this point completely.

The nymerical system of the Uros deserves a few words. There are separate words for 1, 2, 3; then 4, 5, 6, are, respectively, *pácpic*, *paknucu*, *pacchui*, in which a common first element *pac* appears; 7, 8, 9, *tohoco*, *cohonco*, *samaco* (also *sankau*) seem to have a common terminal *-co; kalo*, 10, is unrelated to the other numerals; 11, 12, 13, etc., are *kalosi*, *kalo-piske; kalo-chep*, etc.; 100 is *kalo-kalo* (also *pac*); and 1000 could be expressed by *kalo-pac*.

Among the principal suffixes in the Uran language are the following:

-ai; in names of male relatives, etc. (*apai*, fathers; *suhuai*, son; *chichulai*, brother, etc.)

-chi; in certain names of female relatives, etc. (*achichi*, grandmother; *machi*, daughter; *ushakpischi*, girl).

-ni; in certain adjectives (*chakni*, green; *chikni*, old).

-si; a frequent termination in nouns (*coasi*, water; *muksi*, cigar; *chacsi*, coca; *lucsi*, spoon; *tucsi*, stomach; *potsi*, axe; *chequisi*, lasso; *chici*, moon; *masi*, stone; *pacsi*, bridge.

Among the suffixes of the infinitives are: *-ai*, *-ana*, *-ani*, *-ara*, *-chi*, *-i*, *-ini*, *-k*, *-n*, *-qui*, *-si*, *-u*, *-ui*, etc. There is a negative or privative particle *ana-*, used as a prefix (*e.g. ana- chuni*, "ugly," *i.e.* "not beautiful.") This particle is also used some times with nouns (*e.g. ana-karchichi*, handless.) Incorporation (or at least collocation) of the pronoun in the verb occurs, as, *e.g.*, *lulicunkipec*, "dost thou desire to eat"? This word is derived from *luli*, "to eat"; *cun*, "thou"; and *kipec*, "to desire." The Uran language belongs to the class of American tongues which do not possess grammatical

[15] Polo, in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima*, 10, 1901, pp. 445–482, from which Chamberlain's, and the present sketch, have largely been taken. Métraux' excellent work is predominantly on the Chipaya of Carangas; Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquinan" is not undisputedly identifiable with Uru; and Alonzo de Barcena's *Lexica et Precepta in Quinque Indorum Linguis* (Lima ?1590), which is said to have contained a sketch of the language, is not known to exist in even a single copy.

2:Métraux--216 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/337/

The Uro Language

(Chipaya Dialect) (2)

2. Gathered by the author during January-February 1931.

Introduction

My trip to Chipaya had as its basic goal saving the Uro language. Nothing was closer to my heart during my entire stay than collecting as complete documentation as possible on this dying language. My zeal was sustained by the conviction that I was certainly the last ethnographer who would have the chance to gather the last sounds of an undoubtedly very old speech. I must admit that the results did not come up to my efforts and that I am far from having obtained the documents which I hoped to collect. Nevertheless, if my dictionary and texts give only a partial ideal of Uro-Čipaya, this is because in 1931 it was already too late to collect the elements of this language which would have permitted an exhaustive study of it. If the fatidic twelfth hour of which the German ethnographers love to speak has not already sounded for the Uro language, I can assure you that its days are numbered. Its disappearance is a matter of only a few years. Nothing is more disappointing than being present at the death of a language. Every instant one is confronted by gaps, by holes filled by foreign elements which give the language the appearance of a patched cloth. One would like to reconstruct the missing pieces, one hunts for words and expressions, but this pursuit is for the most part in vain: the word has disappeared from the consciousness of all the individuals composing the group. However painful an investigation conducted under these /338/ conditions may be, it does not lessen the possibility of making some interesting observations on the way in which one language is substituted for another. Uro, as much in Chipaya as

/338 cont./

197 borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by
192 the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One /339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speaking Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

124 The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete
191 disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which
197 float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version. This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my
● [128] speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten his expressions.

126 The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with a few phrases which effectively summarized their monotonous
115 activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering, obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

/339 cont./

115 with particular intensity during my last expedition when I was dealing with the Chaco tribes. There the stories and narratives spurt out, and the poor ethnographer is generally forced to stop the enthusiasm
124 of his interpreter in order not to be flooded. In Chipaya the obstacles that were set before me by the strangely narrow mentality of the Indians were augmented by the necessity in which I found myself of almost always having to use an Aymara interpreter. There is no
[97] Čipaya who speaks enough Spanish to act as drogman. I was almost always obliged to state my questions in Spanish and to have them translated into Aymara. As one can imagine, this system compli-
115 cated my task and increased the chances of error. However, I was well pleased with my Aymara interpreter, a young, very intelligent Indian who very quickly understood the nature of my work and was
126 an /340/ excellent assistant. I tried to avoid wrong constructions by
128 proceeding with constant rechecks. Practically all the words in this dictionary were noted down four or five times by me and obtained from different individuals after more or less long intervals. I had all the lists of words dictated by a native verified by submitting them to others, and almost always I had the Čipaya words that I had just transcribed retranslated into Aymara. Moreover, I always tried to make sure of the exact meaning of a word by having my informant use it in a phrase. The exactitude of my dictionary will be confirmed by a simple comparison with the Uro vocabulary collected in Ancoaqui six months later, when I did not have any of my notes taken in Chipaya before my eyes.

/340 cont./

Phonetics

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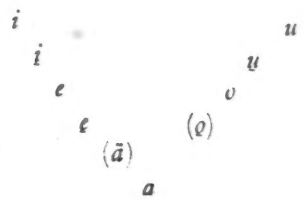
It is my duty to acknowledge at the head of this dictionary that for lack of a musical ear, I am not always sure of the accuracy of my phonetic transcriptions. I have done my best and I am convinced that on the whole my notations are correct. I fear, however, that I have created some confusion in the quality of the vowels, and it is probable that certain fine points or shadings of pronunciation have escaped me. The difficulties I experienced in gathering and reproducing Čipaya and Uro sounds made me neglect the question of accent. I insist on pointing out this serious gap myself in my linguistic documentation.

194

The vowels which I believe to have recognized in Čipaya can be classified in the following manner:



a, e, i, o u are "grosso modo" identical to the corresponding sounds in Spanish

i is a phoneme whose quality is midway between a very open i and a closed e

ɛ is a more open e than the French è in "père." It is almost a very closed front a

Carangas-
Chipaya

/341/

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I think that I have ascertained in some cases the existence of an o (o̯) whose articulation would be close to a gutteral (back) a. Not being sure of this sound, and having ascertained it only in a few very rare cases, I have not indicated it in my transcriptions.

u is a phoneme midway between an open u and a closed o.

The dipthongs are the following: au̯, eu̯, ua̯, (wa), ue̯ (we).

The sign ˘ put under the first or second vowel indicates that the latter is asyllabic and is only a semivowel. When the second part of the diphtong precedes another vowel, it is replaced by the corresponding fricative.

Table of Consonants

	Occlusives		Affricates		Constringents		Liquids		
Aspirated	*h*								
Guttural (medio gut.)	*k*	*g*	*k*		*x*				
Palatal			*č*	*j*	*š*	*ž*		*l'*	*ñ*
Dental	*t* (*tʰ*)		*ts*		*s*	(*z*)	*r*	*l*	*n*
Labial	*p* (*pʰ*)					*w*			

The sound transcribed by h is strongly aspirated; it tends toward x.

g, k, l, m, n, ñ, l, p, r, s, t are identical with the corresponding sounds in Spanish or French.

č = "ch" in Spanish.

š = "ch" in French.

ž = French "j" in "jeter."

/341 cont./

194 ɟ = English "j," dj in French.

t^{s} = an affricate generally transcribed ts.

w = "w" in English ("water").

l' = a liquid "l" as in Spanish. It is possible that I may have sometimes mixed it up with y.

p^{h} = a p, followed by a light breath. /342/

k^{x} = (I do not think I am in error) a medio-guttural affricate, a very frequent sound in Čipaya.

Grammar

193 The few rules of grammar which can be deduced from the texts I collected will appear in the reading itself of this dictionary. I must point out, however, the existence of a sort of suffixed article, ki, frequently added to substantives: kerka: armadillo; kerkaki: the armadillo; k^{x}oya: house; k^{x}oyaki: the house, etc.

Gender exists in Čipaya; it manifests itself in some words, in the first place in the demonstrative adjective ti for the masculine and ta for the feminine, and in the ordinal adjective "a" tsi, tsa.

The masculine gender is indicated in certain cases by the presence of an a: usa (male child, boy); us (female child, little girl); sewa: widower; seu: widow, etc.

Vocabulary

Preliminary remarks

128 192 I have indicated the root for each verb, which I tried to disengage from the different forms which were given me by my informants. In doubtful cases I have left the burden of decision to the reader. The verbs for which I had only one example have been written down such as they are.

/342 cont./

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As I have already had the occasion to say, words of foreign origin are marked with an asterisk: * for Aymara, ** for Spanish, and *** for Kičua.

Words common to both Aymara and Kičua have been considered as borrowings from the former language. Words of hybrid composition have been separated by a hyphen mark. Asterisks indicate the provenance of the foreign element.

When words with different roots correspond to a single idea, they are enumerated one after another if the number of instances is limited, and separated in paragraphs if they are numerous.

Every word the translation of which is doubtful has been followed by a question mark. /The word list, pp. 342-387, the texts, pp. 387-393, and the bibliography, pp. 393-394, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/147 cont./

114 this group are the handsome monograph of Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, Métraux's vocabulary, and, at a less important level, the various publications of Posnansky containing numerous words more or less well noted down and translated.

The conditions under which most of the documents on the Iru-Itu group were obtained largely explain the imprecision of the meaning of numerous words and the often very different notation on which Créqui-Montfort and Rivet rightly insist.

195 There is no doubt, however, that many of the words have a very broad meaning and that their pronunciation varies within rather large limits, especially with informants belonging to different generations, or influenced to varying extents by Aymara. One even notes considerable variations in the course of a conversation with one person.

126 During my long contact with the Uru, I collected an important vocabulary of more than 1,000 words, as well as numerous phrases making it possible to analyze the structure of the language.

●128 The extent of this vocabulary and of the collection of phrases makes it impossible to publish them now. I have therefore been forced to make a selection of accounts and conver-

121 sations obtained from my informants. These texts /148/ relate to the daily life of the Uru. Beyond their interest in this respect, they illustrate most of the ordinary grammatical forms. Study of them also permits a comparison with the only known Pukina text, that of Oré, which is much more extended than it had been possible to do with the documents at our disposal up to now. This comparison, which gives evidence of very close grammatical and lexicographic affinities, will be the subject of a special note in the second number of this journal.

115 Two informants were utilized in the course of our long

[195] linguistic investigation. They belonged to two different generations and displayed considerable variations, not only in

[191] phonetics but also in vocabulary and syntax. Both spoke Aymara, the younger one fluently, and the older rather badly;

/149 cont./

115 large part, and this to the great dismay of the respectable
[147] guardian of the ruins of Tiahuanaco who had accompanied him to La Paz and whose watchfulness he tricked in order to enter
[191] his village alone. A very limited knowledge of Aymara, none of Spanish or Kešwa /Quechua/. An excellent informant.

Carlos Kispe, from 40 to 50 years old, one of the youngest
[144] men in the group. He displayed characteristics in his physical appearance which led one to suspect a certain degree of Aymara
[848] crossbreeding (see the 2nd note, on Physical Anthropology /p. 30/). Besides he was an illegitimate son, born of an un-
[191] known father. Much more enterprising than Manuel Inta, he spoke Aymara fluently, but neither Spanish nor Kešwa. He had frequent contacts with the neighboring Aymara populations and, faced with the persistant drought, was thinking of leaving
[191] Iru-Iru to go live as a fisher at Guaki. He also proved to be an excellent informant, but his syntax was less pure and less varied than that of Manuel Inta and his vocabulary poorer and more mixed with Aymara; he did not use, or even did not know, a certain number of words used by his companion.

195 It is interesting to underline these differences in /150/
184 language between individuals of the same village, belonging to two different generations. They allow us to follow the rapid evolution of languages entrusted to oral tradition alone without any monument to establish them.

115 Outside these two principal informants, we utilized other inhabitants of the village, either for the general investigation or for word comparisons

128 For each text we shall indicate the informant who pro-
191 vided it. These texts were gone over several times with the informant in order to obtain as exact a transcription as possible. Their translation was always checked in Aymara. Even so, in the course of the same text, considerable variations in pronunciation will be observed, which do not appear to follow any definite rule. They indicate a certain phonetic instability, more marked, of course, between different observers.

/193 cont./

162 Besides these 21 subjects, who considered themselves as pure Uru, three Aymara women living with some Urus had settled in the village with five children.

829 The concept of pure Uru is completely arbitrary;
597 its value is more social than racial. At all times adoption in
648 various forms made the incorporation of a subject of another origin into the group possible, and he was from then on con-
[128] sidered a true Uru. This was the case with an Aymara child, whom we, of course, dropped from our list.

829 Children of an Uru mother and an unknown father were considered pure Uru.

One of our informants, Carlos Kispe, was himself, as we have seen, a "without father." Although considered an Uru, all his physical and mental characteristics clearly distinguished him from the other members of the group.

The Uru considered Aymara women born in neighboring villages and their children, even if born of Uru fathers, as foreigners. This matrilineal law is interesting to note.

126 Aymara women refused to let themselves or their children be examined. Nothing could persuade the two old Uru women.

We were hence reduced to the nine following subjects:

Men

142 Manuel Inta. An old patriarch 80 to 90 years old, born of Uru father and mother. White, rather thick hair; beard reduced to a few short hairs, entirely white. Thin lips; a straight-nosed profile. No Mongolian fold, /194/ but the presence of a malo-marginal fold, very distinct, on the far part of the eyelid.
[163] Four living sons, Tomas and three others who have left the village; three daughters, among them Andréa and Célestina, and four dead children.

Tomas Inta, 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son. Considered pure Uru. No white hair. Thin lips, straight nose. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

was represented only by Carlos and his son. Two men, a young woman, and her children formed the Vila group. The Inta family was the only still rather numerous one. It has, moreover, always been considered the most traditional and purest of the Iru-Itu families.

Anthropometric Study

We had to limit our study to the essential measurements of the head and body.

The results obtained are contained in Tables I and II and the indices calculated in Table III /see pp. 38-40/.

These figures call for some comments.

In spite of the small number of subjects examined, the results are rather homogeneous for the group of men, with the exception of Carlos Kispe who is considerably far from the general type. The group of women presents marked differences from that of the men. It is quite difficult to judge to what extent these differences are due to a pronounced sexual dimorphism or to the influence of possible crossbreeding, which makes itself felt among close relatives, two sisters and their female cousin.

We will study the male and female groups separately.

Head

The absolute measurements show a notably elongated head for all the subjects examined; the outside figures go from 187 to 210 for the men and from 178 to 180 for the women. The head is narrow among the men, 141 to 150, with the exception of Carlos Kispe; among the women the absolute values do not exceed 149.

The cephalic index does not exceed 75.0 for the masculine groups; only Carlos Kispe is hyperbrachycephalic

/207 cont./

143 Kline: ++

[164] We shall only conclude from this isolated observation /208/ the existence of possible heredosyphilis or of a very attenuated syphilis in one of the most conservative members of the group, who always severely condemned sexual relations with other natives as being against the traditions.

• 128 These few isolated examinations have no great significance; they do emphasize however the interest which a numerous series of hematological and serological investigations among the isolated native groups of the Cordillera or the South American forests would have.

Conclusion

141 [128] In spite of the small number of subjects examined (9), owing to the rapid decline of the group and its approaching extinction, this study of the last Uru of Iru-Itu permits us to make a few interesting conclusions.

[171] Height varies little from that of the neighboring Andean populations, and small and medium stature predominate. The population is as a whole macroskelic.

The cephalic index among the men who can be considered as not crossbred with the neighboring populations is lower than 75.0% (average: 73.51). Three women are moderately brachycephalic; we must note that they are closely related.

Dolichocephaly, a tendency to leptocephalia and to leptoprosopy, the bigoniac diameter almost equal to the minimum frontal diameter, leptorrhinism, a high and narrow ear succeed in characterizing this group.

114 141 144 As a whole these results agree with the few previous observations on the Uru and the Chipaya (Imbelloni's two Uru skulls; a few measurements by Posnansky), emphasizing the morphological unity of these two groups.

2:Métraux--4 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

/112 cont./

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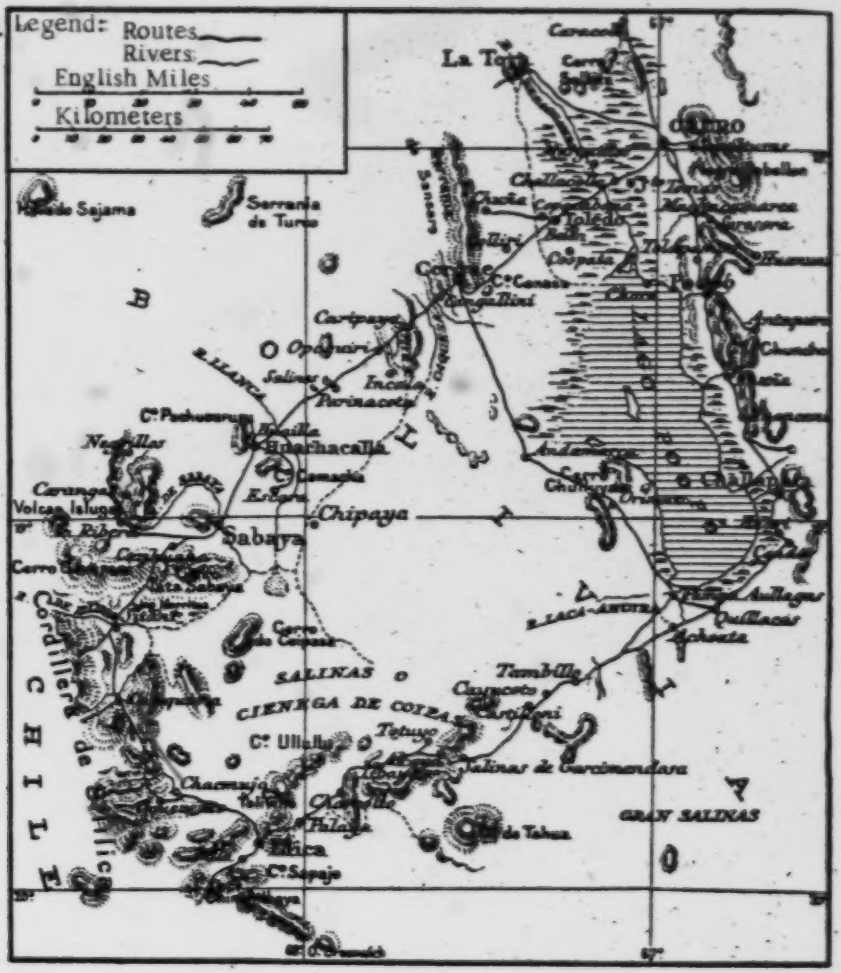
489


Legend:
Routes
Rivers
English Miles
Kilometers
La Tuna
Cerro Sajama
Serranía de Turco
Carangas
Opaquiri
Salinas
Incapa
Parinacota
Nevados
Chipaya
Sabaya
Cordillera de Chilla
SALINAS
CIENEGA DE COIZA
Tambillo
Tolapalca
Tolapa
Tolapa
Tolapa

2:Métraux--6 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/114/

The Tribe and Its Environment

[131] [101] Location of the Čipaya. The Čipaya Indians still make up today a small, semi-independent tribe situated in the southern part of Carangas Province in Oruro Department (Bolivia) (Map 1). The area of their territory is approximately 100 square kilometers (1).

113

1. In order to determine the exact location of the Čipaya and to guide myself during my trips in Carangas Province, I used the following maps: Mapa topográfico de la Altiplanicie central de Bolivia, trabajado en los años 1867 para el proyecto de canalización y ferrocarril a la costa del Océano Pacífico /Topographic map of the central Altiplano of Bolivia, made in the years /sic/ 1867 for the project to build a canal and railroad to the coast of the Pacific Ocean/, by Hugo Reck; Part of the bolivian Table land from a Trigonometrical Survey executed for the National Government in 1892 by J.B. Minchin; Régions des hauts-plateaux de l'Amérique du Sud (Bolivie, Argentine, Chili, Pérou) parcourues par la mission française /Regions of the altiplano of South America (Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Peru) traversed by the French mission/ (G. de Créqui Montfort and B. Sénéchal de la Grange, 1903). Map drawn by

/114 cont./

114 passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map,
361 undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is
131 located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and 19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate
361 Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will
[179] help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Iscara, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon
[631] which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the
[484] distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission
361 as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Chipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

[113]

1. Bacarreza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor..., comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor..., commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

[!6th Century]

/30 cont./

101 between ou and o /French sounds/; or else urito (ourito), an affectionate diminutive, or chana wawa, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of hosle or huslé, "bastard," without father or master," or on the other hand the very respectful one of haké waka, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives uru, uro, kotá-haké ("men of the Lake"), uma-hake ("water men"), and chaillia-uira ("fishermen") in Aymara; laguneros /"lake men"/ in Spanish; uru, uru-kuna ("Uru men"), cocha kuna ("men of the Lake"), kocha-la ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Chroniclers

101 175 Morua (Fr. Martin de)

...but since the peoples of Peru are many, very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the bigness of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull as in Collao and other areas; [131] [062] because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and subsisted on the totora and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Puquinas, some of them or generally most raise livestock, and some live near the said [195] [062] [501] [091] [094] lake, intermixed with the said Uros; and these eat raw fish, which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they made a sort of jacket which they were accustomed to wear; [241] [342] [222] and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make houses but they merely subsist on plants, although there also exists among them a seed similar to millo which grows on

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

[175] its own, without cultivation, and which they call quinua [222] /quinoa/ or canagua; all of these Indians are fond of and eat the [262] leaf of same..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Incas del Peru /History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru/, 1590, Constantino Bayle edition, Madrid, 1946, p. 214.)

[648] /31/...The Uros were Indians that the Inca sent for when [702] the army was short, and they were compelled to follow the [726] flags, not knowing even how to hold a bow; they went into battle almost without weapons and they and some of the Puquinas were killed like flies; because they had no military training, they let themselves be killed like animals. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibidem, p. 184.)

Garcilaso de la Vega

[181] ...and thus the Puquina, Colla, Uru, and Yunca Indians, and other nations that are crude and dull, and owing to their crudeness, even speak their own languages poorly..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales /First part of the Royal Commentaries/..., VII, Chap. 4.)

Oliva (Rev. Father Anello)

[181] ...(Sinchi Roca) ordered that...useless people, as the [648] Uros were, who are ignorant and useless, should each one of [651] them gather one reed tube full of lice each month, so that no one should be idle..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de sus Incas Reyes /History of the Kingdom and Provinces of Peru, of its Inca Kings/..., 1598. 1895 edition, Lima.)

Ramirez (Baltasar)

[131] The Uro Indians are a people who live on lakes, such as the lake of Chuquito and that of Paria, and in other parts.

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them:
648 The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-
728 settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the
599 inhabitants, unable to bear with it, asked Casiracapa to rid them of those people, because they robbed them, ate their livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the Captain advised the Inca of this and he was ordered to return them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it;
[101] these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where
[131] they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small
[262] villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable: they are infidels in addition, Your Excellency would perform a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so
[356] that they and their descendants might become Christians, and giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings defy description. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

175 Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima, 1568/.

[14] This document from the General Archives of the Indies in Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed by Marie Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-150, 1951.

Aymara SF 5

[16th Century]

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162 /35 cont./
Machuca (Juan Lozano)

...In the bay of Atacama, where the port (Cobija) is, there are 400 Uro Indian fishermen....Likewise in the city district and environs of Tarapaca, which extends from the port of Pisagua and Hique-Hique, where there are Uro Indian fishermen, to the port of Loa, there are many mines....The repartimiento of the heirs of Lucas Martin Begaso is under the jurisdiction of the city of Arequipa and there must be some 2,000 Aymara Indians and more than 1,000 Uro Indian fishermen in the said territory..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Reports on the Indies/, II, Appendices, pp. XXV, XXVI, and XXVII.)

U
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735 Aside from the 4,000 Aymara Indians of Lipez, there were in this repartimiento another 1,000 Uro Indians, a poor people who neither sow nor reap and who subsist on the hunting of guanacos and vicuñas and on fish and roots found in the marshes, which they call coroma; and herewith the 4,000 Aymara Indians claim poverty, because while rich in native livestock and reaping and sowing and conducting trade and barter in this town of Potosi, Tarapaca, and Atacama, and founding many metals, which they extract from the mines, they excuse themselves from paying tribute to H. M. under pretext of being poor, like the 1,000 Uro Indians who truly are..../Translated from the Spanish./

A
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[648]
[651]

(Ibidem, Appendix 3.)

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[131] Jujuy Archives

Dr. Ernesto Sourrouille, in the historic studies he carried out in the Jujuy archives and with private documents (testaments, grants, etc.) told me, that at the western source of the Orosmayo River, in the Department of Santa Catalina, south of the Cerro Esmoraca, there lived a tribe of Uro Indians like those who share a boundary with the Atacamas..../Translated from the Spanish./

4:Vellard--11 D,E-4,5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[17th Century]

175 /36 cont./ There is another Pueblo four leagues
361 east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are
103 resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from
648 other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

997 ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town....

1191 Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake....They
262 are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat
142 a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long
308 and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a
181 knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

101 In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of
131 Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Simillake.

423 ...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all
489 defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths
926 throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we
175 shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this
721 cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

[16th-17th Centuries]

/37 cont./

175 701 721 648 Nearly all of this first book of Chapter XVII is devoted to the great rebellion of these Indians, led by mestizos or Spanish bandits, like their last chief, a certain... "Don Pedro Laine, a fierce and bold man, the son of the Auditor /Contador/ Ansa, who is regarded by them as a great sorcerer.../cited in Spanish/."

(Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustin en el Perú /Moral Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru/. Lima, 1653. Vol. II, Chap. XVII, First Book.)

195 Diligencias e informaciones hechas para sacar de la isla del Choro y del Paraje de Villivilli en el Lago Poopo a los indios sus habitantes, considerados como infieles y pernicioso /Measures and inquiries carried out to remove from the island of Choro and the region of Villivilli in Lake Poopo their Indian inhabitants, regarded as being infidels and destructive./

● [131] Report made by General Don Francisco García Picado, Corregidor and Lord Chief Justice of Oruro, at the request of the Duke de la Palata, Viceroy of Peru, on the existence of savage Indians on Paria Lake.

[197] Among the witnesses whose testimony was gathered by the commissioners /Commissaires/ we find..."the Teaching [635] Father Fray Nicolas de Loayza, a religious of the Order of Our Father Saint Augustine...of Chacacollo, the principal [162] pueblo of the district of the corregidor of the province /38/ of Paria, and of its native Indians called Urus, and of some outsiders who live in said pueblo and the neighboring areas under its authority...a person who has known them for 35 [197] years and has more than sufficient experience...teaching them the Christian doctrine in three languages: the general one, Aymara, and their own mother tongue, which they call Ura.../cited in Spanish/."

(Document partly published in the Revista del Instituto de Sociología Boliviana in Sucre, by Gunnar Mendoza L. under

/38 cont./
the title: "Posición geográfica de los indios Urus en el Lago Poopó /Geographic Location of the Uru Indians on Lake Poopo/," III, No. 3, 50-65, 1943-44. This document was made known to us by Dr. Guillermo Francovich, at the time Rector of the University of Sucre.)

Ludovico Bertonio

The (words) listed here are peculiar to the Aymara of this Lupaca Province....But not on this account should one judge that this vocabulary will be of use only to the priests and other persons who reside in the Province of Chucuyto, and among the Lupaca Indians, because without any doubt wherever the Aymara language is spoken, and in the whole nation of Aymara Indians...because the Aymara nation, although spread out in many and various Provinces, is very similar in language, and manner of speech generally, and thus he who knows well this Lupaca language will without difficulty understand the Indians of other Provinces...except for a few special words, very few, as we have said.

...It is certain that in this Aymara nation, if we count the small ones and the large ones, there are more than 1,000 pueblos or slightly less. Let us see now how many are the preachers who, knowing this language well, with the necessary clarity and proficiency, teach the Gospel. I would not be far wrong if I stated that they are barely 20.../Translated from the Spanish./

(Vocabulario de la Lengua aymara.../Vocabulary of the Aymara Language/, printed in the house of the Compañia de Jesus de Juli, a pueblo in the Province of Chucuito. By Francisco del Canto, 1612; preface A1 and A2.)

Lizarraga

...This province (Omasuyo) is heavily populated, and most are Puquinas; they are well favored /son recios/ with

4:Vellard--14 D,E-4,5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th-17th Centuries]

/38 cont./

native livestock, and in addition they share in more maize and wheat than those of other parts, because of /39/ having on their left the province of Larecaja, abundant in both.... /Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción colonial /Colonial Account/. Biblioteca Argentina, XIII-XIV, Buenos Aires, 1916, I, 227.)

Constituciones sinodales del Obispado del Cuzco, expedidas el 29 de Setlembre de 1591, por el Illmo Sr. D. Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of Cuzco, issued on 29 September 1951 by the Illustrious Don Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo/.

...Because in many pueblos of this our Diocese as a rule all Indian women, or most of them and some of the Indian men, do not understand the Quechua language, but rather Aymara or Puquina, and for this reason do not know the mysteries of our Faith, and do not confess their whole life, not even at the hour of death, in order to remedy this we order that all parish priests among the Indians, in accordance with the mandate of the third Council, should hear confessions in the language peculiar to their parish, /whether/ Quechua, Aymara, or Puquina, and because this is so different in each pueblo where said language is spoken, within a year of their being appointed to said parishes, they should prepare with the help of Indians who know Spanish /ladinos/ a short Confession and Catechism wherewith to confess and instruct these persons, which they must do under penalty of 20 pesos the first time and twice as much the second, being warned that they will even be deprived of their parishes, if they are negligent in this respect..../Translated from the Spanish./

Statement of the Bishop of Cuzco, D. Antonio de la Raya, charging the Jesuits on 12 March 1549 to give examinations to clergymen applying for Indian parishes:

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chearaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleevless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

IT MIGHT STILL BE A.D. 1500 in a remote section of Oruro Department of Bolivia today. Here is the retreat of the Chipaya Indians, the living people who can give us an idea of rural life in a distant corner of the great Inca Empire. The few hundred individuals of Santa Ana de Chipaya are the remainders of a once numerous people whose territory extended to the northern shores of Lake Titicaca. Their language, Uru-Chipaya, was called "one of the three main languages of the kingdom" by the sixteenth-century chroniclers of Peru, which included what is now Bolivia. Over the centuries the more powerful Quechuas and Aymaras have seized their lands, forcing them back into a region where life is particularly difficult. But they have made remarkable use of their harsh, ungenerous environment. In their isolation, they have retained their pre-Columbian customs more completely than any other Andean group.

And they are isolated. The modern world did not even know of their existence until it was reported by the famous Peruvianist Max Uhle toward the end of the nine-

[R19-C]

teenth century. To reach them today, you travel by train from La Paz to the city of Oruro, then by car or bus to Curaguara de Carangas. From there you must walk over a desert worthy of Siberia to the left bank of the Lauca River, where a canoe must be found for the crossing, before you go on to the village. 131 [33]

Little is known of Chipaya history. It has been conjectured that they may be the descendants of one of the first groups to reach the American continent. They call themselves the descendants of the *chullpas*, the ancient inhabitants of the area who, according to legend, hid themselves in reed baskets when the sun appeared for the first time. 174 173

The *chullpas* are still in the neighborhood, silent mummies resting in the square sod houses they built long ago. The word *chullpa* is also used for the burial houses. The ghost villages of *chullpas*, their doorways invariably facing east, can be seen by travelers today. Modern Indians avoid them with superstitious dread. It is claimed that the Chipayas are feared by the stronger Aymaras be- 172 148 186

[Text continues on p. 20-B]
[p. 19-D]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO

By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *totora* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—*viz.*, scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.[1]

Location. According to Polo, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Ahualla maya*, some 20 km. from Ancoaqui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoaqui*, on the left[2] bank of the Desaguadero, 23 km. from Lake Titicaca *Iruitu*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31′40″);

[1] The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uru-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South America ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

[2] Métraux, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 26, p. 75) is in minor error in locating this *communidad* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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[*de Indias*, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1582, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the kingdom." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace.

Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Ore with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raoul de la Grasserie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquinas, known also by the name of Urus, Uros, Hunos and Ochomazos, etc." Ehrenreich also lists the "Uro or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Grasserie:

> In the midst of the Kolya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raoul de la Grasserie seems to belong to a different people.

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uros of Iruitu [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruitu ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uro of Raoul de la Grasserie is totally different from my Uro."[3]

More recently Métraux has done linguistic work with both the Chipaya of Lake Poopo (Carangas) and the Uru of Ancoaqui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chipaya, of the group he calls "Uro-Čipaya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Métraux with my own and Polo's make it clear that:

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chipaya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

[3] Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York 1891), pp. 223–224. Raoul de la Grasserie. *Langues Américaines: Langue Puquina, Textes Puquina Contenus dans le Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum de Geronimo de Ore* (publié à Naples en 1607 avec texte espagnol en regard, traduction analytique interlineaire, vocabulaire et essai de grammaire, Leipzig, 1894), p. 67. (De la Grasserie used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Brinton, according to Chamberlain, used a British Museum copy of Ore.) Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Ethnographie Sudamerikas im Beginn des XX Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturvölker* (Archiv für Anthropologie N. F. 3: 39–75, 1905), p. 65. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896; cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uran: A New South American Linguistic Stock* (American Anthropologist 12: 417–424, 1910), p. 418, from which this résumé is taken. See also M. Uhle, *Reisen in Bolivia und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlung 23, 1896), pp. 357–360; *idem*, *Ueber die Sprache der Uros in Bolivia* (Globus 69, 1896), p. 19.

Carangas—
Chipaya

/117 cont./

312 puna, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places
[246] lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants,
[331] which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as boars. The
137 Čipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities. As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this assertion. It nonetheless reveals a certain care for precision among the Čipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the scantiness of this flora which a little wetness causes to grow in the
● 132 midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya
[133] has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate
[346] land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques, the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds draw into strange formations and assume a luster elsewhere unknown. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

[133] Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the existence of the Čipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River, which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the characteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months, threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation
132 of the "canton," the flocks which feed upon it. This is the most
221 crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe
796 are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals of the Čipaya take place at this time and that all have the

Carangas—
Chipaya

/118 cont./

221 796 132 [152] objective of requesting the demons and saints to send them prosperity along with the rain. The beginning of the year 1931 was marked by a long period of dryness (1) and I witnessed the anguish

1. During the months of January and February I made a certain number of meteorological observations which were unfortunately incomplete because of my frequent moves. For January the average maximum temperature was 19° to 20° /centigrade/ and that of the minimum temperature 6°. In February we had an average maximum temperature of 19° and a minimum temperature of 5°. In January I noted a high of 24° and a low of 1°. For February the high was 23° and the low—1°. February was rainier than January although the end of the latter month was marked by some violent storms and hail.

of the Čipaya; this anxiety manifested itself perhaps in the pomp and seriousness with which they carried out the festivals which I shall describe later.

The winter is a testing time for the Čipaya. They spoke to me in eloquent language of its rigors—dried and yellowed pastures, thin and starving animals, icy winds which pierced to the /119/ [182] bone. This entire season passes without festivals, at least without pagan festivals, and this cessation of religious life is good evidence of the close correlation that exists between the pagan ceremonies of the Čipaya and their problems of subsistence.

Carangas — Chipaya

/156 cont./ The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots
342 of tola (čoksa, čoxsa) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes
335 (kxaru) (Pl. VI, B /see p. 215/). They are thrust in the holes of
[824] which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1, H /see
883] p. 142/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are superimposed and are fastened at the intersections by solid ligatures. Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cereus wood /157/ /Figure 1 appears here/ /158/ in order to allow the roofers to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

342 On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum (pirina) made of straw (p^{h}it) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin covering, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are hoisted up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the faggots by means of a long wooden needle (čapa) threaded with straw cord (Fig. 1, A) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to encompass a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence of this thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the intercrossing of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross surmounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house from the effects of lightening.

252 Furnishings. The interior disposition of Čipaya huts is most
352 summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[Text Continues on p. 143]

/162 cont./

241 of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2, K /see p. 150/). Today
[412] they use long-handled hoes (astuna, takisa) of European make.
[177] The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Čipaya with
[178] an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The quinua which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequent-
● [132] ly of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

222

1. The Čipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (siča) which they say is the root of the tola, and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (sawkx-pera) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

000 of several broken down enclosures.

234 Trade. The Čipaya make cheeses, which constitute their
433 chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk.
439 They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, quinua, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried
439 fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region
[433] of the Salinas, from Garcimendoza. The Čipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

/177 cont./

*539 192 193 Spanish word uno /"one"/. In 9 the Spanish word voluntad (will) is deformed into pulúntá, as v does not exist in Uru, but it keeps the Spanish tonic accent.

IV. Nocturnal Fishing
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 161 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 206 1. We are accustomed to fish at night. 2. We are accustomed to fish in darkness. 3. But how can one see at night? 4. One can easily see the fish moving about. 5. We cover ourselves with the sail to keep from being cold.

Remarks

[130] The Uru often go fishing at night in their fishing enclosures, and in order not to suffer from the intense cold and the icy wind, they shelter themselves under the totora sails of their craft.

*539 192 193 1. The form maká-xe, "by night," "in the darkness," is analogous to tom-xe, "today," "on this day," and to num-xe, "by day." 3. kún, an interrogative particle, "how," is accompanied by the pure root of the verb. 4. kíre, "fish," is often pronounced kíri. 5. sráp'-pa indicates finality and may be added either to a verb root or to a substantive form or adjective, as is the case here.

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Iru Itu

There were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him standing motionless and followed the younger one down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

Fortunately in these last few years the climatic conditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more increased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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T-u Itu

Two men work simultaneously

tightening the braids with little wooden hooks, taking care that the two parallel cylinders have exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a third man waters the cylinders, so that the reed remains slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fisherman holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsas measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a punt-pole when circulating among the rushes. The life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the rancous lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the previous day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards, and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Environment. The Rio Desaguadero, as its name implies, is the outlet of Lake Titicaca and flows roughly south to Lake Poopo.[6] Near the lake, where uptilted strata testify to a major geological upheaval at some time in the past, the river flows relatively swiftly through the rocky gate, but on reaching a broad valley between the range of foothills west of the Tiahuanacu plain and a corresponding range in Peru, it slows down considerably. The Desaguadero endlessly bifurcates as the river reaches the Uru swamps. The giant *totora*-reeds stretch higher than a man's head, and clumps of these are alive with numerous and almost tame waterfowl of many varieties, which apparently have never been hunted other than with *bolas*. In the clear, cold water of the river, dozens of varieties of water plants can be seen waving in the current, and in and out of these can be seen darting abundant fish—although these last belong to only about four or five varieties. Near the village half-wild cattle can be heard and occasionally seen plunging through the swampy shallows to eat the succulent white roots of the *totora* (the Uru have scant mainland pasturage for cattle or llamas). In the mountains back of their lands are pumas and vicuñas, but nearby there are only *viscachas* (a bushy-tailed, rabbit-eared rodent of the chinchilla family), the *altiplano* fox (Aymará *q'amaq'e*), and the domesticated guinea-pig.

The stony, dry soil at this altitude, when uncultivated, bears only *t'ola*, a kind of greasebrush used as a fuel, as is also *yareta*, a low, gray-green, semisubterranean mass suggesting a large, woody, resinous cauliflower; and a few small-flowered herbs. The altitude of the Uru country is about 12,000 feet, hence, though it is not far south of the Equator, the air is cold and rare. The rainy season, from late November to early March, comprises the summer. Although the middle of the day can be more than uncomfortably warm

[6] The best way to reach the Uru is to proceed northwest from Guaqui, on Lake Titicaca, by land over a small range of mountains or by water on the Lake, to the little village of Desaguadero, which straddles the river of that name at its head, being thus in both Peruvian and Bolivian territory. *Balsas* are the only means of transportation on the river, and it is imperative to secure experienced rivermen as guides through the elaborate waterways of the swamps in the middle Desaguadero. Storms on the river and the temporary loss of a baggage-*balsa* in the swamp made it for me, my one half-breed and two native companions, a two-day trip, though it should normally be made in one long day's travel. Instead of boating laboriously upstream on the return trip to the Lake, one may go by land cross-country north of Jesus de Machaca. The cold, dry winds from the mountains in this region speedily entail the minor inconvenience of chapped and bleeding lips, and in certain seasons it is a nuisance to find in travelling that rivers on which one had been depending for drinking water have dried up. Weapons, with which I stupidly neglected to provide myself, are probably more nearly necessary in this region than elsewhere in the *altiplano*. Bandelier noted cannibalism near Sajama in 1898, and according to Bolivian authorities, the flesh of murdered whites was so employed during native uprisings as late as 1923 in this Jesus de Machaca region.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

in summer when the sun is shining, the temperature in this relatively dry region invariably falls quite low in the cold nights, necessitating a sleeping-bag and heavy blankets. Winters are bitterly cold: this period lasts from June to November, the "dry season." Morning mists are common, and electrical storms are frequent in summer, as is hail, but the winter snows are comparatively light.

Linguistic Identification. The Uru have been the source of a long and intricate scholarly debate, which is by no means adequately settled yet. In 1607 the missionary Geronimo de Ore published in Naples a famous, but rare book, his *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum*. This contains about thirty pages in the "Puquina" tongue, with translations into Aymará, Quechua, Spanish, and Latin. The only specimen of this language in modern works was the Paternoster from Ore printed by Hervas, until Brinton published extracts from Ore's Puquina rendering, and the numerals from one to ten. On the basis of the Paternoster alone, Hervas believed that the Puquinan was an entirely separate stock. Adelung-Vater, however, copying Hervas' quoted Paternoster, came to the opposite conclusion, inclining to believe that it was related to Aymará. This opinion was fully adopted by Sir Clements Markham, who declared Puquinan "a very rude dialect of the Lupaca" (a sub-tribe of the Aymára). He was followed in this by von Tschudi.[7]

These authorities, to be sure, had only the Hervas Paternoster from Ore's *Rituale*. It is evident that neither Hervas, Adelung-Vater, Markham, nor von Tschudi had ever seen Ore's original work, since all of them believed that the Lord's Prayer was the only "Puquina" extant in print—whereas thirty pages are to be found in the *Rituale* with translations. However, whether or not Puquina be finally equated with Uru, one thing seems certain: neither one is basically related to the Aymará stock, regardless of extensive borrowings from both Aymará and Quechua. Comparison of the Puquina numerals in Brinton indicate that they are quite independent of both Aymará and Quechua. Brinton himself, with complete appropriateness remarks:

> It remains puzzling to me why the Puquina, which seems to have been spoken only by a few wretched villagers about Lake Titicaca, should have been classed by writers in the sixteenth century as one of the *lenguas generales* of Peru. Not only does Ore refer to it by this term, but in one of the official *Relaciones Geográficas*

[7] Daniel G. Brinton, *Note on the Puquina Language of Peru* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 28, 1890) pp. 242–248; Adelung, Vater, et al., *Mithradates*, Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1806–17), pp. 2, 548–550; Clements R. Markham, *On the Geographical Position of the Tribes which Formed the Empire of the Yncas* (Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 41: 281–338, 1871), p. 305; J. J. von Tschudi, *Organismus der Ketschua Sprache* (Leipzig, 1884), s. 76.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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slant. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymára. Walle (page 155) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Posnansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient Amerindian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *čuñu*-consuming Aymára (*čuñu* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fishermen, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymára and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymára-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymára, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymára; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymára is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymára nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymára; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymára, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tututia*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[17] the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the

[17] In Neveu-Lemaire, *Les Lagos*, p. LXI.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *ira* (Aymará *unku*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*makči*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *almiła*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulči*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *škara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *iktara*), complete the male costume. The belt called *časi* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *urku*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *čočo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *chulpas* of Incasica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

2:Métraux--4 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/112 cont./

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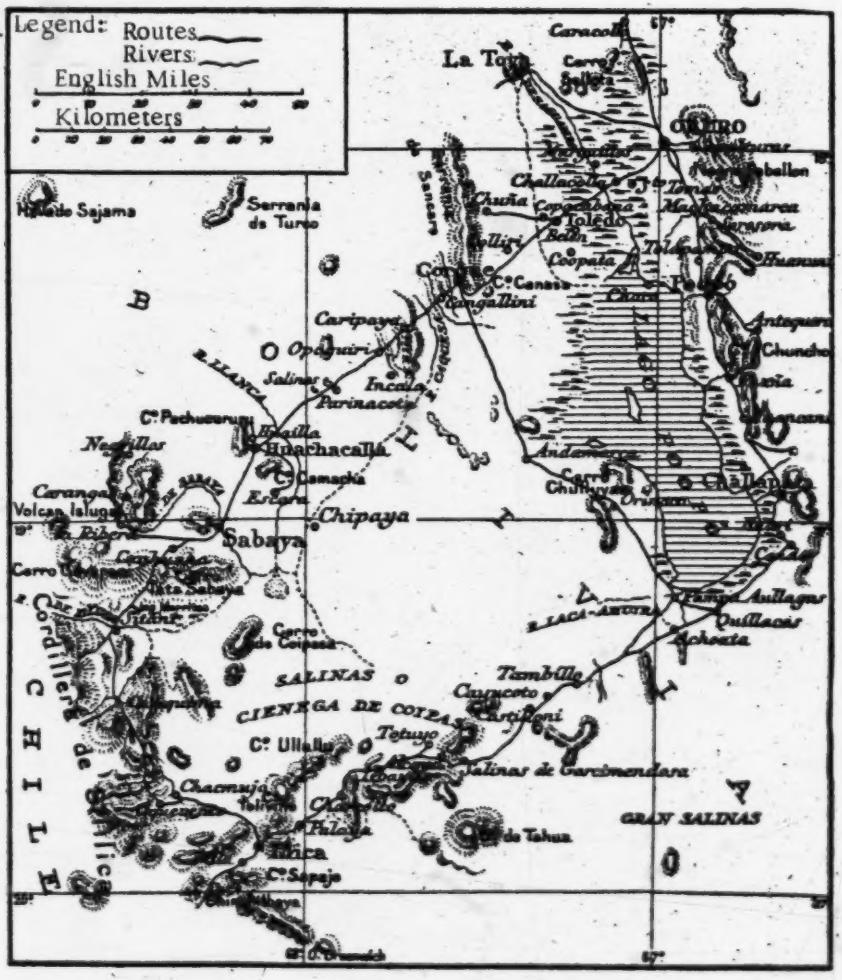

Map 1. — Carangas Province, after J.-B. Minchin.

/114 cont./

113 V. Huot, after the work of members of the mission, original unpublished sources, and the most recent documents, on a scale of 1/750,000; Mapa de la red de caminos del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Map of the network of roads in Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1924); Mapa telegráfico y de vialidad del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Telegraphic map and map of accessibility of Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1930).

●133 361 The village of Chipaya properly so called is located about 30 kilometers north of the Coipasa salt marshes and about 20 kilometers from Cerro Camacha, the first spur of the Cordillera to the west. To the east Chipaya is separated by more than 100 kilometers from the marshy banks of the Poopó. The village does not 114 361 133 stand on the banks of the Barras River or the Chipaya as shown on the map of the Créqui-Montfort Mission, the best that we have for the Bolivian Altiplano. The Lauca River, which flows to the west, is 10 to 12 kilometers away from it. Since all the maps that I have seen show the Barras River flowing between the Lauca and the village of Chipaya, I undertook several trips from different sides to verify this. Northeast of Chipaya, about seven kilometers away, I found the bed of a dried-up river, which perhaps corresponds to the course of the Barras River as it is drawn on some maps. This river must have taken another direction today, for having crossed it at the same time at the height of the village of Kala, a two-days' trip to the north, I was able to ascertain that it was Passably filled with water.

/114 cont./

114 passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map,
36 undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is
131 located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and 19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate
36 Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will
[199] help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Iscara, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-
[631] east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the
[484] distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission
36 as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Cipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

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1. Bacarreza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor..., comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor..., commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

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Chipaya

/117 cont./

197 had to manifest itself through the intermediary of Aymara. The Uro dialect of the Čipaya is thus an ailing language in the process of disappearing in the future that I believe to have saved from oblivion, if not in its entirety, at least to a great extent.

133 137 The territory. The physical envionment is that of the puna (Pl. VI, A /see p. 30 /) artificially altered by man. If one arrives in Chipaya coming from the north, one traverses for almost a day an uninterrupted succession of sand dunes, to which some tufts of long, hard gramineous plants (iču, Stipa ichu (Jarava) or the black, twisted stalks of tolas (Baccharis Lepidophyllum and other Compositae) cling. Once the dune area has been crossed the terrain becomes completely flat, and the rarer tolares alternate with the mossy swellings of yareta (Azorella). In places the vegetation disappears completely, but the most sterile parts are adorned with some Alpine flowers, which make imperceptible spots of color against the greyness of the ground. The Indians are [301] not disdainful of them. I remember having seen them gather [324] bunches of them during a festival to stick in their hair or to decorate [134] the images of saints. The aridity of this sandy soil manifests itself with an intensity which becomes more and more acute the closer one comes to Chipaya territory. The boundary is marked by the complete disappearance of the plants mentioned above and by the appearance of stunted grass, thinly sown, which hardly [311] reaches a few centimeters in height. These wretched pastures are 312 the product of human industry. The Čipaya obtain them thanks to a system of irrigation that would do honor to their spirit of enterprise were it not the necessary condition of their existence in this environment. Using canals, some of which are almost two meters deep and three meters across, they have diverted a part of the waters of the Lauca River and conducted it by secondary branches across the entire extent of their territory. During the rainy season and the period of great floods, they provoke inundations by raising a few dams here and there. The water fertilizes the sands of the

/117 cont./

312 puna, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places
[346] lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants,
331 which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as boars. The
137 Čipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities. As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this assertion. It nonetheless reveals a certain care for precision among the Čipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the scantiness of this flora which a little wetness causes to grow in the
132 midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya
[133] has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate
[346] land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques, the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds draw into strange formations and assume a luster elsewhere unknown. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

[133] Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the existence of the Čipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River, which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the characteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months, threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation
132 of the "canton," the flocks which feed upon it. This is the most
221 crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe
796 are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals of the Čipaya take place at this time and that all have the

/119 cont./

133 No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence
182 the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly was credited to it there can be no doubt that Cipaya mythology would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the
[52] Carangas deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness: "these bare plains where we live," such is the expression which
133 most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an impression of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes in a pale stroke.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous without the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Cipaya worship, is not visible from the village itself, Cerro Camacha hiding it from sight.

136 The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina) (Phoenicopterus andinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly disdained by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining themselves in red against the brilliant blue of the puna sky. The
237 Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the
825 great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated
[782] with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I
[301] have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of flamingo eggs threaded together.

2:Métraux--30 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

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Plate VI

A. — The Carangas puna.

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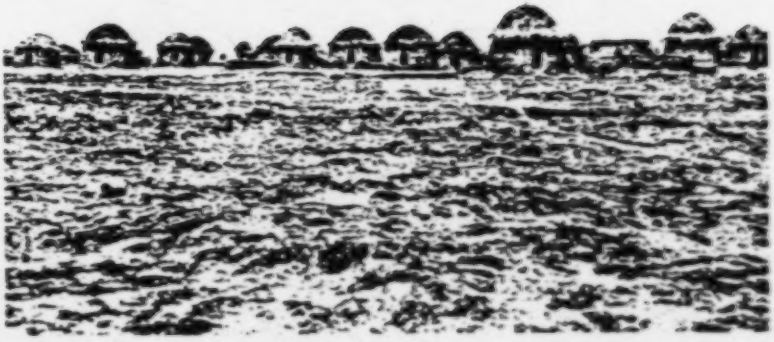

B. — Chipaya village: the western saya (saxata).

/338 cont./

*n78 n76 823 [782] The mountains (1). In their prayers the Čipaya invoke the

1. On the worship of mountains in the ancient Peruvian empire, consult Jijón y Caamaño, La religion del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 328-342.

mountains on their horizon in general and certain summits, such as the Sajama, in particular. The latter is the most sacred of all, for from it comes the Lauca River which fertilizes the wretched Chipaya plain. The Indians relate that there lived in Sajama a spirit (male or female) who made the contents of a pot boil so that steam was seen escaping. Sajama is now an extinct volcano.

[782] The Lauca River. Like the mountains the Lauca River is a divinity who demands offerings and blood sacrifices. As the Pačamama has been associated with the Virgin, so the Lauca River has been confused with María, who for the Čipaya, it seems, is a personage distinct from the Virgin; this is why the Lauca River is called Santa María Lauca. Its name is followed in a prayer with the double epithet of mal'ku and tal'a. These qualificatives would oblige us to assume that this river is symbolized by a pair of demons or considered in itself as being both male and female. I have not been able to obtain any clarification on this point, all the less so as the Čipaya have very rudimentary if any knowledge of mythology. These contradictory attributes given to the Lauca River perhaps are only an empty form without importance.

[796] [782] The Čipaya assured me that they hold a festival each year for the Lauca River. On this occasion one specimen of the three kinds of animals who live in Chipaya is sacrificed to it.

*n78 The sacred sticks. These are not lacking in any Čipaya hut, where they are set against the wall facing the door. The Indians worship them /339/ at home, as they told me, and I actually saw them placing censers at the foot. These sticks, one of which is reproduced here (Pl. XVI, D /see p. 137/), are made of palm-tree

2:Métraux--211 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate II

Chipaya/Carangas Aymara SF5

A. Landscape of the puna in the neighborhood of Chipaya.

B. The Aymara village of Lucara seen from the church tower.

2:Métraux--213 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Chipaya

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Plate IV

A. One of the estancias of Chipaya.

[346]

B. The little church of Chipaya, between the two "moieties."

3:Vellard--i D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate I

133

1. The plain of the Desaguadero seen from Iru-Itu in 1938.

[233]

2. Photograph taken from the same point in 1942. The Desaguadero is reduced to a plain of sand, without water.

Photos by J. Vellard

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-Itu, or Angoake, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Itu had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, hispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

/146 cont./

[6] [62] [33] According to the latest news the group of Iru-Itu seems to be reduced to some 12 people, although since 1946 the level of the lake has risen considerably; in February 1947 it had already risen 90 centimeters. This rising movement is continuing, and the totora beds are slowly beginning to reform.

[73] The old Uru remembered having seen in their youth, around 1870, an even worse drought than that of these last years. But at that time they were more numerous and the group was able to subsist. Now it is too diminished to reconstitute itself and its disappearance seems definite.

[0] I visited the Uru of Iru-Itu for the first time in 1938. During my stay in Bolivia from 1940 to 1944 I was in constant con-
[2] tact with them. Their misery and their decline did not allow me to glean important observations on their material culture, already studied by the numerous ethnographers who have stayed among the Uru of the Desaguadero. Their imminent disappearance made it necessary, however, to bring together everything which might still exist among them: anthropological observations, traditions, and linguistic records, in order to compare them with the other populations of the region and especially with the different groups of fishers on Lake Titicaca.

These are the results of this study, the publication of which we are beginning.

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Note I

Accounts and Conversations

[4] The linguistic records at our disposal on the Uru are reduced to some quick observations and more or less expanded vocabularies gathered by travelers in the course of brief stays in the region of Iru-Itu. Métraux is the only one to have published texts in the Chipaya dialect. No text exists in the Iru-Itu dialect, and the best sources of linguistic information on

4:Vellard--4 D.E-4,5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th Century]

/31 cont./

195 They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes,
[342] which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tule....

...They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant,
[262] although not very good....They dress badly and eat, aside
[181] from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land;
they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They
[248] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general
[251] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered
in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now
pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some
order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/...., 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua: Juicio de límites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/, Barcelona, 1906, I, 293-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[124] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities
of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and
pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats
[101] and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so
wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they
were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species
of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/...., Madrid, 1601-1615, III, 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[33] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has
only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said
to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a
bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to
cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current.
[illegible] so what they say.

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

?:Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SP24 Urs SP24
Chipaya

twenth century. To reach them today, you travel by train 131
from La Paz to the city of Oruro, then by car or bus to
Curaguara de Carangas. From there you must walk over [33]
a desert worthy of Siberia to the left bank of the Lauca
River, where a canoe must be found for the crossing,
before you go on to the village.

Little is known of Chipaya history. It has been con- 174
jectured that they may be the descendants of one of the
first groups to reach the American continent. They call 173
themselves the descendants of the *chullpas*, the ancient
inhabitants of the area who, according to legend, hid
themselves in reed baskets when the sun appeared for the
first time.

The *chullpas* are still in the neighborhood, silent mum- 122
mies resting in the square sod houses they built long
ago. The word *chullpa* is also used for the burial houses.
The ghost villages of *chullpas*, their doorways invariably
facing east, can be seen by travelers today. Modern In-
dians *avoid* them *with superstitious dread*. It is claimed 148
that the Chipayas are feared by the stronger Aymaras be- 182

[Text continues on p. 20-B]
[p. 19-D]

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American Anthropologist
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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO

By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *totora* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—*viz.*, scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.[1]

Location. According to Polo, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Akwallo maya*, some 20 km. from Ancoaqui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoaqui*, on the left[2] bank of the Desaguadero, 23 km. from Lake Titicaca *Iruitu*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31'40"),

[1] The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited *the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uru-Chipaya dictionary*. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South American ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

[2] Métraux, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 26, p. 75) is in minor error in locating this *community* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

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Environment. The Rio Desaguadero, as its name implies, is the outlet of Lake Titicaca and flows roughly south to Lake Poopo.[1] Near the lake, where uptilted strata testify to a major geological upheaval at some time in the past, the river flows relatively swiftly through the rocky gate, but on reaching a broad valley between the range of foothills west of the Tiahuanacu plain and a corresponding range in Peru, it slows down considerably. The Desaguadero endlessly bifurcates as the river reaches the Uru swamps. The giant *totora*-reeds stretch higher than a man's head, and clumps of these are alive with numerous and almost tame waterfowl of many varieties, which apparently have never been hunted other than with *balsas*. In the clear, cold water of the river, dozens of varieties of water plants can be seen waving in the current, and in and out of these can be seen darting abundant fish—although these last belong to only about four or five varieties. Near the village half-wild cattle can be heard and occasionally seen plunging through the swampy shallows to eat the succulent white roots of the *totora* (the Uru have scant mainland pasturage for cattle or llamas). In the mountains back of their lands are pumas and vicuñas, but nearby there are only *viscachas* (a bushy-tailed, rabbit-eared rodent of the chinchilla family), the *altiplano* fox (Aymará *q'amaq'e*), and the domesticated guinea-pig.

The stony, dry soil at this altitude, when uncultivated, bears only *t'ola*, a kind of greasebrush used as a fuel, as is also *yareta*, a low, gray-green, semisubterranean mass suggesting a large, woody, resinous cauliflower; and a few small-flowered herbs. The altitude of the Uru country is about 12,000 feet, hence, though it is not far south of the Equator, the air is cold and rare. The rainy season, from late November to early March, comprises the summer. Although the middle of the day can be more than uncomfortably warm

[1] The best way to reach the Uru is to proceed northwest from Guaqui, on Lake Titicaca, by land over a small range of mountains or by water on the Lake, to the little village of Desaguadero, which straddles the river of that name at its head, being thus in both Peruvian and Bolivian territory. *Balsas* are the only means of transportation on the river, and it is imperative to secure experienced riversmen as guides through the elaborate waterways of the swamps in the middle Desaguadero. Storms on the river and the temporary loss of a luggage-*balsa* in the swamp made it for me, my one half-breed and two native companions, a two-day trip, though it should normally be made in one long day's travel. Instead of boating laboriously upstream on the return trip to the Lake, one may go by land cross-country north of Jesus de Machaca. The cold, dry winds from the mountains in this region speedily entail the minor inconvenience of chapped and bleeding lips, and in certain seasons it is a nuisance to find in travelling that rivers on which one had been depending for drinking water have dried up. Weapons, with which I stupidly neglected to provide myself, are probably more nearly necessary in this region than elsewhere in the *altiplano*. Bandelier noted cannibalism near Sajama in 1909, and according to Bolivian authorities, the flesh of murdered whites was an employed during native uprisings as late as 1923 in this Jesus de Machaca region.

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FIG. 1. Uru houses. *Above*, hut with rushwalled and roof; some crude plow at right side of hut and holes poles by door. *Below*, typical round Uru house with mat roof, Ayaviri style rectangular house to rear; Desaguadero swamps in the background.

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/117 cont./

197 had to manifest itself through the intermediary of Aymara. The Uro dialect of the Čipaya is thus an ailing language in the process of disappearing in the future that I believe to have saved from oblivion, if not in its entirety, at least to a great extent.

133 137 The territory. The physical envionment is that of the puna (Pl. VI, A /see p. 30 /) artificially altered by man. If one arrives in Chipaya coming from the north, one traverses for almost a day an uninterrupted succession of sand dunes, to which some tufts of long, hard gramineous plants (iču, Stipa ichu (Jarava) or the black, twisted stalks of tolas (Baccharis Lepidophyllum and other Compositae) cling. Once the dune area has been crossed the terrain becomes completely flat, and the rarer tolares alternate with the mossy swellings of yareta (Azorella). In places the vegetation disappears completely, but the most sterile parts are adorned with some Alpine flowers, which make imperceptible spots of color against the greyness of the ground. The Indians are [301] not disdainful of them. I remember having seen them gather [324] bunches of them during a festival to stick in their hair or to decorate [134] the images of saints. The aridity of this sandy soil manifests itself with an intensity which becomes more and more acute the closer one comes to Chipaya territory. The boundary is marked by the complete disappearance of the plants mentioned above and by the appearance of stunted grass, thinly sown, which hardly [311] reaches a few centimeters in height. These wretched pastures are 312 the product of human industry. The Čipaya obtain them thanks to a system of irrigation that would do honor to their spirit of enterprise were it not the necessary condition of their existence in this environment. Using canals, some of which are almost two meters deep and three meters across, they have diverted a part of the waters of the Lauca River and conducted it by secondary branches across the entire extent of their territory. During the rainy season and the period of great floods, they provoke inundations by raising a few dams here and there. The water fertilizes the sands of the

to individual families by the head of each moiety. The altitude and the high salinity make the land infertile, and crops are meager. Sowing is done with a spade or sometimes a pointed stick, pushed into the earth with a strong thrust, forming a dry hole in which the seed is planted.

The people of the Andes have been master weavers for long over a thousand years. Modern Chipaya women carry on the art on looms like the ones their ancestors used, weaving the cloth for the family clothes from hand-spun llama wool. The women dress almost exactly as their ancestors did when the Spanish arrived. The basic garment is a rectangular shirt, woven in one piece with an opening left for the head. The blue sleeves that are sewn on are a modern addition. A black or gray tunic (*arku*) with a decorative border is worn over this, covering the whole body from the shoulders to the ankles. This ancient style has been slightly altered under ecclesiastical influence; now most of the women sew up the sides to form a sort of skirt. The sash is woven with black and white geometric designs. An ample mantle completes the costume. Long pins with large flattened heads are used to secure the mantle, and as ornaments in the hair. When the sun is strong, they protect themselves with an *unkuña*, a folded cloth worn on the head, exactly like the ones shown on Inca pottery.

Perhaps the most striking pre-Columbian survival is the famous "Titicaca coiffeur" still worn by many of the

[P 21-A]

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Carangas-
Chipaya

/119 cont./

133 No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence
182 the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly was credited to it there can be no doubt that Cipaya mythology would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the
[52] Carangas deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness: "these bare plains where we live," such is the expression which
133 most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an impression of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes in a pale stroke.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous without the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Cipaya worship, is not visible from the village itself, Cerro Camacha hiding it from sight.

• 136 The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina) (Phoenicopterus añinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly disdained by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining themselves in red against the brilliant blue of the puna sky. The
237 Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the
525 great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated
[182] with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I
[301] have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of flamingo eggs threaded together.

/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Chipaya tales have a small rodent, the toxo (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), promoted to the rank of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 230 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jímenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

/171 cont./

*539 192 193 1. píni means "many"; with hána it may be rendered by "no more"; učúmi, exclusive personal pronoun /172/ for the first person plural. 2. ʒalák, probably the Spanish chacra, "cultivated field"; the Uru do not have their own word to designate fields. 4. The ending čay added to a root gives it the verbal form. 6. xui, interrogative particle. 7. suche, [136] small kind of sheatfish from the Titicaca region; it is the [824] Trichomycterus dispar. 8. totora, Scirpus totora, the reeds of Lake Titicaca used by the Uru to build their balsas, cover their houses, and for other uses. 12. ke-, particle of repeti- [101] tion. 14. tòxʒa, literally "other persons," designates all men other than the Uru; nak' for náka, plural form of pronouns.

*539 392

II. Manufacture of Balsas from Totoras
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 154 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. Let us go, as is our custom, to find totoras to make a [283] balsa. 2. We are accustomed to go far to make the straw ropes /necessities/. 3. Three days are needed to dry (the straw ropes). 4. The straw ropes are well dried now. 5. Now all these totoras are well dried. 6. Let us make the balsa. 7. A man cuts the totora. 8. The totora is tied (in bolaches). 9. Three have to be made (bunches of totora): the heart (the middle spindle) and the two side spindles of the balsa. 10. We tie (the spindles); now we are going to squeeze them together very tightly, at first it takes two men to squeeze it together. 11. We have the custom of sprinkling (the totora) with water so that it does not dry. 12. Now we are going to tighten; to tighten we are accustomed to use a hook. 13. We beat (the totora) with /173/ a rock (in order to compress it).

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ture of the bundle. The whole is thrust vertically into the earth. The end of the bundle emerges a few centimeters above the surface of the water. They repeat the operation until a sufficiently compact weir is raised to hold the fish. The barrier has the form of an angle which opens in the direction of the current. The two wings are straight or curved slightly inward. They end in an opening about a meter wide whose edges, more resistant than the rest of the weir, are made of two bundles 20cm. in diameter. Unlike the others, these bundles have transverse ligatures a few centimeters above the surface. Facing this passage there is generally an islet of totora which protects the weir from the wind and to which the fisherman can attach his balsa. Here he places the net. He watches the fish that are engaged between the two barriers and thus conducted toward the net which closes the weir.

The Uru also make their *totora* sails to their boats into tent-like shelters over themselves when fishing. To drive the fish into their weirs, they attach bunches of reeds to a pole and agitate the water up and down.

Cord nets attached to a frame are also used in Uru fishing. The frame of this type of net (called *kalpaya*) is a tripod lashed at the divergent ends of the feet to a stick bent into a ring: these conical nets are quite large and about all one man can handle. Métraux further mentions a smaller rectangular-framed scoop net with a pole handle: "The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or sitting until he sees interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net carefully, then pulls it out of the water with a rapid motion." The Uru also have large bottom-nets or drag-nets, which neither Métraux nor the author were able to see in use as they serve for fishing only in very deep water. These are trailed behind several balsas, their bottoms weighted with perforated stones, and require a number of persons to handle them.

In fishing for a species of *Trichomycterus* (*T. pictus*, Aymará *suli*), the Uru of the Desaguadero also use a spear, called *pini*, which has eight or so diverging spikes at its end on which the fish is impaled in shallow water.* Although fish are reasonably identified in Lake Titicaca and the Rio Desaguadero, Agassiz early noted the poverty in variety of the fauna: the genus *Orestias* of the family *Cyprinodontidae*, and the genus *Trichomycterus* of the family *Siluridae* comprise all the known species. The *Orestias* [= Aymará *carlajo*, *ispi*= ? Uru *ailhertala*] are minnow-size fish, viviparous, and of marked sexual dimorphism, which may account for the number and variety of

* Pomansky (pp. 77-78) believes that this term indicates affinities with Amazonian languages, among whom the root *pi-* means "fish," as in the fish names *piarúkhla*, *pira-manúkhla*, *pira-arara*, *pira-pitanga* ("spotted fish"), *pira-acuti* ("red fish" of great size, which is dried like charqui), *pira-tina*, *pira-cema* ("arboreal fish"), *piraiba* (the terrible disemboweled fish of tropical rivers which attacks even humans), *pira-acuti* ("big fish"), *pirarucinga* ("whistling fish"), *mandupiri*, etc.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938 1941
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native names for an exiguous a number of scientific varieties. These occur in the species: *O. Cuvieri*, *O. Pentlandi*, *O. Humboldti*, *O. Jussieui*, *O. Bairdii*, *O. Orbignii*, *O. frontosus*, and *O. Nieuwi*. Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suli*, *mauri*; Uru *lisi*) these species are present: *T. dispar Tschudi*, and *T. rivulatus*. Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify clearly with the scientific classifications are: (Aymará) *qesi-t'aqa*, *qesintwa*, *huri-mauri*, *umaxsi*, *kawali*; (Uru) *isri*, *is*, *t'aki*, *ok'ulu*, *t'alkiri*, and *wak'lali*—whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and female of the same species.

Fish are preserved and prepared in several ways. The smaller kinds (*ispi*, *salala*, *alkat'alak*), salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. The larger varieties (*suli*, *mauri*, *lisi*) are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire, and thus smoke-dried are preserved for periods of aridity, according to Posnansky. But what appears to be the same process, described by Palavecino, is evidently a method of cooking:

> These ovens, which the Uru call *wanku*, consist in a hole dug in the soil, whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 cm. The rounded edge is raised at the surface of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uru light a fire in it and introduce more or less flat stones. When the stones are incandescent, they take them out, all except those on the bottom. They lay on these a layer of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a layer of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is closed with stones, and covered with mud. The fish is thus cooked by steaming.

Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South America.

Hunting is almost as important to the Uru as fishing, neither of which is basic in Chipaya economy. The river marshes abound with birds of many kinds: waterhens (*wanku*, *kokpa*), ducks (*qaqa*), geese (*wañata*), loons (*pako*), herons (*allili*), various diving birds and gulls; a large unidentified black bird they call *limamba* or *lilimba*. Other unidentified birds are: *lalita*, *kaluwaina* (*waina* is Aymará for "youth, young man"), *allawa*, *t'orawi*. Of these aquatic birds, only the "baldo" (*pako*) is not hunted or eaten, because of its taste, very often. More frequently hunted is a kind of red duck called *p'oxoxoya*.

The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Posnansky says men hunting alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or twisting the neck. The Uru are also users of slingshots woven or braided of variolored llama-wools, and they also use *bolas*, made with two large

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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sifiova) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *kalsa*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *kawova*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*qawoa*) llama-wool (*qawõi*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*wa'*[*i*]) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the heald-rod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymára. The women's wide girdles or *lazi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gorros* of the Aymára type (Uru *lkora*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.* The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymára at Guaqui, Tiahuanacu and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "ixtas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Uru *kolsi* (Aymará *lizu*, Uru *k'ooki*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

* Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the *altiplano* whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lacramarca on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *ccoto* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.

2:Métraux--12 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/117 cont./

had to manifest itself through the intermediary of Aymara. The Uro dialect of the Chipaya is thus an ailing language in the process of disappearing in the future that I believe to have saved from oblivion, if not in its entirety, at least to a great extent.

The territory. The physical environment is that of the puna (Pl. VI, A /see p. 30 /) artificially altered by man. If one arrives in Chipaya coming from the north, one traverses for almost a day an uninterrupted succession of sand dunes, to which some tufts of long, hard graminoeus plants (ichu, Stipa ichu (Jarava) or the black, twisted stalks of tolas (Baccharis Lepidophyllum and other Compositae) cling. Once the dune area has been crossed the terrain becomes completely flat, and the rarer tolares alternate with the mossy swellings of yareta (Azorella). In places the vegetation disappears completely, but the most sterile parts are adorned with some Alpine flowers, which make imperceptible spots of color against the greyness of the ground. The Indians are not disdainful of them. I remember having seen them gather bunches of them during a festival to stick in their hair or to decorate the images of saints. The aridity of this sandy soil manifests itself with an intensity which becomes more and more acute the closer one comes to Chipaya territory. The boundary is marked by the complete disappearance of the plants mentioned above and by the appearance of stunted grass, thinly sown, which hardly reaches a few centimeters in height. These wretched pastures are the product of human industry. The Chipaya obtain them thanks to a system of irrigation that would do honor to their spirit of enterprise were it not the necessary condition of their existence in this environment. Using canals, some of which are almost two meters deep and three meters across, they have diverted a part of the waters of the Lauca River and conducted it by secondary branches across the entire extent of their territory. During the rainy season and the period of great floods, they provoke inundations by raising a few dams here and there. The water fertilizes the sands of the

2:96Mmaco--15 E-5 (1930-1931) 1933, 1936 SF24 Urs SF24

Carangas-
Chipaya

/117 cont./

puna, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants, which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as boars. The Chipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities. As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this assertion. It nevertheless reveals a certain care for precision among the Chipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the scantiness of this flora which a little wetness causes to grow in the midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques, the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds draw into strange formations and assume a luster elsewhere unknown. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the existence of the Chipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River, which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the characteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months, threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation of the "cannon," the flocks which feed upon it. This is the most crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals of the Chipaya take place at this time and that all have the

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-Itu, or Angoake, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Itu had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, hispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

3:Vellard--6b D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

501

5. Balsas of totoras (1942).

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●137
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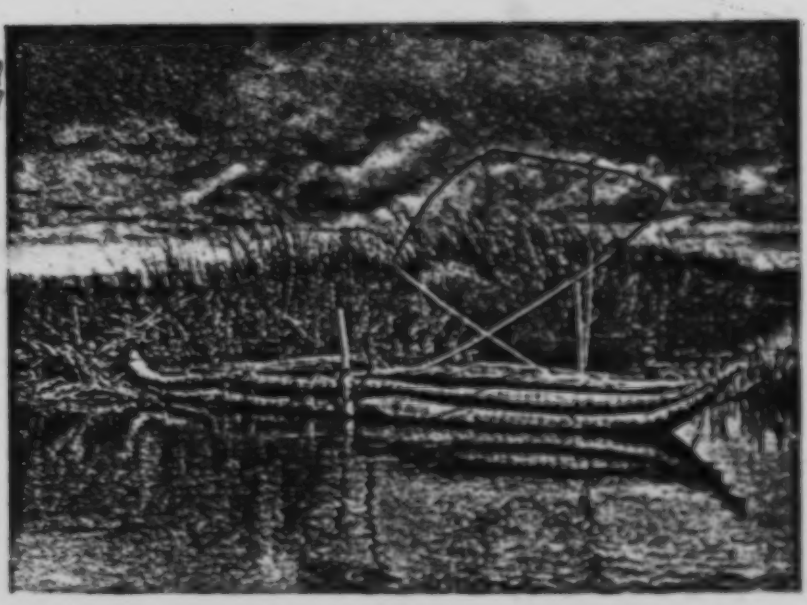

6. Balsa with large net (yak° kaka). Account VI /see p. 16/.

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/35 cont./

(Juan Alfonso Carrizo, Cancionero popular de Jujuy /Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy/, p. XV. Tucuman, 1935.)

/36/ Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada /Moral Chronicle/ of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor Lorenço de Aldana gave us...; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uro Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscene and dark-skinned /renegrida/ they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. The chief pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Volume I, p. 353.)

This pueblo (of Chaliacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians who were being catechized by our Order.... These are crude Uro Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned /renegrida/, without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish in the lake of Paria...those who live on land /do so/ in sepultures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails...the Uro Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold land) than some mats of these cattails....Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion. There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a Priory with a subsidiary church of Uro Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away....There is another pueblo four leagues

5 La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Ura SF24

Plate III.—Ute **fishing and gathering canoe scenes.** Top: Man paddling down a tributary fish net. Bottom: Towing bundles of wood with a lariat. (Courtesy Alfred Whitman.)

[P 582-C]

8.Form T-6 (ca.1934) 1000
SP24 Uru SP24
Iru Ilu

There

were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the reeds which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe wall surrounded the building. There were no trucks in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been presented to stupefied with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him standing motionless and followed the younger one down to the river where a man was plaiting reeds, preparatory to making a balsa.

Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe drought. The watershed of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the totora, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, the roots or knowe are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

Fortunately in these last few years the climatic conditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totora have once more increased. These reeds, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and one the centre. The reeds are plaited into long braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, entwined and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

[p.213-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Environment. The Río Desaguadero, as its name implies, is the outlet of Lake Titicaca and flows roughly south to Lake Poopo.* Near the lake, where uptilted strata testify to a major geological upheaval at some time in the past, the river flows relatively swiftly through the rocky gate, but on reaching a broad valley between the range of foothills west of the Tiahuanaco plain and a corresponding range in Peru, it slows down considerably. The Desaguadero endlessly bifurcates as the river reaches the Uru swamps. The giant *totora*-reeds stretch higher than a man's head, and clumps of these are alive with numerous and almost tame waterfowl of many varieties, which apparently have never been hunted other than with *balsa*. In the clear, cold water of the river, dozens of varieties of water plants can be seen waving in the current, and in and out of these can be seen darting abundant fish—although these last belong to only about four or five varieties. Near the village half-wild cattle can be heard and occasionally seen plunging through the swampy shallows to eat the succulent white roots of the *totora* (the Uru have scant mainland pasturage for cattle or llamas). In the mountains back of their lands are pumas and vicuñas, but nearby there are only viscachas (a bushy-tailed, rabbit-eared rodent of the chinchilla family), the *altiplano* fox (*Aymará g'omay'ri*), and the domesticated guinea-pig.

The stony, dry soil at this altitude, when uncultivated, bears only *t'ola*, a kind of greenbrush used as a fuel, as in also yareta, a low, gray-green, semiubiferous moss suggesting a large, woody, resinous cauliflower; and a few small flowered herbs. The altitude of the Uru country is about 12,000 feet, hence, though it is not far south of the Equator, the air is cold and rare. The rainy season, from late November to early March, comprises the summer. Although the middle of the day can be more than uncomfortably warm

* The best way to reach the Uru is to proceed northwest from Guaqui, on Lake Titicaca, by land over a small range of mountains or by water on the Lake, to the little village of Desaguadero, which straddles the river of that name at its head, being thus in both Peruvian and Bolivian territory. Balsas are the only means of transportation on the river, and it is imperative to secure experienced rivermen as guides through the elaborate waterways of the swamps in the middle Desaguadero. Stalking on the river and the temporary loss of a baggage balsa in the swampy reeds it for me, my one half-breed and two native companions, a two-day trip, though it should normally be made in one long day's travel. Instead of bearing laboriously upstream on the return trip to the Lake, one may go by land cross-country north of Jesus de Machaca. The cold, dry winds from the mountains in this region speedily wreak the misery inconvenience of chapped and bleeding lips, and in certain seasons it is a nuisance to find in travelling that rivers on which one had been depending for drinking water have dried up. Weapons, with which I stupidly neglected to provide myself, are probably more nearly necessary in this region than elsewhere in the altiplano. Bandolier-toted cowherders were Indians in 1938, and according to Bolivian authorities, the flash of murdered whites was an unplanned during native uprisings as late as 1921 in this Jesus de Machaca region.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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calling themselves "Bukina" or "Pukina," which agrees with the synonymy of Ehrenreich, Hervas, *et al.* The "*Uruquillas*" of the early chroniclers appears to have meant the Uru; but Chamberlain's "Urinsaya" is the name of a *moiety*, not of the tribe, and is moreover an Aymará word.

Bertonio, a missionary of the late 16th century, gives the Aymará name, probably opprobrious, "*Kiechacotati:* Big-livered [People], Nickname of the Puquinas." Chamberlain notes the Quechua name for the Uru as *Yuracare*, but Mossi says their Quechua designation is *Urocolla*. Paredes says the Aymára call the Uru "*Chancumankheri*" [etymologized by my interpreter as *lonko-mang'eri*, lit. "water-*kolscho*-eaters," i.e. eaters of the water-plants of the genera *Myriophyllum*, *Potomogeton*, *Claraphora*, *Elodea*, and *Chara*] or "Chancu." The tradition was that their ancestors were brought from the Pacific coast by the great Colla or Aymára conqueror, Tacuilla, but the Aymára say that the "*achachila*" or place-deity of the Uru is the swamp itself, much as Mt. Illimani is the place-deity of the Aymára in its region. Neveu-Lemaire[2] says that the Uru were the group from whom the Inca exacted the famous tribute of lice.

Posnansky notes several place-names—Urubamba, Urupampa, Urmiri, Urucollo, Uru-Uru (Oruro), and others—which he believes incorporate the name Uru, but these are etymologizable in Aymará, in which language "uru" means "day," or according to some authorities "worm."[3] Polo suggests the implausible etymology from "uri" (Aymará "unconquered, brave"); but in the 17th century "uro" or "uru" seems to have been in current use in the sense of "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. A punning proverb, "De indio Uro ningun hombre esta seguro" ("No man is safe from an Uru Indian"), appears to testify to the treachery of an incompletely subjected minority.

Temperament. The temperament of the Uru has been spoken of in no very flattering terms by all who have known them. Acosta said that they were so brutish as not even to have considered themselves human: "Son estos *Uros* tan brutales que ellos mismos no se tienen por hombres." Garcilaso de la Vega called them "rudos y torpes," rude and stupid. Even the

[2] Neveu-Lemaire, *Les Lages, LX-LXI;* this authority also says that the name of the Departamento of Oruro and its capital city in Bolivia comes from the reduplication "Uru-uru." Other authorities in this paragraph not heretofore listed: Arturo Posnansky, *Antropología y Sociología de las Razas Interandinas y de las Regiones Adyacentes* (La Paz, 1937), p. 59; Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara*, Juli (Chucuito) [Peru] 2 vols. 1612 [facsimile edition, J. Platzmann, Leipzig 1869] vol. 2, p. 303; Ramiro Mossi, *Diccionario Quechua* (Sucre, 1860); Rigoberto Paredes, *Mitos, Supersticiones y Supervivencias Populares de Bolivia*, 2nd ed. (La Paz, 1936), p. 25.

[3] In connection with the meaning "day" see the myth in Métraux *JSAP* 27: 305 ff.

3:Vellard--30 D.F-5 (1938-1964) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

Note II

Anthropology

When we examined the anthropological bibliography at our disposal, we found only a very small number of works on the Uru and the closely related Chipayas publications by Imbelloni and Posnansky and a note by Wright on dental anomalies. No important work should have escaped our notice.

Imbelloni made a very complete study of two skulls from the island of Panza (Poopo Lake, 300 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, fed by the Desaguadero), classifying them in the Laguido-Melanesian group.

Posnansky has made a very summary study (only a few cephalic measurements) of six men of Iru-Itu. He completed this series by examining nine Chipayas, men, only seven of whom would be pure-blooded; the other two, brachycephalic and mesaticephalic, are considered "Kollas," i.e., half-breeds of Andean elements. On the island of Panza, Posnansky studied two skulls and measured the cephalic index of six living people, four men and two women, only one of whom is called "pure Uru." These results are compared with those furnished by a small series of Chango skulls coming from the Arica excavations. It is necessary, of course, to make reservation about Posnansky's very personal nomenclature and the very special meaning which he gives to Aruwak and Kolla terms.

It was not possible for us to consult Wright's work, which seems to deal with a very different aspect from that which interests us.

Imbelloni and Posnansky agree on the very marked dolichocephalism of the Uru and their relatives, the Chipaya. The conclusions which issue from a comparative study /192/ of their works are much less clear in connection with the vertical index of the skull and the height of the face.

3:Vellard--31 D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

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Outside of Posnansky's small Chipaya group, no information exists on height or body measurements in these groups to our knowledge.

We ourselves prepared only a very short series: six men and three women, all adults. The fact that we are dealing with the last Uru must not be forgotten. Outside these nine subjects, there were no other Uru adults at Iru-Itu other than a young Uru woman about 30 years old and two very old women whom it was impossible to measure and who allowed themselves to be photographed only with difficulty. The children were largely Uru-Aymara half-breeds. The consanguinity of most of our subjects is another inconvenience of this small series.

In spite of these defects it seemed necessary to us to publish our results, which allow useful comparisons with the works of Posnansky and Imbelloni and will without doubt be the last observations on this group. Some other Uru are scattered in the region and already interpenetrated into the Aymara populations; their affiliation will be difficult to establish.

It is regrettable that the ethnographers who visited the region when the Uru were still numerous did not seek to obtain a few essential anthropometric measurements. However, it must be recognized that working conditions were not very favorable; the Uru proved to be opposed to any examination of this type, and the cold climate as well as their heavy, woolen garments were also obstacles difficult to overcome. Patient negotiations were necessary, for example, in order to get some of them to allow themselves to be photographed without their woolen caps, and most refused.

/183/ In 1942 the population of Iru-Itu was as follows:

--- 3 men, whose ages varied between 40 and 80 years.

--- 6 women between 30 and 80 years old.

--- 9 children, 3 boys and 6 girls, between 6 and 15 years old.

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/[34 cont./

Luis Ima. 40 to 50 years old. Manuel's nephew. Considered pure Uru. Thin lips. A moderately convex nose, with enlarged alae. Male-marginal fold present.

André Vila. 80 to 85 years old. Born of Uru father and mother. He is the oldest man in the village. A deeply wrinkled face. Plentiful white hair. A few beard hairs, short and completely white. Straight nose, very depressed at the base. Thin lips. Very marked male-marginal fold.

[42] Luis Vila. 80 to 90 years old. Tall, 174 cm., contrasting with the other members of the group, of medium height. Born of Uru father and mother. Some white hair. Some beard hair, short and white. Relatively large head. Slightly convex nose. Not very accentuated male-marginal fold.

[44] [42] Carlos Kinge. 40 to 50 years old. Born of Uru mother but of unknown father, he shows unquestionable signs of crossbreeding with elements of Andean race. Brachycephalic, strongly hypsicephalic, eurymesopic, and mesatiskelic, he clearly stands apart from the other members of the group. His much more active nature and his more lively type of intelligence accentuate this difference still more. Straight nose, male-marginal fold present.

Women

Saturnina Ima. 20 to 30 years old, niece of Manuel Ima (?), considered a true Uru. An attractive, energetic person. Low forehead, straight nose, depressed at the base. A well-marked male-marginal fold. Four children, nine to 15 years old.

[43] Celestina Ima. 35 to 40 years old, daughter of Manuel Ima, considered /[35]/ as pure Uru. An agreeable, energetic person. Moderately convex nose. Accentuated male-marginal fold.

Andrés Ima. 40 to 50 years old, daughter of Manuel Ima, considered true Uru. Coarser type than the previous ones.

Stafford--38 D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

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was represented only by Carlos and his son. Two men, a young woman and her children formed the Vila group. The Ita family was the only still rather numerous one. It has, moreover, always been considered the most traditional and purest of the Ita-Itu families.

Anthropometric Study

We had to limit our study to the essential measurements of the head and body.

The results obtained are contained in Tables I and II and the indices calculated in Table III /see pp. 38-40/.

These figures call for some comments.

In spite of the small number of subjects examined, the results are rather homogeneous for the group of men, with the exception of Carlos Kispe who is considerably far from the general type. The group of women presents marked differences from that of the men. It is quite difficult to judge to what extent these differences are due to a pronounced sexual dimorphism or to the influence of possible crossbreeding, which makes itself felt among close relatives, two sisters and their female cousin.

We will study the male and female groups separately.

Head

The cranial measurements show a notably elongated head for all the subjects examined; the outside figures go from 187 to 198 for the men and from 178 to 180 for the women. The head is narrow among the men, 141 to 150, with the exception of Carlos Kispe; among the women the absolute values do not exceed 149.

The cephalic index does not exceed 75.0 for the masculine groups; only Carlos Kispe is hyperbrachycephalic

3:Vellard--37 D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

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141 with 85.5. The three women are moderately brachycephalic. The arithmetical average for the five first /198/ /Table I appears here/ /199/ /Table II appears here/ /200/ /Table III appears here/ /Plates VIII and IX appear here/ /201/ men is: 73.51 and for the women: 81.96. Ponansky's figures indicate an average index of 72.7 for the Uru and 75.0 for the Chipaya. Imbelloni gives 72.77 for a male Uru skull and 73.71 for a female one.

The auricular height of the skull varies within rather large limits, 115 to 133 for the group of the first five men, with an average of 128.60. It is a little less strong among the women (average 120). Carlos Kiape again stands out from the whole group with 143 mm. The division of the skulls according to their height is the following (after Schmidt):

Low -- o-118: 1 man, 2 women.

Medium -- 119-128: 2 men, 1 woman.

High -- 129-o: 3 men (one of whom is Carlos Kiape).

The height-length index indicates only one male orthocephalic skull with a value of 80.5; all the other skulls are hypsicephalic, those of the men varying from 82.2 to 70.7 (average: 64.54) and those of women from 64.8 to 70.5 (average: 66.86). Karlos Kiape reaches 87.1.

The height-width index shows only one female skull to be classified as tapeinocephalic; one male and one female as metriocephalic; all the others are acrocephalic, with indices from 86.9 to 94.3, with the exception of Carlos Kiape, who is conspicuous for his considerable height, offering 101.8; the general average for the men (excepting C. Kiape) is 87.9, and for the women 81.6.

Tapeinocephalic: 75.0-79.9: 1 woman.

Metriocephalic: 80.0-84.9: 1 man and 1 woman.

Acrocephalic: 85.0-9:: 5 men and 2 women.

The forehead is medium for three men (Minimum frontal diameter: 104 to 108), large for two men (111-118) and the three women (111-118); only one man is in the category of

[CAT CONTINUES ON P 43]

Name:	[illegible] Sara	[illegible] Sara	[illegible] Sara	[illegible] Sita	[illegible] Sita	[illegible] Singh	[illegible] Sara	[illegible] Sara	[illegible] Sara
Sex	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	f.	f.	f.
Approximate age	60/70	50/60	45/50	55/65	60/70	50/55	45/50	50/60	50/55
Vert. post. diam.	188	190	195	195	200	187	180	180	179
Max. trans. diam.	143	142	148	151	150	140	148	148	140
Auriculo-vertical height	132	138	137	135	132	133	127	129	125
Min. frontal breadth	107	106	104	111	107	103	103	105	101
Bimastoidean diam.	132	135	130	132	133	132	130	129	125
Bizygomatic diam.	141	139	141	139	140	140	139	139	140
Bigonial diam.	101	103	96	110	105	101	100	101	95
Phys. face height	121	119	117	116	114	119	113	113	108
Naso-mental diam.	123	126	123	124	123	123	122	120	115
Naso-buccal diam.	73	71	72	69	74	73	68	70	70
Naso-alveolar diam.	67	70	70	66	72	68	62	65	66
Nose height	53	54	56	55	55	55	51	53	53
Nose breadth	36	36	37	42	40	37	35	37	35
Projection, tip of nose	19	20	21	22	23	20	18	19	19
Bipalpebral, ext. diam.	94	100	92	97	98	98	92	93	95
Bipalpebral, int. diam.	33	31	32	35	34	33	31	34	33
Mouth breadth	54	55	60	57	57	57	54	54	53
Bicanal height	31	34	32	31	30	31	30	31	30
Height	67	65	68	70	70	68	64	63	63
Height of cartilaginous ear	56	65	68	64	67	63	61	64	63
Ear breadth	37	40	39	41	40	40	37	38	38
Head circumference	—	567	580	590	580	570	—	—	—

Name									
Sex	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	f.	f.	f.
Approximate age	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Standing height	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sedentary erection height	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Chin height	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Knee height	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ischiadic height	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Lumbar trochanter height	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Elbow height	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Wrist height	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Middle finger height	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Axilla height	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Suprasternal height	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Orbital span	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bi-acromial diameter	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bi-iliocristal diameter	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

III. Indices

Name	[illegible] Sara	Tamun Sara	Lulu Sara	Gajbahu Kha	Lulu Kha	Cariba Gurgu	Gadara Sara	Cabarawa Sara	Omarra Sara
Sex	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	m	f.	f.	f.
Approximate age	60/90	50/60	60/80	60/65	60/90	60/70	60/80	55/60	50/55
Cephalic index	75.0	74.7	74.0	72.0	71.1	80.5	80.5	80.1	80.7
Height-weight index	76.7	60.5	65.5	64.1	65.5	67.1	70.5	67.5	65.6
Height-breadth index	94.5	90.0	92.1	89.0	90.6	101.0	98.0	90.0	77.1
Facial physiognomic index	170.7	170.9	170.7	165.0	162.6	155.0	157.0	155.5	160.0
Facial morphological index	97.0	91.5	92.0	90.5	88.5	91.0	90.5	90.0	90.0
Upper facial morphological index	67.5	70.0	69.0	69.0	69.5	67.0	64.0	70.0	61.0
Nasal index	67.0	65.0	65.5	76.5	67.7	69.0	71.4	67.0	70.5
Nasal projection index	80.7	90.6	85.0	90.0	85.6	86.0	84.0	69.0	69.7
Frontoparietal index	75.0	70.0	71.0	61.5	61.5	75.5	69.6	70.7	77.5
Frontozygomatic index	75.0	70.0	73.7	66.7	61.5	61.0	64.0	65.0	60.0
Gonozygomatic index	73.0	61.0	69.5	75.5	69.0	75.0	76.0	75.0	66.0
Goniofrontal index	90.0	100.0	94.5	95.6	90.0	90.0	90.0	90.6	90.0
Labiofacial index	57.0	54.0	57.0	57.5	55.0	58.5	56.0	57.0	55.5
Buccal index	50.0	51.0	53.6	50.0	57.0	59.0	57.0	57.0	59.7
Auricular index	55.0	70.6	56.0	56.5	54.0	56.0	51.6	65.0	55.5
Cormic index	50.0	50.0	47.0	50.5	50.0	50.0	51.0	50.7	49.7
Height-upper limb index	——	55.0	55.7	55.0	55.5	59.0	55.7	55.5	50.7
Height-span index	96.0	97.0	98.6	96.5	96.7	100.0	99.0	97.5	95.7

/201 cont./

●141 very large forehead (Lac Vide, with 122). The frontoparietal index varies among the men from 75.8 to 81.3 (average: 77.36), with /202/ the exception of Carles Kiope, for whom it is only 72.1; and among the women it varies from 77.1 to 80.8 (average: 78.96).

The face is of average height among the men (naso-mental diameter: 118 to 128; average: 122), with only one exception, Lac Vide, who reaches 133 mm. Two of the women have short faces, 112 and 113 mm.; it is medium for the third: 120 mm. The general average is 122.8 for the men and 115.6 for the women.

Absolute values for the bizygomatic diameter classify both men and women among faces of medium size, bordering on faces of large size.

4 men and 2 women: 138 to 141.

2 men and 1 woman: 142 to 146.

Averages: men, 142.1; women, 139.6.

The morphological facial index of the first five men tends toward leptoprosopy (average index: 88.06, with the exception of Carles Kiope, who is clearly chamaeprosopic with 81.9). The women are chamaeprosopic: average 82.7:

Chamaeprosopic: 80-83.9: 1 man and 2 women.

Mesoprosopic: 84.0-87.9: 3 men and 1 woman.

Leptoprosopic: 88.0-92.9: 2 men.

The upper facial morphological index does not change these results much:

5 men (without Carles Kiope): 47.5 to 51.0; average: 51.30.

3 women: 45.8 to 50.9; average: 49.33.

Carles Kiope again has a slightly lower index than the other men: 47.2.

The absolute values of the naso-buccal diameter are high, ranging from 78 to 84 for the first five men, with an arithmetical average of 81.0. Carles Kiope reaches only 76; the three women range from 66 to 78 with an arithmetical average of 72.3.

/212 cont./

The bigonial diameter is rather high:

5 men (without C. Kiupe): 98 to 120; average: 108.80.

3 women: 95 to 106; average: 101.66.

/213/ Here C. Kiupe with 106 is not very far from the average value.

The gnatho-zygomatic index for the men varies from 68.5 to 81.8 (arithmetical average: 76.68; C. Kiupe: 73.6), and for the women from 66.9 to 76.2 (average: 72.80).

The bigonial diameter for the first five men is slightly lower than the minimum frontal diameter, which it exceeds only once (Tomas Ima). C. Kiupe has a much narrower jaw, as do the three women: the gnathofrontal index is lower than or equal to 90.

5 men: 94.12 to 104.02; average: 97.68.

C. Kiupe: 89.87.

3 women: 82.60 to 90.48; average: 87.6.

For three of the men, including C. Kiupe, the nose is of medium height; it is high on one subject, and two of the others are in the very high-nosed category. 2 women are medium; only one has a very low nose.

Very low nose: 0 to 49 ... 1 woman.

Low nose: 50 to 52 ..... —

Medium nose: 53 to 55 ..... 3 men, 2 women.

High nose: 56 to 58 ..... 1 man.

Very high nose: 59 to 0 ... 2 men.

The absolute figures put the Uru nose in the large-nose category; two men have very large noses:

56 to 59 mm.: 4 men, 3 women.

59 to 0 mm.: 2 men.

The arithmetical average for the men is 58.1 and for the women 57.0.

The men are leptorrhinian except for one, a mesorrhinian; two women are mesorrhinian, and one is eurrhinian.

/203 cont./

141

Nasal index:

55 to 69.9: 5 men, 1 woman.

70 to 84.9: 1 man, 2 women.

The general average 67.8 for the men and 71.7 for the women places the Uru among the leptorrhinians, on the mesorrhinian border. /204/ The width of the palpebral slit varies from 30.5 to 34.5 among the men, with 32.2 for the arithmetical average. It is shorter among the women, varying from 28.5 to 29.5 (average: 29.1).

The mouth is of average breadth (56 in a man and 51.6 for a woman); the lips are very thick.

Breadth of the mouth:

6 men: 54 to 60 mm.; arithmetical average: 56.0.

3 women: 45 to 58 mm.; average: 51.6.

Bilabial height:

6 men: 19 to 22; average: 21.1.

3 women: 18 to 22; average: 20.3.

The labiofacial index varies from 14.2 to 19.5 among the men (arithmetical average: 17.0), and from 16 to 19.1 among the women (average: 17.5), which underlines the considerable height of the lips.

The ear, which is very long for the men (61 to 70 mm.; arithmetical average: 66.5 mm.), is short for the three women studied: 52 to 58, average 55.6. It is wide in a man (37 to 41 mm., average 38.8), and narrow in a woman (26 to 31 mm., average 28.6).

The auricular index varies in general among the men from 54.2 to 58.5, with one exception (70.4); for the women our figures were 45.6 to 55.6, which emphasizes the narrowness of the ear relative to its height.

General arithmetical average:

Men: 56.5.

Women: 51.4.

/204 cont./

• 141 Stature and limbs:

The small series studied appears very heterogeneous in stature. The men range from small to large in stature, with a predominance of small and medium; two women are medium and one above medium.

Men. — Short: x to 159.9: 3 men.
Below medium height: 160 to 163.9: —
/205/ Medium height: 164 to 166.9: 2 men.
Above medium height: 167 to 169.9: —
Tall: 170 to 179.9: 1 man.
Women. — Medium height: 153 to 155.9: 2 women.
Above medium height: 156 to 158.9: 1 woman.

[114] These figures compare with the small series of four Uru measured by Posnansky, which is the sole information, to our knowledge, published up to now on this group; this series notes 1 short, 1 medium, 1 above medium, and 1 tall man.

Among the Chipaya, related to the Uru, Posnansky's figures for a series of nine men note six short, two below medium, and one above medium.

These three series: our six Uru men and three Uru women; Posnansky's four Uru men and nine Chipaya men are distributed in the following fashion:

Short: 10 men.
Below medium height: 2 men.
Medium height: 3 men, 2 women.
Above medium height: 2 men, 1 woman.
Tall: 2 men.

Of these 22 individuals, 45.45% are short; 31.72% are below medium and medium; 13.63% are above medium; only 9.0% are tall.

The three series agree with each other, which emphasizes the frequency of short and medium heights among the Uru and their relatives the Chipaya.

The cormic index furnishes more homogeneous results. Of the first five men, three are macroskelic and two meroskelic.

/205 cont./

141 C. Kispe is again an exception, falling at the border of the breviskelics. The three women are macroskelic.

Macroskelic Men, x-51.0: 3 men.

Women, x-52.0: 3 women.

Meroskelic Men, 51.1-53.0: 3 men.

The extreme values for the men range from 47.9 to /206/ 52.0 (or 52.9, counting C. Kispe). The arithmetical average, even with C. Kispe, underlines the macroskelicism of the group: 50.91; when not counting this half-breed element, it falls to 50.52. The female average is 51.06.

The span among the men as well as the women is greater than stature. The arithmetical average for this difference is 5.3 c. for the first five men and 2.4 c. for the women. C. Kispe, in contrast, is of a stature greater than his span by 4.6 c. The height-span index is below 100, except for Carlos Kispe.

5 men (without counting C. Kispe: 94.4 to 99.8. Arithmetical average: 96.58.

Carlos Kispe: 101.0.

3 women: 97.5 to 99.1. Arithmetical average: 98.46.

The relation of the upper limb to stature varies from 41.3% to 49.3% among the men, with an arithmetical average of 45.8%, and from 42.3% to 44.4% among the women with an average of 43.3%.

Hematological Studies

126 143 To complete this work, and in spite of the small number of subjects, we studied the blood groups of all the inhabitants of Iru-Itu, without taking into account origin or degree of relationship. Only the two old women refused to undergo this examination.

Our investigation thus dealt with 27 subjects:

6 Uru men;

4 Uru women;

@:Vellard--49 D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/207 cont./

143 Kline: ++

[164] /208/ the existence of possible hereditosyphilis or of a very attenuated syphilis in one of the most conservative members of the group, who always severely condemned sexual relations with other natives as being against the traditions.

128 These few isolated examinations have no great significance; they do emphasize however the interest which a numerous series of hematological and sreological investigations among the isolated native groups of the Cordillera or the South American forests would have."

Conclusion

• 141 [128] In spite of the small number of subjects examined (9), owing to the rapid decline of the group and its approaching extinction, this study of the last Uru of Ita-Ita permits us to make a few interesting conclusions.

[171] Height varies little from that of the neighboring Andean populations, and small and medium stature predominate. The population is as a whole macrosekic.

The cephalic index among the men who can be considered as not crossbred with the neighboring populations is lower than 75.0% (average: 73.51). Three women are moderately brachycephalic; we must note that they are closely related.

Dolichocephaly, a tendency to leptocephalia and to leptoprosopy, the bigoniac diameter almost equal to the minimum frontal diameter, leptorrhinism, a high and narrow ear succeed in characterizing this group.

114 141 144 As a whole these results agree with the few previous observations on the Uru and the Chipaya (Imbelloni's two Uru skulls; a few measurements by Posnansky), emphasizing the morphological unity of these two groups.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

short. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymara. Wallis (page 155) thought that the forehands of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer cutbacks of the jaw (see for example, Pennoyer's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient Amerindian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *kaka*-consuming Aymara (*kaka* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fishermen, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymara and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymara-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with cicuita- or linina-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymara, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymara, indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of altiplano inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymara is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymara nose is unpalatably enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymara; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymara, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tutaín*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[1] the Uru "vivían desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the

[1] In Nieves Lemaire, *Los Lagos*, p. LXI.

2:Métraux--133 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SP24 Uru SP24

Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XII

*296
291
392
516
554

A. —Festival of Candlemas: libation to a banner.

142
291
302
342
351
516

B. —Čipaya women feasting the day after a festival.

Smithsonian—136 U. S. (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 9724 Unv 9724

A.—Old Chipaya woman and her daughter.

B.—Chipaya woman spinning.

C.—Chipaya woman.

D.—Chipaya Indian dressed in a camiseta.

2:Métraux--287 E-A (1930-1932) 1930.1936 3F24 Un 3F24

Cayapa
Chipaya

/204 cont./

Intelligence, character, and morality

133 Every consideration of the character of a human group, no matter how small, demands closer contact with the individuals than that which I was able to maintain with the Čipaya. The impossibility which I experienced in most cases of being able to communicate directly with them especially was an obstacle to my observations. The judgment that I make of the Čipaya is hence necessarily summary and without scientific grounds. The Čipaya inspired in me more disgust and antipathy than pity. Neither by their physique nor by their disposition did they draw the affection which the ethnographer /205/ from postcolumbian hour would be prone to offer them. Their
●192 features are heavy and thick and only a few individuals, products of mixtures with their neighbors the Aymara, present the handsome profile with the curved nose characteristic of the conquering race of the Bolivian Altiplano. Their short and thick-set body is made even heavier by the thick woolen clothing with which they cover themselves. Only their slender well-formed legs are pretty to see when coming
[526] à cives. Their complexion would not be so dark if they would consent at least once in their lives to wash. The filth and the rags which cover them accentuate even more the wretched and miserable appearance of this group of human beings.

197 Intellectually the Čipaya are on a rather low level: they have a dull and narrow mind and visibly feel an aversion to any coherent
[526] mental effort. Without fantasy and without imagination, they have for their total literature only a few insipid and short tales, which anyway seem to be Aymara in origin. Some women are an exception to this rule and struck me by a certain vivacity in their character and intelligence. Two or three young people also appeared better endowed than the average member of the tribe.

197 The Čipaya nourishes no ambition, and the desire for any
467 worldly gain cannot draw him out of his apathy. His movements are slow and measured, his ability to remain motionless is without limits. He seems to pursue constantly an internal dream which is always the

Plate I

A. Young Čipeya girl

B. Čipeya couple in Sunday

C. Čipeya women come to draw water from a canal and fi[illegible] under a storm.

D. Little Indian girl holding a piglet.

A. Little boy 13 or 14 years old, an excellent specimen.

B. Young Ojibwa woman.

C. D. Ojibwa women.

Smithsonian-224 E-5 (1930-1931) 1930, 1936 8924 thru 8924

Plate V

A. Cupeño woman leaning against a wall and treading grain with feet, to husk them.

B. Cupeño woman grinding.

C. Cupeño woman weaving.

D. Treadle loom for weaving made of cactus wood.

4. Manuel Inta, 80 to 90 years old.

5. Carlos Kispe, Uro-oymara. 40 to 50 years old.

6. Lam Inta. 40 to 50 years old.

7. Lam Inta. 40 to 50 years old.

8. Tomas Inta. 50 to 60 years old.

9. Tomas Inta. 50 to 60 years old.

/197 cont./

Besides these 11 subjects, who considered themselves as pure Ure, three Ayrnara women living with some Ure had settled in the village with five children.

The concept of pure Ure is completely arbitrary; its value is more social than racial. At all times adoption in various forms made the incorporation of a subject of another origin into the group possible, and he was from then on considered a true Ure. This was the case with an Ayrnara child, whom we, of course, dropped from our list.

Children of an Ure mother and an unknown father were considered pure Ure.

One of our informants, Carlos Coya, was himself, as we have seen, a "without father." Although considered an Ure, all his physical and mental characteristics clearly distinguished him from the other members of the group.

The Ure considered Ayrnara women here as neighboring villages and their children, even if born of Ure fathers, as foreigners. This matrilineal law is interesting to note.

Ayrnara women refused to let themselves or their children be examined. Nothing could persuade the two old Ure women.

We were hence reduced to the most following subjects:

Men

Manuel Ima. An old patriarch 80 to 85 years old. Born of Ure father and mother. White, rather thick hair; beard reduced to a few short hairs, entirely white. Thin lips; a straight-nosed profile. No Mongolian fold. /194/ but the presence of a malo-marginal fold, very distinct, on the far part of the eyelid. Four living sons. Tomas and three others who have left the village; three daughters, among them Anabla and Clarentina, and four dead children.

Tomas Ima, 50 to 60 years old. Manuel's son. Considered pure Ure. No white hair. Thin lips, straight nose. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

[illegible]

/Uru type/

Lazo Inta. 40 to 50 years old. Manuel's nephew. Considered pure Uru. Thin lips. A moderately convex nose, with enlarged alae. Weak marginal fold present.

Andrés Vilca. 30 to 35 years old. Son of Uru father and mother. He is the oldest man in the village. A deeply wrinkled face. Favorite white hair. A few beard hairs, short and completely white. Straight nose, very depressed at the base. Thin lips. Very marked male-marginal fold.

Luis Vilca. 20 to 30 years old. Tall, 174 cm., contrasting with the other members of the group, of medium height. Son of Uru father and mother. Some white hair. Some beard hair, short and white. Relatively large head. Slightly convex nose. Not very accentuated male-marginal fold.

Carlos Kispe. 40 to 50 years old. Son of Uru mother but of unknown father. He shows unquestionable signs of crossbreeding with elements of Andean race. Brachycephalic, strongly hypsicephalic, eurymesopic, and mesorrhinic. He clearly stands apart from the other members of the group. His much more active nature and his more lively type of intelligence accentuate this difference still more. Straight nose, male-marginal fold present.

Women

Antonia Inta. 30 to 35 years old, niece of Manuel Inta (?), considered a true Uru. An attractive, energetic person. Low forehead, straight nose, depressed at the base. A well-marked male-marginal fold. Four children, ages to 15 years old.

Celestina Inta. 35 to 40 years old, daughter of Manuel Inta, considered /Uru/ as pure Uru. An agreeable, energetic person. Moderately convex nose. Accentuated male-marginal fold.

Andrea Inta. 40 to 50 years old, daughter of Manuel Inta, considered true Uru. Coarser type than the previous ones.

Brazilian-ms D.S-1 (1808-1964) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

[illegible] have impressed on the base, a slightly convex profile. A very ornamented male-daughter fetish.

List of the Population

The men:

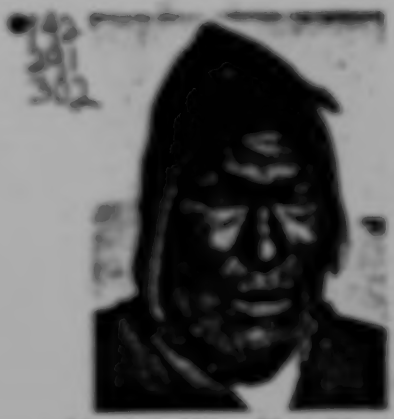
Manoel, Inta. 60 to 80 years old.
Tomaz Inta. 30 to 40 years old. Manoel's son.
Luis Inta. 40 to 50 years old. Manoel's nephew.
Andrés Vila. 30 to 35 years old.
Luis Vila. 40 to 50 years old.
Carlos Kiape. 40 to 50 years old (characteristics of an Uru-Aymara half-breed).

The women:

Santusa Inta. 30 to 35 years old. Manoel's niece.
Clitorina Inta. 35 to 40 years old. Manoel's daughter.
Andrés Inta. 40 to 50 years old. Manoel's daughter.
Justina Vila. 30 to 35 years old.
X . 50 to 60 years old.
Y . 60 to 85 years old.

The children:

Francisco Inta. masc., 14 to 15 years old. Santusa's son.
Sabina Inta. fem., 12 to 13 years old. Santusa's daughter.
Angelita Inta. f., 11 to 12 years old.
Jesus Inta. m., 9 to 10 years old. Santusa's son.
Juliana Vila. f., 5 to 6 years old, daughter of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
Esteban Vila. m., 4 to 5 years old, son of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
Francisca Vila. 3 to 4 years old, daughter of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
[illegible] Miguel Salinas. m., 4 to 5 years old, orphan.
Miguel Kiape. m., 3 to 4 years old, half-breed, son of Carlos Kiape.



10. Luis Vila. 80 to 90 years old.

11. Luis Vila. 80 to 90 years old.

12. Andrés Vila. 90 to 95 years old

13. Andrés Vila. 90 to 95 years old.

Holland--el D.F. 1 (1918-1964) 1949 M'24 Uno M'24

Plate 19

14. Samma Inta. 30 to 35 years old.

15. Samma Inta. 30 to 35 years old.

16. Andres Inta. 40 to 50 years old.

17. Celestina Inta. 35 to 40 years old.

4/Volland--11 D.D-6.9 (no date) 1910-1960 10'26 thru 10'28

[19th Century]

[96] [97] [98] /96 cont./ There is another Pueblo four leagues east-west of Challacollo called Tolena, whose Indians are resplendent, skillful, courteous.... these Indians came from other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Urus, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian; they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

[99] ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town.... [100] Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake.... They [101] are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe...../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

[101] [102] In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Similiake.

[103] [104] [105] ...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

PLATE 117.—**Uru and Chipaya Indians.** *Top* (*left*): *Uru* man making a mat. *Top* (*right*): *Chipaya* man. *Bottom* (*left*): *Uru* man holding a fishing net. *Bottom* (*right*): *Uru* man. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-E]

5:La Barre, E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya
291
302
142

[342]

PLATE 118.—Chipaya women. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-F]

mezcla con los kollas, puesto que se encuentran tipos de rasgos característicos de este grupo.

Aparte de sus actividades agrícolas y pastoriles, el rasgo más sobresaliente de este pueblo, es su religión que, si bien básicamente no difiere mucho de las creencias y ritos aymaras, se ha conservado en estado más puro. Su idolatría se caracteriza por la veneración y deidifi-

142
291
302

Mujer Indígena Chipaya.

cación principalmente de los accidentes geográficos como son las montañas, los ríos, las piedras, etc. Y aún parece haberlos impresionado la torre de la iglesia, a la que denominan *Mallku Mayor* en el pueblo. Asimismo, desparramados en la población y sus alrededores, se encuentran pequeñas torrecillas o adoratorios llamados también *Mallkus*, que representan indistintamente, demonios y santos de la Iglesia.

Habiendo tenido el privilegio de convivir durante casi un mes con los chipayas, creemos encontrarnos en la obligación de dar algunas recomendaciones a las entidades gubernamentales que corresponda, en vista de la situación real en que se encuentra este valeroso pueblo que

[Spanish text continues on P 218]

7:Ruiz Camacho J -3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

142
Ag1
Ru3

Features, hair style, and cap of this Chipaya mark him as different from Aymara

[P. 21-C]

Iru Itu
8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

Fig. 1: The Uru lady who by unanimous consent had taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate.

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SP24 Urn SP24
Iru Iru
346

Fig. 2: The village church.

115
124
142
291

Fig. 3: Our leading lady and her mother, who was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen.

[P. 306-A]

8:Fein T-5 (ca.1956) 1955
SF34 thru SF34

Fig. 4:
Ike Ura fisherman.

142
291

Iraq I'm
8. Fein T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Ura SF24

Fig. 6: Leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old.

Iru Itu

8 Fam T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

Fig. 9: The [illegible] who spoke fluent Spanish.

[p. 312]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[11] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

Tribal Relations. In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

Physical Anthropology. Uru males outnumber the females, and for some time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[11] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90–110.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

slant. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymára. Wallis (page 155) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Posnansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient Amerindian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *ch'uñu*-consuming Aymára (*ch'uñu* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fishermen, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymára and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymára-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymára, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymára; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymára is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymára nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymára; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymára, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tututia*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[17] the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the

[17] In Neveu-Lemaire, *Los Lagos*, p. LXI.

/205 cont./

141 C. Kiupe is again an exception, falling at the border of the brevimelics. The three women are macromelic.

Macromelic Men, x-51.0: 3 men.
Women, x-52.0: 3 women.
Micromelic Men, 51.1-53.0: 3 men.

The extreme values for the men range from 47.9 to /206/ 52.0 (or 52.9, counting C. Kiupe). The arithmetical average, even with C. Kiupe, underlines the macromelicism of the group: 50.91; when not counting this half-breed element, it falls to 50.52. The female average is 51.06.

The span among the men as well as the women is greater than stature. The arithmetical average for this difference is 5.3 c. for the first five men and 2.4 c. for the women. C. Kiupe, in contrast, is of a stature greater than his span by 4.6 c. The height-span index is below 100, except for Carlos Kiupe.

5 men (without counting C. Kiupe: 96.4 to 99.8. Arithmetical average: 98.58.

Carlos Kiupe: 101.0.

3 women: 97.5 to 99.1. Arithmetical average: 98.66.

The relation of the upper limb to stature varies from 41.3% to 49.3% among the men, with an arithmetical average of 45.8%, and from 42.3% to 44.6% among the women with an average of 43.3%.

Hematological Studies

126 43 To complete this work, and in spite of the small number of subjects, we studied the blood groups of all the inhabitants of Itu-Itu, without taking into account origin or degree of relationship. Only the two old women refused to undergo this examination.

Our investigation thus dealt with 27 subjects:

6 Uru men;
4 Uru women;

/206 cont./

9 Uru children;

3 Aymara women;

3 Uru-Aymara and Aymara children.

The blood, obtained by pricking the ear lobe and placed in an oxalate physiological solution, was examined two days later in the laboratory. Two standard serums /207/ were used, a Brazilian serum and one from La Paz. The results were checked by microscope.

The results were uniform. All the individuals belong to group O, which once again emphasizes the preponderance of this group in South America.

We established the leucocytic formula for three men, Manuel Inta, Andrés Vila, and Carlos Kispe:

Manuel Inta: lymphocytes: 29%; large mononuclears: 6%; neutrophiles: 63%.

Andrés Vila: lymphocytes: 53%; large mononuclears: 5%; eosinophiles: 3%; basophiles: 1%; neutrophiles: 40%.

Carlos Kispe: lymphocytes: 28%; large mononuclears: 7%; eosinophiles: 1%; neutrophiles: 64%.

We were able to make a globular count, completed by an erythrosedimentation, for only one subject, Manuel Inta:

Red globules: 4,900,000; leucocytes: 8,300.

Erythrosedimentation: 1 hour 8.5; 2 hours 13; 24 hours 60.

Red globules: 17%; plasma: 83% (after centrifugation).

Time of coagulation (capillary tube): 7 to 8 minutes.

Hemoglobin: 97% (Heilige's micro-comparator).

This single observation and the advanced age of Manuel Inta make the interpretation of the results difficult. It must be emphasized that the normal number of red globules in La Paz is from 6,000,000 to 6,500,000. The reduction observed coincides with extreme slowness of sedimentation.

Lastly, we conducted a Kahn reaction on the same subject:

Kahn Standard: $\frac{0}{0}$

Original Kahn: $\frac{0}{0}$ o o

/207 cont./

143 Kline: ++

[164] We shall only conclude from this isolated observation /208/ the existence of possible heredosyphilis or of a very attenuated syphilis in one of the most conservative members of the group, who always severely condemned sexual relations with other natives as being against the traditions.

128 These few isolated examinations have no great significance; they do emphasize however the interest which a numerous series of hematological and serological investigations among the isolated native groups of the Cordillera or the South American forests would have.

Conclusion

[141] [128] In spite of the small number of subjects examined (9), owing to the rapid decline of the group and its approaching extinction, this study of the last Uru of Iru-Itu permits us to make a few interesting conclusions.

[171] Height varies little from that of the neighboring Andean populations, and small and medium stature predominate. The population is as a whole macroskelic.

The cephalic index among the men who can be considered as not crossbred with the neighboring populations is lower than 75.0% (average: 73.51). Three women are moderately brachycephalic; we must note that they are closely related.

Dolichocephaly, a tendency to leptocephalia and to leptoprosopy, the bigoniac diameter almost equal to the minimum frontal diameter, leptorrhinism, a high and narrow ear succeed in characterizing this group.

114 [141] [144] As a whole these results agree with the few previous observations on the Uru and the Chipaya (Imbelloni's two Uru skulls; a few measurements by Posnansky), emphasizing the morphological unity of these two groups.

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-
ito, or Angosto, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25
kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared
as the result of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1941 and 1943 has
lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters;
at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-
ito had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through
vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a
great abundance of totora reeds /totoreles/. In 1941 a plain
of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds;
the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their
means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the
totora reeds, furnished them with the *balsas* necessary to make
their fishing boats and to cover their houses and served as
shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (*Trichomycterus dispar* and *rivulatus*), bogas, *lisas*, *carache* (various
Characidae), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and
eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fish-
ing and partly on the sale of totora fishing boats and mats to
the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have
dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups;
some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones,
more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and
incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence,
have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora
roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had
given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several
women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in
part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

/149 cont./

large part, and this to the great dismay of the respectable
[149] guardians of the ruins of Tiahuanaco who had accompanied him
to La Paz and whose watchfulness he tricked in order to enter
[9] the village alone. A very limited knowledge of Aymara, some
of Spanish or Kolla /Quechua/ he excellent interpreter.

Carlos Kispe, from 40 to 50 years old, one of the youngest
[44] men in the group. He displayed characteristics in his physical
appearance which led one to suspect a certain degree of Aymara
[44] interbreeding (see the Bird note on Physical Anthropology
[44] /p. 31/). Besides he was an illegitimate son, kind of an un-
[44] known father. Much more enterprising than Manuel Isto, he
spoke Aymara fluently, but neither Spanish nor Kolla. He
had frequent contacts with the neighboring Aymara populations
and, faced with the persistent drought, was thinking of leaving
[34] Ito-Ito to go live as a fisher at Cosmi. He also proved to be
an excellent informant, but his syntax was less pure and less
varied than that of Manuel Isto and his vocabulary poorer and
more mixed with Aymara; he did not use, or even did not
know, a certain number of words used by his companion.

It is interesting to undergine these differences in /136/
[136] language between individuals of the same village, belonging
to two different generations. They allow us to follow the
rapid evolution of languages entrusted to oral tradition alone
without any monument to establish them.

[115] Outside these two principal informants, we utilized other
inhabitants of the village either for the general investigation
or for word comparisons.

[124] For each text we shall indicate the informant who pro-
[9] vided it. These texts were gone over several times with the
informant in order to obtain as exact a transcription as possible.
Their translation was always checked in Aymara. Even so, in
the course of the same text, considerable variations in pro-
nunciation will be observed, which do not appear to follow any
definite rule. They indicate a certain phonetic instability,
more marked, of course, between different speakers.

P.[illegible] cont.-f

Outside of Nimuendajú's small Chipaya group, no information exists on height or body measurements in these groups to our knowledge.

We ourselves prepared only a very short series: six men and three women, all adults. The fact that we are dealing with the last Uru must not be forgotten. Outside these nine subjects, there were no other Uru adults at Iru-Itu other than a young Uru woman about 30 years old and two very old women whom it was impossible to measure and who allowed themselves to be photographed only with difficulty. The children were largely Uru-Aymara half-breeds. The consanguinity of most of our subjects is another inconvenience of this small series.

In spite of these defects it seemed necessary to us to publish our results, which allow useful comparisons with the works of Pozansky and Imbelloni and will without doubt be the last observations on this group. Some other Uru are scattered in the region and already interpenetrated into the Aymara population; their affiliations will be difficult to establish.

It is deplorable that the ethnographers who visited the region when the Uru were still numerous did not seek to obtain a few essential anthropometric measurements. However, it must be recognized that working conditions were not very favorable; the Uru proved to be opposed to any examination of this type, and the cold climate as well as their heavy, woolen garments were also obstacles difficult to overcome. Patient negotiations were necessary, for example, in order to get some of them to allow themselves to be photographed without their woolen caps, and most refused.

P.[illegible]/ In 1942 the population of Iru-Itu was as follows:
--- 6 men, whose ages varied between 60 and 94 years.
--- 4 women between 30 and 80 years old.
--- 9 children, 5 boys and 4 girls, between 4 and 15 years old.

/194 cont./

142 Luis Inta, 40 to 50 years old, Manuel's nephew. Considered pure Uru: Thin lips. A moderately convex nose, with enlarged alae. Malo-marginal fold present.

Andrés Vila, 90 to 95 years old. Born of Uru father and mother. He is the oldest man in the village. A deeply wrinkled face. Plentiful white hair. A few beard hairs, short and completely white. Straight nose, very depressed at the base. Thin lips. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

[141] Luis Vila, 80 to 90 years old. Tall, 174 cm., contrasting with the other members of the group, of medium height. Born of Uru father and mother. Some white hair. Some beard hair, short and white. Relatively large head. Slightly convex nose. Not very accentuated malo-marginal fold.

[144] [141] Carlos Kispe, 40 to 50 years old. Born of Uru mother but of unknown father, he shows unquestionable signs of crossbreeding with elements of Andean race. Brachycephalic, strongly hypsicephalic, euryprosopic, and mesatiskelic, he clearly stands apart from the other members of the group. His much more active nature and his more lively type of intelligence accentuate this difference still more. Straight nose, malo-marginal fold present.

Women

[163] Santusa Inta, 30 to 35 years old, niece of Manuel Inta (?), considered a true Uru. An attractive, energetic person. Low forehead, straight nose, depressed at the base. A well-marked malo-marginal fold. Four children, nine to 15 years old.

Celestina Inta, 35 to 40 years old, daughter of Manuel Inta, considered /195/ as pure Uru. An agreeable, energetic person. Moderately convex nose. Accentuated malo-marginal fold.

Andrea Inta, 40 to 50 years old, daughter of Manuel Inta, considered true Uru. Coarser type than the previous ones.

/207 cont./

143 Kline: ++

[164] We shall only conclude from this isolated observation /208/ the existence of possible heredosyphilis or of a very attenuated syphilis in one of the most conservative members of the group, who always severely condemned sexual relations with other natives as being against the traditions.

128 These few isolated examinations have no great significance; they do emphasize however the interest which a numerous series of hematological and serological investigations among the isolated native groups of the Cordillera or the South American forests would have.

Conclusion

141 [128] In spite of the small number of subjects examined (9), owing to the rapid decline of the group and its approaching extinction, this study of the last Uru of Iru-Itu permits us to make a few interesting conclusions.

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Dolichocephaly, a tendency to leptocephalia and to leptoprosopy, the bigoniac diameter almost equal to the minimum frontal diameter, leptorrhinism, a high and narrow ear succeed in characterizing this group.

114 141 144 As a whole these results agree with the few previous observations on the Uru and the Chipaya (Imbelloni's two Uru skulls; a few measurements by Posnansky), emphasizing the morphological unity of these two groups.

3:Vellard--50 D, E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/208 cont./

144 The Uru belong to the old American Lagoa Santa dolichocephalic base with an elevated skull. It is however more difficult to include them in one of Imbelloni's two groups, Láguido or Fuéguido, as /209/ this author has moreover emphasized. If on the one hand, as he indicates, "the Uru faithfully reproduce the Láguido race as far as the neural skull is concerned" because of their pronounced dolichocephaly, the height of the vault of the skull, and the brainpan formed like a roof with marked lophos /crest/, they approach the Fuéguido type, in contrast, through the height of the face, the height of the nose, leptorrhinism, and leptomarphic characteristics foreign to true Láguidos.

These mixed characteristics place the Uru between the true Melanesian Láguidos and the Australoid Fuéguidos.

To what extent could this be due to a possible crossbreeding of an originally Láguido type with elements of another origin, perhaps Fuéguido, as Imbelloni seems inclined to believe? Or is it, on the contrary, a question of a certain variability of the Melanesian-Láguido type?

These problems present themselves not only with regard to the Uru, but also for other dolichocephalic American peoples. They underline the significance of study of the last dolichocephalic groups of the continent before their complete extinction.

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113 Imbelloni, J. "Sobre craneología de los Uru. Supervivencia de razas australoides en los Andes /On the Craniology of the Uru. Survival of Australoid Races in the Andes/." 27th Congrès Internat. Américanistes. Lima, 1939, I, 3-19 (1942).

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullperia*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleevless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characterstic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally

Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on p. 219]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know [191] Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[16] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

171 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be 177 argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

144 *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some [162] time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a [178] period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [551] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi [621] (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 142 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[16] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90–110.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

slant. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymára. Walle (page 155) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Posnansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient Amerindian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *čuñu*-consuming Aymára (*čuñu* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fishermen, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymára and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymára-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymára, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymára; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymára is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymára nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymára; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymára, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tututin*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[17] the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the

[17] In Neveu-Lemaire, *Los Lagos*, p. LXI.

/84 cont./

396 The construction of these rafts is rather simple, although
[147] it demands great manual skill and considerable expenditure of strength. The keel is composed of two enormous spindle-shaped sheafs of totora tied together. The natives obtain them by heaping up and intertwining stalks of totora of unequal length (Pl. IV, B /see p. 24/); they take care that the shortest remain inside and they cover these with progressively longer stalks until the total forms a compact mass. The rope which maintains each of these rolls /85/ /Fig. 25 appears here/ /86/ is crossed at each turn with that of the other sheaf. Two padded rims are then fastened to the edge, where they serve as a railing and add to the stability of the craft. The only instrument to which the Indians have recourse in making these rafts is a wooden hook (Fig. 24, 5 /see p. 10/), which they use to lift the straw rope, either to tighten it or to pass the rope which joins one sheaf to the other under it. This alternating play of the ropes obliges the balsa constructors to work always two by
501 two (Pl. IV, C /see p. 24/). For navigating, the Uro have long boathooks, t'okena, the wood for which comes from the eastern slopes of the Andes. The extremity of these poles ends in a sort of trident which prevents them from sinking too deeply in the mud of the lake (Fig. 25, 2 /see p. 15/).

285 Mats. The Uro Indians have several uses for the rush (totora) mats. They make the framework and roofs of their huts from it, their beds, the door of their house, and the sails of their balsas. Making them is not complicated. The totora stalks are spread out on five or six parallel ropes, stretched between stakes, and attached to them in little piles.

283 Rope-making. The Uro are obliged to constantly make rope, the indispensable accessory for the two industries which have just been mentioned. Different types of gramineous plants,
[124] among them the Stipa ichu Kunth, Festucha orthophylla Pilger, and F. dissiflora Griseb (1), furnish them with raw material of

1. Parodi, p. 4.

[text continues on p. 16]

/148 cont./

115 the former had had much more frequent contacts with the
191 neighboring populations.

114 Here I should note that Métraux's assertion in his 1937
191 work on the almost general usage of Aymara by the Uru of Iru-Itu, who "practically do not speak their old language any more," was clearly exaggerated. In 1938, alongside individuals who spoke Aymara fluently, numerous men knew only a few words
[199] of it, and most of the women did not know it at all. The only ordinary language in the village was Uru, but it is natural that in the course of a short stay with Aymara informants, a traveler would mainly have had contacts with natives who knew this language, which gives a false impression of the group as a whole.

114 Moreover, it is inexact to state that the Uru call their
199 language Bukina or Pukina. This information was also given to me in 1938, during my first trip, by a Uru who spoke Aymara and even a few words of Spanish, and I published it in a small work on the Uru ("Les Indiens Uru du Desaguadero /The Uru Indians of the Desaguadero/," Boletim do Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1939, XIV-XVII, 303-319). During my second stay I had an explanation /149/ of this declaration made by several Uru. All asserted to me that they did not know who the Pukina were and did not know of any people with this name, but a "mister" had said to them that this was the name of their language. It is not difficult to recognize in this connection Posnansky's intervention, of which it would be easy to cite other examples of the same kind.

115 My informants were the following:

Manuel Inta, apparently a pure-blooded Uru, a great-grandfather, who was almost 90 years old at the time of our investigation judging from the events at which he had been
[197] present in his youth. A robust man, he was still capable of making the trip on foot from La Paz to Tiahuanaco, 90 kilometers, in two days in order to save the price of his passage by train or bus, which had nevertheless been paid for him in

/149 cont./

115 large part, and this to the great dismay of the respectable
[147] guardian of the ruins of Tiahuanaco who had accompanied him to La Paz and whose watchfulness he tricked in order to enter
[191] his village alone. A very limited knowledge of Aymara, none of Spanish or Keŝwa /Quechua/. An excellent informant.

Carlos Kispe, from 40 to 50 years old, one of the youngest men in the group. He displayed characteristics in his physical
[144] appearance which led one to suspect a certain degree of Aymara crossbreeding (see the 2nd note, on Physical Anthropology
[848] /p. 30/). Besides he was an illegitimate son, born of an un-
[191] known father. Much more enterprising than Manuel Inta, he spoke Aymara fluently, but neither Spanish nor Keŝwa. He had frequent contacts with the neighboring Aymara populations and, faced with the persistant drought, was thinking of leaving
[191] Iru-Itu to go live as a fisher at Guaki. He also proved to be an excellent informant, but his syntax was less pure and less varied than that of Manuel Inta and his vocabulary poorer and more mixed with Aymara; he did not use, or even did not know, a certain number of words used by his companion.

195 It is interesting to underline these differences in /150/
184 language between individuals of the same village, belonging to two different generations. They allow us to follow the rapid evolution of languages entrusted to oral tradition alone without any monument to establish them.

115 Outside these two principal informants, we utilized other inhabitants of the village, either for the general investigation or for word comparisons.

128 For each text we shall indicate the informant who pro-
191 vided it. These texts were gone over several times with the informant in order to obtain as exact a transcription as possible. Their translation was always checked in Aymara. Even so, in the course of the same text, considerable variations in pronunciation will be observed, which do not appear to follow any definite rule. They indicate a certain phonetic instability, more marked, of course, between different observers.

Carangas-
Chipaya

/118 cont./

221 796 132 [152] objective of requesting the demons and saints to send them prosperity along with the rain. The beginning of the year 1931 was marked by a long period of dryness (1) and I witnessed the anguish

1. During the months of January and February I made a certain number of meteorological observations which were unfortunately incomplete because of my frequent moves. For January the average maximum temperature was 19° to 20° /centigrade/ and that of the minimum temperature 6°. In February we had an average maximum temperature of 19° and a minimum temperature of 5°. In January I noted a high of 24° and a low of 1°. For February the high was 23° and the low −1°. February was rainier than January although the end of the latter month was marked by some violent storms and hail.

of the Čipaya; this anxiety manifested itself perhaps in the pomp and seriousness with which they carried out the festivals which I shall describe later.

The winter is a testing time for the Čipaya. They spoke to me in eloquent language of its rigors—dried and yellowed pastures, thin and starving animals, icy winds which pierced to the /119/ [182] bone. This entire season passes without festivals, at least without pagan festivals, and this cessation of religious life is good evidence of the close correlation that exists between the pagan ceremonies of the Čipaya and their problems of subsistence.

Carangas-
Chipaya

/119 cont./

133 No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence
187 the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment
does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly
was credited to it there can be no doubt that Cipaya mythology
would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the
[52] Carangas deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge
this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness:
"these bare plains where we live," such is the expression which
133 most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an im-
pression of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon
rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this
territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes
in a pale stroke.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous with-
out the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy
summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of
the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Cipaya wor-
ship, is not visible from the village itself, Cerro Camacha
hiding it from sight.

136 The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable
number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina)
(Phoenicopterus andinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly dis-
dained by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only
lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more
impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining them-
selves in red against the brilliant blue of the puna sky. The
237 Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the
825 great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated
[782] with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never
fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which
are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I
[301] have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of
flamingo eggs threaded together.

/342 cont./

He lived far from the tribe on a place called Yunguyo. He was never seen in the village. He appeared only for the festivals, strangely dressed and reciting his prayers without stop, kneeling, rising, and offering libations with a half-comical, half-tragic pomposity. He was treated with a certain respect due to his art, and I believe that the Chipaya insisted on having him with them during all their festivals no matter how small. He animated them and gave them the religious character which they would often have lacked without him.

/343/ Anacleto Mullo, of whom I previously spoke, was the most intelligent of all the Chipaya with whom I had dealings. His small, lively eyes sparkled with a mocking gleam, and he never missed an opportunity to tell a joke, even an improper one. His facial mobility was such that he could immediately abandon his jovial air to take on a grave and serious expression, as if he were the most respectable of men.

Festivals and Rites

The taking of office of the new authorities (January 1).

The first of January, the day on which the transmission of powers is carried out in Chipaya is the occasion of a festival, the only one in which only rare pagan elements are mingled. I shall mention a few of its details which illustrate the attitude of the Chipaya toward the Catholic religion. That morning the small church of the tribe had been abundantly lighted; lamps or tallow candles were burning on all the altars and fragrant smoke was rising from all the censers. The outgoing Alcaldes had gathered beside their successors near the altar, and a kind of sacristan was fumigating them copiously. Some women squatting behind the men were sobbing and sighing as though their hearts were broken. They were only quiet when small baked clay llamas which they had placed on the altar were distributed, they kissed them and fondled

Caranga:-
Chipaya

/344 cont./ Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and
622 dancers, stopping in front of each hut to obtain a tribute of alcohol
535 for himself and his troup. In exchange for this gift he gave his
[931] momentary host the privilege of seizing the white banner and
putting himself at the head of the dancers. The end of the day was
[913] only a succession of rounds and drinking which went on until complete exhaustion.

622 The second day. On the next day, noticing that all the Indians were going toward a particular hut, I in turn went. There I found about 30 individuals, men and women, squatting on the floor around the alcalde taking office, who was seated on a pile of cloth behind a table facing the door. He was holding his stick of authority in his arm and had bunches of flowers and a napkin full of coca in front of him. His physiognomy did not act in his favor; his ravaged, closed face was scarred with smallpox; his thick features, aquiline nose, and projecting chin gave him an air which was both cruel and bestial. I sat down next to the men immediately to the right of the host. All were keeping a profound, almost disturbing silence. At long intervals a man would rise to profer his
[906] bag of coca to the alcalde. The latter would take a few leaves from it and tender his own chuspa with a bored gesture. Others moved toward the table, took a pinch of coca leaves, some of which they left in front of the flowers, and swallowed the rest.
[982] The drinkers never forgot their libations directed, as were the
[913] offerings, toward the flowers on the table. On that day the chicha of maize and quinua, in exception to the rule, competed with the alcohol. It was served by the women in terra-cotta bowls. I had the opportunity to be present that afternoon at a scene, the significance of which remains a mystery to me. A man got up and greeted a young woman in the usual manner; /345/ she replied to his greeting and went to kneel at the head of the audience. The individual who had greeted her took the young woman's head and shoved it against that of a man squatting next to her. Several
[152] seconds later the young woman gave way to weeping identical to that with which the church had resounded the day before. Silence

2:Métraux--128 E-b (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Curanga-
Chipaya

/393/

The dead woman's husband and her sisters just barely and only at long intervals gave way to a few quickly stifled sobs.

The body was carefully done up in an urku (1), and only the

1. Cloth which the women wear around their bodies by way of a tunic.

face remained uncovered until evening, when one of the corners of the cloth which enveloped her was pulled over it and a rope was placed crosswise on it. The husband, who was not worth a sou, displayed profound anguish at the thought of not being able to hold a wake. When I gave him something to buy cigarettes, coca, and alcohol, he thanked me and seemed as if relieved of a great anxiety. He shut himself in his hut with his brother and another Indian, probably a relative. The close relatives of the woman from bitterness against the widower, whom they continued to suspect of a crime, stayed at home. Between the threshold and the corpse an iron spike had been planted and a small tallow lamp was burning beside the body. The husband and his two companions, squatting at the dead woman's feet, smoked and drank with complete serenity of soul. The first, however, interrupted his bumpers of eau-de-vie from time to time with little attacks of tears, of short duration nonetheless. He likewise addressed the customary reproaches to the dead woman in a tone lacking in conviction: "Why hast thou left, why hast thou left me, when will we meet again?" At a particular moment he placed on his wife's feet a bowl full of alcohol, which he set fire to as well as to some coca leaves.

At dawn a large number of the women of the clan came and squatted in the house. They remained there a long time, immobile and silent. Toward ten o'clock in the morning the corpse was carried to the cemetery and buried with a little food, coca, and alcohol. The dead woman's spindle was buried with her, and the pot and bowls which she used were broken and thrown into the fire

Cayapa-
Chipaya

/391 cont./

with her spoon and other effects. This is the last which the earthly goods left by the Cipaya undergo, and the charred remains of their holdings are piled up beside the enclosure where their body reposes. The husband gave out a few more tears near the tomb and returned home, escorted by a large number of individuals who came to take their share of the funerary feast. The widower's family had been occupied with it since morning and had slaughtered two sheep and put enormous kettles full of quinua pulp on the fire. Among the Cipaya as among the Aymara, mourning obligations force the survivors to make considerable sacrifices and to dissipate their meager capital.

Passing near the hut of the widower this same evening, I saw him with one of his children on his back and the other near him busy preparing his dinner. On /394/ seeing me he let out some moans, too modulated to be the expression of any sentiment. This was the last evidence of regret that the dead woman received. From the next day on she was forgotten, and the village, disturbed for a moment, sank back into silence and indifference.

Myths and tales

The stay that I made among the Cipaya was dedicated in large part to gathering as many elements as possible of their agonizing language. In the hope of being able to make a grammar out of it, I busied myself as much as possible with assembling expressions, phrases, and coherent narrative. Accomplishing this task was not always easy for me. The Cipaya know only Aymara outside their own language and, with the exception of the corregidor and two or three young people, do not know a word of Spanish. In order to be able to deal with them, I almost always had to have recourse to my Aymara interpreter, and the impossibility which often arose of being able to communicate

Dominique--DM E-5 (1930-1932) 1935.1938 DM4 Dos DM4
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/305 cont./

[illegible] boredom and silence overhangs the village. The children themselves share in the general callousness: they never have fun, so to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sleep with a vague eye as they squatting in their huts chewing [illegible] or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material as occupy their leisure time by looking for lice on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

The Chipeya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mistrust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Chipeya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, or least in the presence of strangers. They know how to appreciate work, and my relations with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Chipeya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /306/ liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they never forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Chipeya pay a lot for these products and, as a result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unbridled and malevolent devil. The Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for my collections in broad daylight, all heard the unkind comments of their [illegible]

D'Orbigny--209 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF54 Div SF54
Cayagua-
Chipaya

[208 cont.]

of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and repressive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to drama: a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me had from one point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of freedom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They speak to their husbands in firm and decisive tones, and no decision can be [207] made without their consent. The children are never maltreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya compare very favorably with the Uru of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence. [illegible] Uru of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to stay with them.

*539 /182 cont./ also the Uru do not have any
81 apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/
1018 at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments
191 are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations.
152 However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kispe, is very frightened
829 of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure
Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood.
848 Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was father-
less, "hána hep' šeš- čay," "no father is," "an illegitimate
son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did
not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be
961 assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder,
829 drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which
848 the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable
proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

*539 From the point of view of vocabulary this text shows the
191 same irregularities as the preceding text by the same informant
192 (V) /see p. 15/ frequent elisions of final vowels: ča instead of
čay; the repeated use (1-9) of wáli, "much," an Aymara form
not found in the texts nor in the numerous phrases gathered
from the other informant. 2. wáli- píni, association of an
Aymara word and an Uru word with the same meaning to rein-
force the idea; we find an analogous case in ti- hún (5), the
Uru-Spanish association already noted. 2. hána Kála či čúña,
"not good good is," association of two words of almost identical
meaning to reinforce the idea: "this is not good at all." 3. The
particle -kála after the verb "to go" has the exact meaning
of ex in Latin, literally exit. 4. The correct form would be
war- tis. 6. háske indicates a very distant fact, an idea still
more strengthened by the suffix -ta, sign of the past: "a very
long time ago."

/380/ Carangas-

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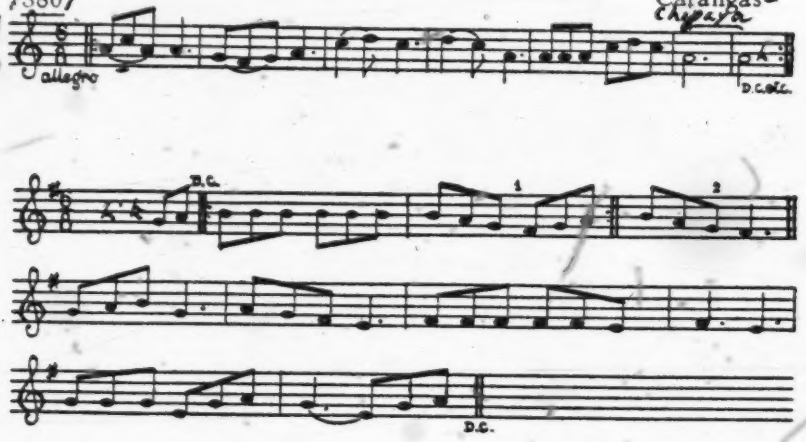

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574 Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to
[616] everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

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718
[824
237] In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

527
[533] The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week. At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few
[273] madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol
[54] did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not
[171] present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

/206 cont./

152 of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and
578 impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts
● [154] of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

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177 pare very favorably with the Uro of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race, who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence.
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/88 cont./
773 a cataclysm which annihilated all of humanity with the exception of the Uro. This explains why they speak a different language than the other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its church existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky the church and Tiahuanacu melted." The vestiges of the old myth which 273 539 Betanzos (1) has preserved for us are recognizable here.

[113]

1. Betanzos (Juan Diez de), "Historia de los Incas y Conquista del Peru /History of the Incas and the Conquest of Peru/," Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru, (Lima, 1924), Vol. 8, second series, pp. 82-83.

Tuki	pača	(čamak tiempo)	šoñi	ekanštinnakčai
Former times		former times	people	have remained

toksanakaki		estansias	tiksi	ekanastkalačai
people of the others		"estancias"	they died	we have remained

nekstal	ti	čiaki	sisasučai.
then	this	language	we know.

157 [609] /89/ Disposition. In disposition and nature the Uro are as sombre as the Aymara. A stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold and slightly hostile reception. To this ill-will is added the unhealthy rapacity shown by the Aymara and the Bolivians, besides the apathy and that heaviness of spirit which makes the Indian highlander frankly so odious. I am not, however, unaware of the causes of the mental atrophy of the 155 648 Bolivian Indian; the Uro have not escaped the brutalities and exploitation of their Spanish masters, nor that of their even

/89 cont./

155 crueler successors, the enfranchised half-breeds of Bolivia. One
648 simple example can illustrate better than any humanitarian tirade the treatment to which, even up to our day, these Indians are submitted: the two Bolivian soldiers who accompanied me and who had interrupted their hunt for Indians who had revolted, threatened my poor informants with public whipping and burning of their huts for the smallest trifle. Those are the most current, and the gentlest, measures employed by Bolivian officers with regard to the natives.

197 Linguistics. The Uro hardly speak their ancient language
177 any more, and even among themselves Aymara is readily used. However, the Uro dialect of Ancoaqui seems to have been less contaminated by Spanish and Aymara than that of the Uro of Chipaya. At any rate, at Ancoaqui I had the good fortune to find several Uro roots which have already disappeared at Chipaya. This fact might appear peculiar when one reflects that the Uro of Ancoaqui have always had much closer contact with the Aymara and with the Spanish than their brothers at Carangas. Their material culture has been more deeply modified than that of the Čipaya, whose physiognomy is clearly archaic. How then can one explain why their language should have remained purer than the dialect of the Čipaya? I am inclined to believe that this anomaly is due to the fact that the Uro of Ancoaqui have been located closer to the great Uro centers of Lake Titicaca, and that since they were formerly more numerous than the Čipaya, they have succeeded better in preserving their own language. A linguistic detail which happens to confirm the
197 thesis supported by Dr. Rivet on the identity of the Pukina and
114 of the Uro remains to be mentioned. The lexicographic concordances pointed out by Dr. Rivet made this assimilation almost certain. The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language bukina, pukina in order to distinguish it from Aymara. The fact had already been indicated to me at La Paz; it has since then been confirmed by all my informants.

/88 cont./
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/362 cont./

*798 *796 [576] repeated immediately in echo. It seemed to me that this cry was raised each time that the alferez began to drink or refilled his drinking cups. More direct compliments were frequently addressed to the alferez, who was treated as in the previous festival.

Several times the alferez' wife, displaying as much conviction as enthusiasm, threw out handfuls of white maize or peas over which the audience fought.

Practically the whole afternoon passed in this way beneath a leaden sky. When the prayers and wishes ceased to be heard, a mournful silence momentarily reigned, uninterrupted by any [573] [557] particular conversation. Although most of them were drunk, the Indians remained as apathetic and indifferent as usual.

*798 *796 262 574 Toward five o'clock the meal for which all had been patiently waiting was served. Two blankets were spread out in front of the alferez, and the cooks, led by the Officiant and his helper, placed the food on them. Boiled barley brought in bowls was poured out in ribbons forming a large oval cut again lengthwise by several parallel lines. At this point several guests got up to add either cuño (frozen potatoes) or roasted maize which was scattered between the ribbons of barley. The boiled meat brought in bowls was arranged magisterially on the ribbons of barley at regular intervals and in equal amounts. But part of the meat was directly distributed by the Officiant and the cooks, who first offered the llama, then the pork, and last the mutton. At the same time bowls of stinking boullion were passed from hand to hand and everyone took several gulps.

*798 *796 Before closing the samiri's cellar, the Officiant recited a prayer that was listened to by all with bared heads. This prayer is addressed to the mal'ku and the samiri. The cellar was then shut and hidden under a yareta.

[539] At the moment of departure the Officiant turned once more to the samiri and directed several words of farewell which put an end to the ceremony:

Carangas—
Chipaya

/385 cont./

*798 *796 house and his patio. A few pinches of maize flour were thrown in the hole.

[791] [576] /386/ The yatiri then walked around those present to greet them according to all the rules of Čipaya etiquette. The master of the flock and his wife offered him some alcohol and coca and invited their relatives and friends to take some of the leaves which they had spread out on the ground. They drank and chewed for

● [157] half an hour without exchanging a word and with all the gloomy gravity to which these Indians are accustomed. Next a stuffed lamb decorated with wool pompoms — the samiri — was brought out of a pile of material which enveloped it; the wife of the owner of the sheepfold added several supplementary tufts of red wool to it and all approached it in turn to offer a libation on its body, to offer it coca, and to recite a long prayer for it. It was then buried in the hole along with khoa, "copal," sprigs of rosemary, and a few pinches of coca which the Officiant threw with each lump of earth, continuously murmuring his prayers. His movements were imitated by the spectators, who rivaled him in zeal.

The hole was not entirely full. At one side of it on a small tablecloth the instigator of the festival had piled up the innumerable products with magical qualities which the Čipaya customarily

*798 *796 791 offer to their divinities. The yatiri, after having subjected them to a detailed review, prepared paper sacks in which he put first pink, yellow, and green lozenges, pieces of pink and white candies, and lastly sprigs of rosemary and some starch.

*798 *796 791 822 He then proceeded to a minute selection from the ten to 12 colored mineral powders which had been put at his disposal. He kept only four: a deep green, a light green, a violet, and a brown. He poured them into separate little paper horns, with the exception of the light green, which he mixed with the brown. These colors undoubtedly had a special significance to judge from the attention which the yatiri gave to their selection and from the explanations which he gave to the master of the place. I have every reason to suppose that these four colors correspond to the

Carangas—
Chipaya

/394 cont./

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The few tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

/204 cont./

Intelligence, character, and morality

123 Every consideration of the character of a human group, no matter how small, demands closer contact with the individuals than that which I was able to maintain with the Čipaya. The impossibility which I experienced in most cases of being able to communicate directly with them especially was an obstacle to my observations. The judgment that I make of the Čipaya is hence necessarily summary and without scientific grounds. The Čipaya inspired in me more disgust and antipathy than pity. Neither by their physique nor by their disposition did they draw the affection which the ethnographer /205/ from professional bent would be prone to offer them. Their
142 features are heavy and thick, and only a few individuals, products of mixtures with their neighbors the Aymara, present the handsome profile with the curved nose characteristic of the conquering race of the Bolivian Altiplano. Their short and thick-set body is made even heavier by the thick woolen clothing with which they cover themselves. Only their slender, well-formed legs are pretty to see when crossing
[515] a river. Their complexion would not be so dark if they would consent at least once in their lives to wash. The filth and the rags which cover them accentuate even more the wretched and miserable appearance of this group of human beings.

●157 Intellectually the Čipaya are on a rather low level: they have a dull and narrow mind and visibly feel an aversion to any coherent
[538] mental effort. Without fantasy and without imagination, they have for their total literature only a few insipid and short tales, which anyway seem to be Aymara in origin. Some women are an exception to this rule and struck me by a certain vivacity in their character and intelligence. Two or three young people also appeared better endowed than the average member of the tribe.

157 The Čipaya nourishes no ambition, and the desire for any
46 worldly gain cannot draw him out of his apathy. His movements are slow and measured, his ability to remain motionless is without limits. He seems to pursue constantly an internal dream which is always the

/205 cont./

157 461 [859] same. Boredom and silence overwhelm the village. The children themselves share in this general sullenness: they never have fun, so to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a vague eye or stay squatting in their huts chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material or occupy their leisure time by looking for fleas on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

157 17 [609] The Čipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mistrust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of 123 157 strangers. They know how to appear well-wishing, and my relations with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /206/ liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they never forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a [431] result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several 152 578 small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent [123] devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for [126] my collections in broad daylight: all feared the unkind comments of those near them.

/206 cont./

152 of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and
518 impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts
[154] of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

593 Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the
578 characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic
[1062] conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to drama: a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

836 Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me, bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of freedom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to
848 virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them
837 from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery
593 provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They speak to their husbands in firm and decisive tones, and no decision can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never
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5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruito, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chesaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 115, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock.

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter. Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (pana-soluna) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of varicolored llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden floats for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of disguises has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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calling themselves "Bukina" or "Pukina," which agrees with the synonymy of Ehrenreich, Hervas, *et al.* The "Uruquillas" of the early chroniclers appears to have meant the Uru; but Chamberlain's "Urumaya" is the name of a society, not of the tribe, and is moreover an Aymará word.

Bertonio, a missionary of the late 16th century, gives the Aymará name, probably opprobrious, "*Kruckucunti*: Big-lipped [People], Nickname of the Puquinas." Chamberlain notes the Quechua name for the Uru as *Tarascare*, but Monti says their Quechua designation is *Uroculla*. Paredes says the Aymára call the Uru "*Chaucumaukkeri*" [etymologized by my interpreter as *lauka-mang'eri*, lit. "water-lauka-eaters," i.e. eaters of the water-plants of the genera *Myriophyllum*, *Potamogeton*, *Cinnophora*, *Elodea*, and *Chara*] or "Chaucu." The tradition was that their ancestors were brought from the Pacific coast by the great Colla or Aymára conqueror, Tacuilla, but the Aymára say that the "*achachila*" or place-deity of the Uru is the swamp itself, much as Mt. Illimani is the place-deity of the Aymára in its region. Neveu-Lemaire[9] says that the Uru were the group from whom the Inca exacted the famous tribute of lice.

Posnansky notes several place-names—Urubamba, Urupampa, Urmiri, Urucollo, Uru-Uru (Oruro), and others—which he believes incorporate the name Uru, but these are etymologizable in Aymará, in which language "uru" means "day," or according to some authorities "worm."[10] Polo suggests the implausible etymology from "uri" (Aymará "unconquered, brave"); but in the 17th century "uru" or "uru" seems to have been in current use in the sense of "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. A passing proverb, "De indio Uro ningun hombre esta seguro" ("No man is safe from an Uru Indian"), appears to testify to the treachery of an incompletely subjected minority.

Temperament. The temperament of the Uru has been spoken of in very flattering terms by all who have known them. Acosta said that they were so brutish as not even to have considered themselves human: "Son estos *Uros* tan brutales que ellos mismos no se tienen por hombres." Garcilaso de la Vega called them "rudos y torpes," rude and stupid. Even the

[9] Neveu-Lemaire, *Les Lagos*, 139-137; this authority also says that the name of the Department of Oruro and its capital city in Bolivia comes from the subjugation "Uru-uru." Other authorities in this paragraph not heretofore listed: Arturo Posnansky, *Anthropologia y Sociologia de las Razas Interandinas y de las Regiones Adyacentes* (La Paz, 1937), p. 59; Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara*, 1st (Chuyuito) [Pera] 2 vols. 1612 facsimile edition, J. Platzmann, Leipzig 1879 vol. 2, p. 301; Eleuterio Monti, *Diccionario Quechua* (Sucre, 1905); Rigoberto Paredes, *Mitos, Supersticiones y Supervivencias Populares de Bolivia*, 2nd ed. (La Paz, 1920), p. 23.

[10] In connection with the meaning "day" see the myth in Métraux *JAFL* 57: 203-4.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1961
SF24 Uru SF24

sympathetic Barranco lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Es escaso de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento." Pareden calls them "brutales . . . despreciables, de poco entendimiento, ligeros y cobardes." The Belgian traveller Wiener says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression; it betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Posnansky writes:

El Uru en tiene glaseres, desconoce ahora el juego. Lo ríen jamás sonríe o los labios de su cara inmóvil, sin la menor emoción, tostado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus niños son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes, soñolientos y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Uros es el de un pueblo envilecido.

Métraux preferred their conquerors, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, hostile, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

The Uru have a character and a genius so unalike as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this thrift is added the unhealthy capacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the altiplano Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field work with the Aymara, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hot-tilled group; in my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . rather more vivacious and handsome than the Aymara."[3]

History. Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymara. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states that those on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in huts in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymara, Inca, and Spanish.

Language. I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The other independ-

[3] J. de Acosta, *Historia de los Indios* (1590), p. 62; Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 4; Barranco, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 280; Paul Wiele, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall); Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 90; Métraux [Steward 2], p. 69, [2], p. 207.

Bolivian--Id E-5 (1930-1831) 1835, 1836 SF24 Uru SF24

Cayanga-
- Chipaya

[illegible] /

there they are praised, and in eight days of orgy the fruits of one year of work are devoured."

One cannot give the officiant of Chipaya festivals the title of "magician," although the Indians designate him by the name of yatiri (magician in Aymara). The personage who operates at the sacrifices, who prepares the masterly mixtures offered as libations to the demons, and who says the prayers, is not at all like a medicine-man /given in English/. He is generally an old Indian who has maintained the traditions of the past. Beyond the service which he renders the younger generation thanks to his knowledge of the ritual, he fills no particular office and enjoys no more esteem than any other elderly man. It is not, however, impossible that my friend, Asuciano Mollo, was actually a real yatiri. This is only a supposition on my part after having seen him officiate at several festivals and having admired the competency with which he accomplished his task. The Indians frequently pointed him out to me as the man who best knew the prayers to the mal'ku. He also had some talent as a fortune-teller and was a past master of the art of "reading in the coca." I do not know, however, if his skill was called upon in cases of illness. The only cure at which I was present was made by a Chipaya whom I had never seen officiate in any festival and whom I would never have suspected was versed in these superstitious practices.

Espiritu Mamani, a benevolent giant with the head of a faun, made himself noticed by his zeal during festivals. His functions were, however, limited to reciting prayers, which for the most part had a marked Christian character. He discharged this duty with a fervor and enthusiasm which made me doubt his mental equilibrium. Among all the Chipaya he alone was animated with exuberant life. He appeared truly possessed by an internal demon while with half-shut eyes he prayed as if in ecstasy. Immediately afterward he would wink and laugh with an air of complicity, as if he had just pulled a good trick. He was affable and pleasant in spite of this, but fickle, unapproachable, and as wild as a forest god.

/342 cont./

*796 He lived far from the tribe in a place called Yunguyo. He was never seen in the village. He appeared only for the festivals, strangely dressed and reciting his prayers without stop, kneeling, rising, and offering libations with a half-comical, half-tragic pomposity. He was treated with a certain respect due to his art, and I believe that the Čipaya insisted on having him with them during all their festivals no matter how small. He animated them [781] and gave them the religious character which they would often have lacked without him.

159 /343/ Anacleto Mullu, of whom I previously spoke, was the 791 most intelligent of all the Čipaya with whom I had dealings. His small, lively eyes sparkled with a mocking gleam, and he never missed an opportunity to tell a joke, even an improper one. His facial mobility was such that he could immediately abandon his jovial air to take on a grave and serious expression, as if he were the most respectable of men.

Festivals and Rites

*796 622 The taking of office of the new authorities (January 1). The first of January, the day on which the transmission of powers is carried out in Chipaya, is the occasion of a festival, the only one in which only rare pagan elements are mingled. I shall mention a few of its details which illustrate the attitude of the [354] Čipaya toward the Catholic religion. That morning the small church of the tribe had been abundantly lighted; lamps or tallow candles were burning on all the altars and fragrant smoke was rising from all the censers. The outgoing alcaldes had gathered beside their successors near the altar, and a kind of sacristan was fumigating [152] them copiously. Some women squatting behind the men were sobbing and sighing as though their hearts were broken. They were only quiet when small baked clay llamas which they had placed on the altar were distributed; they kissed them and fondled

1:Métraux--1 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uru SF24
Ancoaqui

/75/

Introduction

/121/ [114] [101] [36] [16] It was solely with the intention of obtaining some elements of comparison for my Čipaya dictionary that I, in the company of Professor A. Posnansky, made a one week visit to the Uro of the Desaguadero in June, 1931. These Indians live in the village of Ancoaqui, on the right bank of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from the Bolivian port of Cuaqui. There are only a handful of them, 40 at the very most. Even taking into account those who were absent and the small agglomerations spread throughout the region, I seriously doubt whether the remaining Uro number a hundred. It was, therefore, imperative to record their language. The case of the Uro is typical of the rudimentary and anarchic state of South American ethnography. For a long time these Indians have been considered one of the most interesting ethnic elements of the Andean region. Nevertheless, no one has thought of living among them and devoting a serious and methodical study to them. The excellent monograph of Dr. Rivet (1) and Mr. de Créqui

/114/

[Text continues on p. 3]

/113/ 1. Créqui Montfort (G. de) and Rivet (P.), "La langue uru ou pukina /The Uru or Pukina Language/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, new series, Vol. XVII (1925), pp. 211-244; Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 111-199; Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 57-116. To the texts assembled in this article the following must be added:

/113/ /105/ McCutchen McBride (G.), "The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia," American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 5, New York, 1921, p. 17. "There are the Uros that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains

Carangas-
Chipaya

/114 cont./

114 passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map,
36 undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is
131 located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and 19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate
36 Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will
[99] help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Iscara, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon
[63] which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the
[484] distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission
36 as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Cipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

[113]

1. Bacarreza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor..., comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor..., commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

/115 cont./

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161

and physical study of Carangas Province in Oruro Department/," Boletín de la Oficina Nacional de estadística, Nos. 61, 62, 63, 3rd trimester 1910, La Paz, 1910, pp. 477-480. Buck ("Ein wenig bekannter Indianerstamm des bolivianischen Hochlandes /A little-known Indian tribe of the Bolivian Altiplano/," p. 55) estimates the population of Chipaya at 800 individuals in 1929! This figure is, of course, the greatest fantasy.

[114]

161 government in 1910, estimates the population of Chipaya at 385
[114] individuals in 77 families. Although the first of these two figures seems a little exaggerated to me, the second appears exact. It
[65] may even be considered official as it was drawn from the number of "comuneros," i.e. the heads of families paying an annual tribute of 3 bolivianos (the Čipaya told me 2.40 bolivianos). According to my own census there would be about 100 households in Chipaya. As I do not know the principle which guided the authorities in their division of fiscal charges, I cannot decide how exact either of these last two figures is. Uhle,[2] who was the first scholar to mention the existence of the Čipaya, estimated their

[113]

2. Uhle (Max), "Ueber seine Reisen in Bolivia /On His Trips in Bolivia/," Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Brdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XXI, 1894, pp. 328-332.

/115 cont./

161 number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not
[114] go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

162 The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion:
621 Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants (58 at Warta ayl'u and 111 at Tuanta properly so called), and
[161] Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayl'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can
123 only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who
124 gave me the list of people in this "moiety" did so reluctantly and
161 very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that
651 this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

651
659 1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population.
[609] The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

/206 cont./

152 of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and
518 impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts
[154] of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

593 Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the
578 characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic
[162] conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to drama: a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

836 Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me, bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of free-
848 dom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them
837 from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery
593 provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They speak to their husbands in firm and decisive tones, and no decision can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never
157 mistreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya com-
177 pare very favorably with the Uro of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race, who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence.
609 The last 30 Uro of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust
161 of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to stay with them.

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-Itu, or Angoake, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Itu had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, hispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

/146 cont./

161 According to the latest news the group of Iru-Itu seems to
[62] be reduced to some 12 people, although since 1946 the level
[133] of the lake has risen considerably; in February 1947 it had already risen 90 centimeters. This rising movement is continuing, and the totora beds are slowly beginning to reform.

[731] The old Uru remembered having seen in their youth, around 1870, an even worse drought than that of these last years. But at that time they were more numerous and the group was able to subsist. Now it is too diminished to reconstitute itself and its disappearance seems definite.

101 I visited the Uru of Iru-Itu for the first time in 1938. Dur-
121 ing my stay in Bolivia from 1940 to 1944 I was in constant contact with them. Their misery and their decline did not allow me to glean important observations on their material culture, already studied by the numerous ethnographers who have stayed among the Uru of the Desaguadero. Their imminent disappearance made it necessary, however, to bring together everything which might still exist among them: anthropological observations, traditions, and linguistic records, in order to compare them with the other populations of the region and especially with the different groups of fishers on Lake Titicaca.

These are the results of this study, the publication of which we are beginning.

/147/

Note I

Accounts and Conversations

114 The linguistic records at our disposal on the Uru are reduced to some quick observations and more or less expanded vocabularies gathered by travelers in the course of brief stays in the region of Iru-Itu. Métraux is the only one to have published texts in the Chipaya dialect. No text exists in the Iru-Itu dialect, and the best sources of linguistic information on

/170 cont./

*539 731 178 433 511 23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

*539 731 178 161 433 This account, dictated by an old Uru about 90 years old, Manuel Inta, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1940 to 1946. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara populations. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Urus, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working [167] in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Urus have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Amaracized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

*539 192 193 [161] wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui, on the small lake. ὸx'ǩa, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymaras. Note the particle čᵘ intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: Káya -čúčay, tánáču- čay, lúx-káču -čay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ki intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending čay indicates the future. The verb Káči- čay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." tumíni, a

*539 192 tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1. kustúmbro, "custom"; 5. isú-čay, esto or eso, "that"; 17. ni- únu, "this alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

/196 cont./

162 Aymara women:

551 Rosa Choque, 60 to 70 years old, Aymara from Machaca.

Francisca Arosquipe, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

María Chura, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

Half-breed children:

Victor Inta, m., 10 to 11 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Eugenio Inta, m., 8 to 10 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Ramon Inta, m., 2 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Manuela Inta, f., 3 years old, daughter of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Domitilia Tacon, f., 6 years old, adopted Aymara.

162 Total:

6 Uru men, from 40 to 95 years old (one of whom is certainly of mixed blood).

6 Uru women, from 30 to 95 years old.

9 Uru children, 5 boys and 4 girls, from 4 to 15 years old.

3 Aymara women.

4 Uru-Aymara half-breed children.

1 adopted Aymara child.

[125] The age of all these subjects was, of course, estimated approximately. Even the relationship of several of them is doubtful.

164 One of the children of mixed blood, Victor Inta, was struck by typhus exanthematicus.

161 162 621 [551] This list shows the deep decline of the group. In 1938 there were four patronymic names, those of the four big families in Iru-Itu: the Inta, the Vila, the Kispe, and the Salinas. In 1942 the Salinas /family/ had emigrated or disappeared, leaving only an orphan. The Kispe /family/

161 was represented only by Carlos and his son. Two men, a
162 young woman, and her children formed the Vila group. The
621 Inta family was the only still rather numerous one. It has, moreover, always been considered the most traditional and purest of the Iru-Itu families.

Anthropometric Study

128 We had to limit our study to the essential measurements
141 of the head and body.

The results obtained are contained in Tables I and II and the indices calculated in Table III /see pp. 38-40/.

These figures call for some comments.

In spite of the small number of subjects examined, the results are rather homogeneous for the group of men, with the exception of Carlos Kispe who is considerably far from the general type. The group of women presents marked differences from that of the men. It is quite difficult to judge to what extent these differences are due to a pronounced sexual dimorphism or to the influence of possible crossbreeding, which makes itself felt among close relatives, two sisters and their female cousin.

We will study the male and female groups separately.

Head

141 The absolute measurements show a notably elongated head for all the subjects examined; the outside figures go from 187 to 210 for the men and from 178 to 180 for the women. The head is narrow among the men, 141 to 150, with the exception of Carlos Kispe; among the women the absolute values do not exceed 149.

The cephalic index does not exceed 75.0 for the masculine groups; only Carlos Kispe is hyperbrachycephalic

A 175 /38 cont./
the title: "Posición geográfica de los indios Urus en el Lago Poopo /Geographic Location of the Uru Indians on Lake Poopo/," III, No. 3, 50-65, 1943-44. This document was made known to us by Dr. Guillermo Francovich, at the time Rector of the University of Sucre.)

A 175 197 Ludovico Bertonio

The (words) listed here are peculiar to the Aymara of this Lupaca Province....But not on this account should one judge that this vocabulary will be of use only to the priests and other persons who reside in the Province of Chucuyto, and among the Lupaca Indians, because without any doubt wherever the Aymara language is spoken, and in the whole nation of Aymara Indians...because the Aymara nation, although spread out in many and various Provinces, is very similar in language, and manner of speech generally, and thus he who knows well this Lupaca language will without difficulty understand the Indians of other Provinces...except for a few special words, very few, as we have said.

A [361] ...It is certain that in this Aymara nation, if we count the small ones and the large ones, there are more than 1,000 A [1949] pueblos or slightly less. Let us see now how many are the preachers who, knowing this language well, with the necessary clarity and proficiency, teach the Gospel. I would not be far wrong if I stated that they are barely 20.../Translated from the Spanish./

(Vocabulario de la Lengua aymara.../Vocabulary of the Aymara Language/, printed in the house of the Compañia de Jesus de Juli, a pueblo in the Province of Chucuito. By Francisco del Canto, 1612; preface A1 and A2.)

195 313 6 511 Lizarraga

...This province (Omasuyo) is heavily populated, and most are Puquinas; they are well favored /son recios/ with

[16th-17th Centuries]

/38 cont./

native livestock, and in addition they share in more maize and wheat than those of other parts, because of /39/ having on their left the province of Larecaja, abundant in both.... /Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción colonial /Colonial Account/. Biblioteca Argentina, XIII-XIV, Buenos Aires, 1916, I, 227.)

Constituciones sinodales del Obispado del Cuzco, expedidas el 29 de Setiembre de 1591, por el Illmo Sr. D. Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of Cuzco, issued on 29 September 1951 by the Illustrious Don Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo/.

...Because in many pueblos of this our Diocese as a rule all Indian women, or most of them and some of the Indian men, do not understand the Quechua language, but rather Aymara or Puquina, and for this reason do not know the mysteries of our Faith, and do not confess their whole life, not even at the hour of death, in order to remedy this we order that all parish priests among the Indians, in accordance with the mandate of the third Council, should hear confessions in the language peculiar to their parish, /whether/ Quechua, Aymara, or Puquina, and because this is so different in each pueblo where said language is spoken, within a year of their being appointed to said parishes, they should prepare with the help of Indians who know Spanish /ladinos/ a short Confession and Catechism wherewith to confess and instruct these persons, which they must do under penalty of 20 pesos the first time and twice as much the second, being warned that they will even be deprived of their parishes, if they are negligent in this respect.... /Translated from the Spanish./

Statement of the Bishop of Cuzco, D. Antonio de la Raya, charging the Jesuits on 12 March 1549 to give examinations to clergymen applying for Indian parishes:

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chcaraque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SP34 Urs SP34
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleevless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, althougl

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

Biblioteca Universitaria (Sección Manuscritos) UNSA
Chipaya

IT MIGHT STILL BE A.D. 1500 in a remote section of Oruro Department of Bolivia today. Here is the retreat of the Chipaya Indians, the living people who can give us an idea of rural life in a distant corner of the great Inca Empire. The few hundred individuals of Santa Ana de Chipaya are the remainders of a once numerous people whose territory extended to the northern shores of Lake Titicaca. Their language, Uru-Chipaya, was called "one of the three main languages of the kingdom" by the sixteenth-century chroniclers of Peru, which included what is now Bolivia. Over the centuries the more powerful Quechuas and Aymaras have seized their lands, forcing them back into a region where life is particularly difficult. But they have made remarkable use of their harsh, ungenerous environment. In their isolation, they have retained their pre-Columbian customs more completely than any other Andean group.

And they are isolated. The modern world did not even know of their existence until it was reported by the famous Peruvianist Max Uhle toward the end of the nine-

[A 19-C]

is three dozen regions. Hunting hung before the entrance takes the place of a door.

Figs. 21 and 22.—Huts temporarily occupied by Jivaro headmen in the region of the Desaguadero (left bank). The roof is cupola shaped. These dwellings are made of clods of earth (drawn from a photograph).

An inventory of the furnishings and objects found in these huts can be quickly made. I took note; there were mats for sleeping, a clay cook stove, a set of small enclosure containing humble material, pottery of different shapes and sizes, a mortar, some spindles, balls of wool, textile fabric which was generally coarsely woven, sometimes some fishing equipment, and finally a broom. Passing into the courtyard one generally notices maize, yucca, sweet, a loom, and farming implements of European origin.

The vessels are not locally produced. They are imported and Fig. 22 appears here/ come from other indigenous industry of the , neighbors. The pots were shaped on a wheel and bear a

Baldwin--10 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Caranga-
Chipaya

/115 cont./

number at 300 individuals in 1894. As this archeologist did not go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Caranga desert, was ever more numerous.

The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion: Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants [illegible] and Tayata 131. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 300 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayl'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Tayata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (97 men to 63 women) is such that I can only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who gave me the list of people in this "society" did so reluctantly and very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that this operation inspired in all the Chipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population. The Chipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

Carangas—
Chipaya

/116 cont./

651
659 that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

163 The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

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-849
[597]
[858]

162 One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Iscara seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

[439]
[439]

197 The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

[197]

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-Itu, or Angoake, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Itu had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, hispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

3:Vellard--2 D, E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/146 cont./

[16] According to the latest news the group of Iru-Itu seems to [62] be reduced to some 12 people, although since 1946 the level [133] of the lake has risen considerably; in February 1947 it had already risen 90 centimeters. This rising movement is continuing, and the totora beds are slowly beginning to reform.

[731] The old Uru remembered having seen in their youth, around 1870, an even worse drought than that of these last years. But at that time they were more numerous and the group was able to subsist. Now it is too diminished to reconstitute itself and its disappearance seems definite.

[10] I visited the Uru of Iru-Itu for the first time in 1938. During my stay in Bolivia from 1940 to 1944 I was in constant con-
[12] tact with them. Their misery and their decline did not allow me to glean important observations on their material culture, already studied by the numerous ethnographers who have stayed among the Uru of the Desaguadero. Their imminent disappearance made it necessary, however, to bring together everything which might still exist among them: anthropological observations, traditions, and linguistic records, in order to compare them with the other populations of the region and especially with the different groups of fishers on Lake Titicaca.

These are the results of this study, the publication of which we are beginning.

/147/ Note I

Accounts and Conversations

[14] The linguistic records at our disposal on the Uru are reduced to some quick observations and more or less expanded vocabularies gathered by travelers in the course of brief stays in the region of Iru-Itu. Métraux is the only one to have published texts in the Chipaya dialect. No text exists in the Iru-Itu dialect, and the best sources of linguistic information on

/192 cont./

114 Outside of Posnansky's small Chipaya group, no information exists on height or body measurements in these groups to our knowledge.

126 We ourselves prepared only a very short series: six men and three women, all adults. The fact that we are dealing with the last Uru must not be forgotten. Outside these nine [162] subjects, there were no other Uru adults at Iru-Itu other than a young Uru woman about 30 years old and two very old women whom it was impossible to measure and who allowed themselves to be photographed only with difficulty. The children were [144] largely Uru-Aymara half-breeds. The consanguinity of most of our subjects is another inconvenience of this small series.

121 In spite of these defects it seemed necessary to us to publish our results, which allow useful comparisons with the works of Posnansky and Imbelloni and will without doubt be the last [167] observations on this group. Some other Uru are scattered in the region and already incorporated into the Aymara populations; their affiliation will be difficult to establish.

114 126 It is regrettable that the ethnographers who visited the region when the Uru were still numerous did not seek to obtain a few essential anthropometric measurements. However, it must be recognized that working conditions were not very favorable; the Uru proved to be opposed to any examination of this type, and the cold climate as well as their heavy, woolen garments were also obstacles difficult to overcome. Patient negotiations were necessary, for example, in order to get some of them to allow themselves to be photographed without their woolen caps, and most refused.

162 /193/ In 1942 the population of Iru-Itu was as follows:

--- 6 men, whose ages varied between 40 and 95 years.

--- 6 women between 30 and 90 years old.

--- 9 children, 5 boys and 4 girls, between 4 and 15 years old.

/193 cont./

162 Besides these 21 subjects, who considered themselves as pure Uru, three Aymara women living with some Urus had settled in the village with five children.

829 The concept of pure Uru is completely arbitrary;
597 its value is more social than racial. At all times adoption in
648 various forms made the incorporation of a subject of another origin into the group possible, and he was from then on con-
[128] sidered a true Uru. This was the case with an Aymara child, whom we, of course, dropped from our list.

829 Children of an Uru mother and an unknown father were considered pure Uru.

One of our informants, Carlos Kispe, was himself, as we have seen, a "without father." Although considered an Uru, all his physical and mental characteristics clearly distinguished him from the other members of the group.

The Uru considered Aymara women born in neighboring villages and their children, even if born of Uru fathers, as foreigners. This matrilineal law is interesting to note.

126 Aymara women refused to let themselves or their children be examined. Nothing could persuade the two old Uru women.

We were hence reduced to the nine following subjects:

Men

142 Manuel Inta. An old patriarch 80 to 90 years old, born of Uru father and mother. White, rather thick hair; beard reduced to a few short hairs, entirely white. Thin lips; a straight-nosed profile. No Mongolian fold, /194/ but the presence of a malo-marginal fold, very distinct, on the far part of the eyelid.
[163] Four living sons, Tomas and three others who have left the village; three daughters, among them Andréa and Célestina, and four dead children.

Tomas Inta, 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son. Considered pure Uru. No white hair. Thin lips, straight nose. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

/195 cont./
142 Nose depressed at the base, a slightly convex profile. A very accentuated malo-marginal fold.

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List of the Population

Uru men:

Manuel, Inta, 80 to 90 years old.
Tomas Inta, 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son.
Luis Inta, 40 to 50 years old, Manuel's nephew.
Andrés Vila, 90 to 95 years old.
Luis Vila, 80 to 90 years old.
Carlos Kispe, 40 to 50 years old (characteristics of an Uru-Aymara half-breed).

Uru women:

Santusa Inta, 30 to 35 years old, Manuel's niece.
Célestina Inta, 35 to 40 years old, Manuel's daughter.
Andréa Inta, 40 to 50 years old, Manuel's daughter.
Justina Vila, 30 to 35 years old.
X , 80 to 90 years old.
Y , 80 to 95 years old.

Uru children:

Francisco Inta, masc., 14 to 15 years old, Santusa's son.
Sabina Inta, fem., 12 to 13 years old, Santusa's daughter.
Angelita Inta, f., 11 to 12 years old, " "
Jesus Inta, m., 9 to 10 years old, Santusa's son.
Juliana Vila, f., 5 to 6 years old, daughter of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
Esteban Vila, m., 4 to 5 years old, son of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
Francisca Vila, 3 to 4 years old, daughter of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
/196/ Miguel Salinas, m., 4 to 5 years old, orphan.
Miguel Kispe, m., 5 to 6 years old, half-breed, son of Carlos Kispe.

/196 cont./

162 Aymara women:

551 Rosa Choque, 60 to 70 years old, Aymara from Machaca.

Francisca Arosquipe, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

María Chura, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

Half-breed children:

Victor Inta, m., 10 to 11 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Eugenio Inta, m., 8 to 10 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Ramon Inta, m., 2 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Manuela Inta, f., 3 years old, daughter of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Domitilia Tacon, f., 6 years old, adopted Aymara.

162 Total:

6 Uru men, from 40 to 95 years old (one of whom is certainly of mixed blood).

6 Uru women, from 30 to 95 years old.

9 Uru children, 5 boys and 4 girls, from 4 to 15 years old.

3 Aymara women.

4 Uru-Aymara half-breed children.

1 adopted Aymara child.

[125] The age of all these subjects was, of course, estimated approximately. Even the relationship of several of them is doubtful.

164 One of the children of mixed blood, Victor Inta, was struck by typhus exanthematicus.

161 This list shows the deep decline of the group. In 1938
162 there were four patronymic names, those of the four big
621 families in Iru-Itu: the Inta, the Vila, the Kispe, and the
[551] Salinas. In 1942 the Salinas /family/ had emigrated or disappeared, leaving only an orphan. The Kispe /family/

was represented only by Carlos and his son. Two men, a young woman, and her children formed the Vila group. The Inta family was the only still rather numerous one. It has, moreover, always been considered the most traditional and purest of the Iru-Itu families.

Anthropometric Study

We had to limit our study to the essential measurements of the head and body.

The results obtained are contained in Tables I and II and the indices calculated in Table III /see pp. 38-40/.

These figures call for some comments.

In spite of the small number of subjects examined, the results are rather homogeneous for the group of men, with the exception of Carlos Kispe who is considerably far from the general type. The group of women presents marked differences from that of the men. It is quite difficult to judge to what extent these differences are due to a pronounced sexual dimorphism or to the influence of possible crossbreeding, which makes itself felt among close relatives, two sisters and their female cousin.

We will study the male and female groups separately.

Head

The absolute measurements show a notably elongated head for all the subjects examined; the outside figures go from 187 to 210 for the men and from 178 to 180 for the women. The head is narrow among the men, 141 to 150, with the exception of Carlos Kispe; among the women the absolute values do not exceed 149.

The cephalic index does not exceed 75.0 for the masculine groups; only Carlos Kispe is hyperbrachycephalic

4:Vellard--7 D, E-4, 5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Repartimiento general de los Indios que se an de ocupar en la labor de las Minas y beneficio de los ingenios lamas y relaves de la Villa Imperial de Potosi, con las /34/ ordenanzas que en ello se an de quedar, fechas por el Escmo, Senor Don Francisco de Toledo, Virrey que fue de estos reinos /General Repartimiento of the Indians who are to be employed in work in the Mines and labor in connection with the mills, llamas, and metal sweepings of the Imperial Town of Potosi, with the ordinances that are to apply to it, ussed by his Excellency, Señor Don Francisco de Toledo, when Viceroy of these kingdoms/ (Lima, 16 August 1578).

175 162 This text gives two successive censuses, one in 1578, the other in 1596.

648 966 For the work in Potosi two Uro mitayos were the equivalent of one Aymara mitayo, whence this information on the number of Uros in the census of the population of 16 provinces subject to the mita /forced labor/.

1578			1596
Urus: 2,558	u.	Paria (Poopo)	3,038
57	"	Pune	62
400	"	Quillagas y Asanaquis	400
581	"	Aullagas y Uruquillas	581
53	"	Urmoca	53
2[illegible]	"	Ancamarca y Colquemarca (Carangas)	280
100	"	Totora	100
302	"	Chuquicota y Sanaya	302
147	"	Machaca la chica	147
81	"	Machaca la grande	1[illegible]1
136	"	Viacha	?
203	"	Tiaguanaco	?

[16th Century]

/34 cont./

1578			1596
175 162			
632	"	Guaki	632
58	"	Copacabana	88
380	"	Puno	380
245	"	Paucarcolla	240
419	"	Capachica	515
242	"	Moho y Conima	141
350	"	Carabuco	—
162	"	Guaicho	—
442	"	Hachacache	442
44	"	Guarina	?
58	"	Caracoto	108
120	"	Juliaca	120
59	"	Nicasio	159
79	"	Ayaivi y Chuchero	49
230	"	Lampa de Esquivel	231
23	"	Lampa de Xare	25
141	"	Canavilla	141
210	"	Cavana	216
210	"	Atuncolla	210
276	"	Mañasso	276
75	"	Horuro	75
149	"	Arapa	149
589	"	Samany Susi	589
275	"	Taraco	265
91	"	Azangaro	91
46	"	Caxiguana	46
128	"	Chupa	128
/35/ 94	in	Achaya	98
—	"	Carauco	44
—	"	Numa	22
—	"	Coata	448

/Table given in Spanish./

(Document contributed by Miss Marie Helmer.)

4:Vellard--9 D, E-4, 5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24 Aymara SF 5

[16th Century]

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/35 cont./

Machuca (Juan Lozano)

...In the bay of Atacama, where the port (Cobija) is, there are 400 Uro Indian fishermen....Likewise in the city district and environs of Tarapaca, which extends from the port of Pisagua and Hique-Hique, where there are Uro Indian fishermen, to the port of Loa, there are many mines....The repartimiento of the heirs of Lucas Martin Begaso is under the jurisdiction of the city of Arequipa and there must be some 2,000 Aymara Indians and more than 1,000 Uro Indian fishermen in the said territory..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Reports on the Indies/, II, Appendices, pp. XXV, XXVI, and XXVII.)

U
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Aside from the 4,000 Aymara Indians of Lipez, there were in this repartimiento another 1,000 Uro Indians, a poor people who neither sow nor reap and who subsist on the hunting of guanacos and vicuñas and on fish and roots found in the marshes, which they call coroma; and herewith the 4,000 Aymara Indians claim poverty, because while rich in native livestock and reaping and sowing and conducting trade and barter in this town of Potosi, Tarapaca, and Atacama, and founding many metals, which they extract from the mines, they excuse themselves from paying tribute to H. M. under pretext of being poor, like the 1,000 Uro Indians who truly are..../Translated from the Spanish./

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A
[648]
[651]

(Ibidem, Appendix 3.)

U
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129
[131]

Jujuy Archives

Dr. Ernesto Sourrouille, in the historic studies he carried out in the Jujuy archives and with private documents (testaments, grants, etc.) told me, that at the western source of the Orosmayo River, in the Department of Santa Catalina, south of the Cerro Esmoraca, there lived a tribe of Uro Indians like those who share a boundary with the Atacamas..../Translated from the Spanish./

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/35 cont./

175 (Juan Alfonso Carrizo, Cancionero popular de Jujuy /Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy/, p. XV, Tucuman, 1935.)

/36/ Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada /Moral Chronicle/ of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

[162] [181] In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor Lorenço de Aldana gave us...; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uro Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscene and dark-skinned /renegrida/ they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. The chief [103] pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Volume I, p. 353.)

[162] [197] [181] This pueblo (of Challacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians who were being catechized by our Order.... These are crude Uro Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned /renegrida/, without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all [226] prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish in the lake of Paria...those who live on land /do so/ in [342] sepultures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails...the [137] Uro Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here [291] they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold [197] land) than some mats of these cattails....Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion. [103] [197] There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a Priory with a subsidiary church of Uro Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away....There is another pueblo four leagues

[16th-17th Centuries]

/37 cont./

175 701 721 648 Nearly all of this first book of Chapter XVII is devoted to the great rebellion of these Indians, led by mestizos or Spanish bandits, like their last chief, a certain... "Don Pedro Laine, a fierce and bold man, the son of the Auditor /Contador/ Ansa, who is regarded by them as a great sorcerer.../cited in Spanish/."

(Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustin en el Perú /Moral Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru/. Lima, 1653. Vol. II, Chap. XVII, First Book.)

175 Diligencias e informaciones hechas para sacar de la isla del Choro y del Paraje de Villivilli en el Lago Poopo a los indios sus habitantes, considerados como infieles y perniciôso /Measures and inquiries carried out to remove from the island of Choro and the region of Villivilli in Lake Poopo their Indian inhabitants, regarded as being infidels and destructive./

[131] Report made by General Don Francisco García Picado, Corregidor and Lord Chief Justice of Oruro, at the request of the Duke de la Palata, Viceroy of Peru, on the existence of savage Indians on Paria Lake.

[197] Among the witnesses whose testimony was gathered by the commissioners /Commissaires/ we find..."the Teaching [635] Father Fray Nicolas de Loayza, a religious of the Order of Our Father Saint Augustine...of Chacacollo, the principal [162] pueblo of the district of the corregidor of the province /38/ of Paria, and of its native Indians called Urus, and of some outsiders who live in said pueblo and the neighboring areas under its authority...a person who has known them for 35 [197] years and has more than sufficient experience,...teaching them the Christian doctrine in three languages: the general one, Aymara, and their own mother tongue, which they call Ura.../cited in Spanish/."

(Document partly published in the Revista del Instituto de Sociología Boliviana in Sucre, by Gunnar Mendoza L. under

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chearaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO

By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *totora* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—*viz.*, scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.[1]

Location. According to Polo, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Ahualle moyo*, some 20 km. from Ancoaqui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoaqui*, on the left[2] bank of the Desaguadero, 23 km. from Lake Titicaca *Iruitu*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31'40"),

[1] The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uro-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South America ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

[2] Métraux, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 26, p. 75) is in minor error in locating this *communidad* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

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Nazacara, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Ahuallamaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiáque*, an islet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sojapata*, 5 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Urus"; it is an *estancia* where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro *haciendas* of *Chearaque*, *Taguau*, *Tacacatani*, *Chicani-uma*, *Machacamarca*, *Urcuni-uma*, *Huallaqueri*, *Calayampani*, and *Tocori* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taguau* (W.LaB.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero numbered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.[3]

In March 1938[4] the population of Ancoaqui (*kanq'o-haq'e*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *communidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *ilacata* (head of the *communidad*,? from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancoaqui and the entire region as well in 1931.[5]

This Aymára *communidad* of Ancoaqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancoaqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

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[3] José Toribio Polo, *Indios Uros del Perú y Bolivia* (Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfico de Lima, 1901, 10: 645-682), p. 666. D. M. Jiménez de la Espada (in Neveu-Lemaire, *Los lagos de los Altiplanos de la América del Sud, La Paz*, 1909, p. lviii) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of Chuchito." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; *Chucuito*, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[4] As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Aymára ethnography.

[5] Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The legal term "communidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organization of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the *altiplano*). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Communidad"—as opposed to the term "finca" (= "estancia," "hacienda") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so-named.

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[*de Indias*, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1582, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the kingdom." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace.

Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Ore with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raoul de la Grasserie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquinas, known also by the name of Urus, Uros, Hunos and Ochomazos, etc." Ehrenreich also lists the "Uro or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Grasserie:

> In the midst of the Kolya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raoul de la Grasserie seems to belong to a different people.

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uros of Iruitu [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruitu ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uro of Raoul de la Grasserie is totally different from my Uro."[9]

More recently Métraux has done linguistic work with both the Chipaya of Lake Poopo (Carangas) and the Uru of Ancoaqui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chipaya, of the group he calls "Uro-Čipaya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Métraux with my own and Polo's make it clear that:

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chipaya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

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[9] Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York 1891), pp. 223-224. Raoul de la Grasserie. *Langues Américaines: Langue Puquina, Textes Puquina Contenus dans le Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum de Geronimo de Ore* (publié à Naples en 1607 avec texte espagnol en regard, traduction analytique interlinéaire, vocabulaire et essai de grammaire, Leipsig, 1894), p. 67. (De la Grasserie used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Brinton, according to Chamberlain, used a British Museum copy of Ore.) Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Ethnographie Südamerikas im Beginn des XX Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturvölker* (Archiv für Anthropologie N. F. 3: 39-75, 1905), p. 65. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896; cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uros: A New South American Linguistic Stock* (American Anthropologist 12: 417-424, 1910), p. 418, from which this résumé is taken. See also M. Uhle, *Reisen in Bolivia und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlung 23, 1896), pp. 357-360; *idem*, *Ueber die Sprache der Uros in Bolivia* (Globus 69, 1896), p. 19.

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193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 [191] All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.* Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uruu, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

171 199 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *tokia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incaica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

149 [148] [198] *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [95] [201] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 149 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

* Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90-110.

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hiring themselves out for a year. And this livestock, which is taken when they go to Potosí, is apportioned out in the distribution according to what each one in that subdivision /parcialidad/ has, and sometimes the livestock of someone and that person will not go, and for others the reverse, so that, when it is understood, the system which they have among them has an accounting and a reason and is very exact, for even when they are dealing with one chuco of corn or with two pounds of wool, we see them make different portions when they divide it up, for it is a marvelous thing to see the diligence which they apply in order to insure that no one takes more than his share. I would regard it as very rash to consider changing a system which is so generally in use among new people, for which reason I wish to conclude with the distribution which the repartimiento of Paso /pero/ has made on four different occasions in my presence. These Indians were taxed 11,000 pesos in silver, annual and marked, without counting the other matters of food and cottage and sown land contained in the tax, and there must be, according to the old count of the first inspection, more than 4,000 Indians, although there is no doubt but that many concealed themselves, because the fishermen, who are what they call hurís, cannot be counted and there are a great many of them, and even outside of their lands there are more than 1,000 of them normally hired out to make cloth. Of the hurú Indians of this type, there is no doubt but that these are the best of all. I set forth the example in this repartimiento /166/ because there are three subdivisions /parcialidades/, one of these hurú fishermen, who must be more than half, and some want to say two-thirds. The others are called canayas, and the other subdivision /parcialidad/ is yuca Indians, from all of whom, in order to divide these 11,000 pesos, there assembled about 30 principal Indians and quipucamayos, who are their accountants, or runacamayos, and, when they sum all, their representatives keep upon the ground the stones and grains of corn and beans by which they keep count by their customary system. In the end, in less than three hours time, before me,

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Chipaya

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that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Lucara seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have kimpi and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quechua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quechua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

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162 Besides these 21 subjects, who considered themselves as pure Uru, three Aymara women living with some Urus had settled in the village with five children.

829 The concept of pure Uru is completely arbitrary;
597 its value is more social than racial. At all times adoption in
648 various forms made the incorporation of a subject of another origin into the group possible, and he was from then on con-
[128] sidered a true Uru. This was the case with an Aymara child, whom we, of course, dropped from our list.

829 Children of an Uru mother and an unknown father were considered pure Uru.

One of our informants, Carlos Kispe, was himself, as we have seen, a "without father." Although considered an Uru, all his physical and mental characteristics clearly distinguished him from the other members of the group.

The Uru considered Aymara women born in neighboring villages and their children, even if born of Uru fathers, as foreigners. This matrilineal law is interesting to note.

126 Aymara women refused to let themselves or their children be examined. Nothing could persuade the two old Uru women.

We were hence reduced to the nine following subjects:

Men

142 Manuel Inta. An old patriarch 80 to 90 years old, born of Uru father and mother. White, rather thick hair; beard reduced to a few short hairs, entirely white. Thin lips; a straight-nosed profile. No Mongolian fold, /194/ but the presence of a malo-marginal fold, very distinct, on the far part of the eyelid.
[163] Four living sons, Tomas and three others who have left the village; three daughters, among them Andréa and Célestina, and four dead children.

Tomas Inta, 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son. Considered pure Uru. No white hair. Thin lips, straight nose. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

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142 Luis Inta, 40 to 50 years old, Manuel's nephew. Considered pure Uru: Thin lips. A moderately convex nose, with enlarged alae. Malo-marginal fold present.

Andrés Vila, 90 to 95 years old. Born of Uru father and mother. He is the oldest man in the village. A deeply wrinkled face. Plentiful white hair. A few beard hairs, short and completely white. Straight nose, very depressed at the base. Thin lips. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

[141] Luis Vila, 80 to 90 years old. Tall, 174 cm., contrasting with the other members of the group, of medium height. Born of Uru father and mother. Some white hair. Some beard hair, short and white. Relatively large head. Slightly convex nose. Not very accentuated malo-marginal fold.

[144] Carlos Kispe, 40 to 50 years old. Born of Uru mother but
[141] of unknown father, he shows unquestionable signs of crossbreeding with elements of Andean race. Brachycephalic, strongly hypsicephalic, euryprosopic, and mesatiskelic, he clearly stands apart from the other members of the group. His much more active nature and his more lively type of intelligence accentuate this difference still more. Straight nose, malo-marginal fold present.

Women

Santusa Inta, 30 to 35 years old, niece of Manuel Inta (?), considered a true Uru. An attractive, energetic person. Low forehead, straight nose, depressed at the base. A well-marked
[163] malo-marginal fold. Four children, nine to 15 years old.

Celestina Inta, 35 to 40 years old, daughter of Manuel Inta, considered /195/ as pure Uru. An agreeable, energetic person. Moderately convex nose. Accentdated malo-marginal fold.

Andrea Inta, 40 to 50 years old, daughter of Manuel Inta, considered true Uru. Coarser type than the previous ones.

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601 female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa šu; young girl = pax-pak-uš; young woman = ux.

585 *Marriage.* Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is 591 patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male 163 than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára 563 women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction 548 of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphiped* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, 832 and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

621 *Political Organization.* If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *hilacata*, commonly called *ilacate* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde?*) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *xoraturčički* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). 701 Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *hilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

195 *Dances and Ceremonies.* Bertonio[28] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 535 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchhu* (*kučʼu*) or *sica quir-* 198 *kitha* (*kirkitʼa*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the 529 vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 533 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of 535 the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilančа* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusipʼia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[28] Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.

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Chipaya

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278 [177] The Čipaya Indians of Carangas have been so deeply impregnated with the influence of the Aymara Indians that we may presume that, in the sphere of medicine, they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbors of the altiplano. It is completely [439] justifiable if their knowledge is more rudimentary because of their isolation and the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the medical substances, almost all of which come from the Yungas. I was able to convince myself of this by examining one day a bag of medicine which had been left by a deceased Čipaya, the father of a young Indian with whom I had a friendly relationship. In the legacy of the old man I found several pharmaceutical products which I had obtained in the Oruro market. The deceased possessed small amounts of them which he had carefully wrapped in some small rags. His son refused to sell them to me, allegedly because of their great value and the difficulty of procuring them. I doubt, [199] however, that anyone in Chipaya could have benefited from them, for, to my knowledge at least, there is no Indian in this village who possesses sufficient skill to carry out their application.

• 16A 99 123 Practically every day in the hut which I was occupying I received visits from Indians coming to ask me for remedies for various ills. The most frequent was constipation, which seems to frighten the Čipaya very much. I was also able to see a hernia and a terrible infection which the Indians treated by applying a [578] piece of llama heart to the abscess. The Indians often called upon me to care for swellings, the result of drubbings which they [442] had not spared themselves in their domestic quarrels. Some also came to beg me to cure them of impotence. In some not very serious cases of swellings or localized pains, the Indians content themselves with sticking a coca leaf on the skin.

757 At present the empirical medicine of the Čipaya seems to be limited to a certain number of insignificant recipes, frequently and easily applied. Faced with a serious case they have recourse to complicated magical processes which I had the good fortune to observe. I should not be able to say, however, if the exceptional

/196 cont./

162 Aymara women:

551 Rosa Choque, 60 to 70 years old, Aymara from Machaca.

Francisca Arosquipe, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

María Chura, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

Half-breed children:

Victor Inta, m., 10 to 11 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Eugenio Inta, m., 8 to 10 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Ramon Inta, m., 2 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Manuela Inta, f., 3 years old, daughter of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Domitilia Tacon, f., 6 years old, adopted Aymara.

162 Total:

6 Uru men, from 40 to 95 years old (one of whom is certainly of mixed blood).

6 Uru women, from 30 to 95 years old.

9 Uru children, 5 boys and 4 girls, from 4 to 15 years old.

3 Aymara women.

4 Uru-Aymara half-breed children.

1 adopted Aymara child.

[125] The age of all these subjects was, of course, estimated approximately. Even the relationship of several of them is doubtful.

164 One of the children of mixed blood, Victor Inta, was struck by typhus exanthematicus.

161 This list shows the deep decline of the group. In 1938 162 there were four patronymic names, those of the four big 621 families in Iru-Itu: the Inta, the Vila, the Kispe, and the [551] Salinas. In 1942 the Salinas /family/ had emigrated or disappeared, leaving only an orphan. The Kispe /family/

/207 cont./

143 Kline: ++

[164] /208/ We shall only conclude from this isolated observation the existence of possible heredosyphilis or of a very attenuated syphilis in one of the most conservative members of the group, who always severely condemned sexual relations with other natives as being against the traditions.

128 These few isolated examinations have no great significance; they do emphasize however the interest which a numerous series of hematological and serological investigations among the isolated native groups of the Cordillera or the South American forests would have.

Conclusion

141 [128] In spite of the small number of subjects examined (9), owing to the rapid decline of the group and its approaching extinction, this study of the last Uru of Iru-Itu permits us to make a few interesting conclusions.

[171] Height varies little from that of the neighboring Andean populations, and small and medium stature predominate. The population is as a whole macroskelic.

The cephalic index among the men who can be considered as not crossbred with the neighboring populations is lower than 75.0% (average: 73.51). Three women are moderately brachycephalic; we must note that they are closely related.

Dolichocephaly, a tendency to leptocephalia and to leptoprosopy, the bigoniac diameter almost equal to the minimum frontal diameter, leptorrhinism, a high and narrow ear succeed in characterizing this group.

114 141 144 As a whole these results agree with the few previous observations on the Uru and the Chipaya (Imbelloni's two Uru skulls; a few measurements by Posnansky), emphasizing the morphological unity of these two groups.

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slant. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymára. Walle (page 155) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Posnansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient Amerindian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *čuñu*-consuming Aymára (*čuñu* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fishermen, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymára and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymára-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymára, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymára; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymára is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymára nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymára; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymára, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tututin*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[17] the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the

[17] In Neveu-Lemaire, *Les Lupe*, p. LXI.

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

in-law of some eighty-odd years. While they talked the purest of pure Uru we could make a sound-recording.

A badly bombed area of London is in good repair compared with the Uru streets. Finally having climbed over crumbling walls and fallen into deep holes, we arrived at the house. Seated against the wall in the sun was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen. The mayor who spoke fluent Spanish said she was well over a hundred. Had she been less deaf and more comprehensible, I am sure we should have discovered that she had waved to General Sucre during the wars of the Liberation. Seated on the low wall was the daughter, a young seventy. The mayor explained what we wanted. The centenarian mumbled, but Roca's efforts with the recorder were unsuccessful. We left her to provide local colour and material for photographs of the most amazing wrinkles. The son-in-law seemed completely inert, so turning to the daughter the mayor asked her to talk. Realizing that a unique occasion was offered her probably after a lifetime of oppression, she settled herself firmly on a solid piece of wall, and the floodgates of Uru eloquence opened. She launched forth into what was apparently her life-history, accompanied by the most extraordinary mime. Mother, who was past seeing, hearing and still less, caring, continued to mutter, the husband, when the recital became particularly spirited, would stop chewing his *coca*, lift his head and open his mouth, but no sound issued forth. Apparently the mechanism had definitely run down, and he relapsed again into a state of ruminating coma. Encouraged by the general enthusiasm, our star became more and more expansive. By now most of the inhabitants had arrived on the scene, and judging by the expression on the faces of the other Indios, she had by unanimous consent taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate. She held the audience spellbound for one and a quarter hours, when either her vocal cords relaxed or she had come moments

[p. 309 - B]

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-Itu, or Angoake, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Itu had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, hispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, *more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and* incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

/170 cont./

*539 731 178 433 511 23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

*539 731 178 161 433 This account, dictated by an old Uru about 90 years old, Manuel Inta, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1940 to 1946. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara populations. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Urus, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working [169] in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Urus have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Amaracized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

*539 142 193 [161] wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui, on the small lake. ǒx'ŧa, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymaras. Note the particle čᵘ intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: Káya -čúčay, tánáču-čay, lúxkáču -čay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ki intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending čay indicates the future. The verb Káči- čay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." tumíni, a tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

*539 194 Note three other Hispanicisms: 1. kustúmbre, "custom"; 5. isú-čay, esto or eso, "that"; 17. ni-únu, "this alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

/192 cont./

114 Outside of Posnansky's small Chipaya group, no informa-
141 tion exists on height or body measurements in these groups to our knowledge.

126 We ourselves prepared only a very short series: six men and three women, all adults. The fact that we are dealing
[162] with the last Uru must not be forgotten. Outside these nine subjects, there were no other Uru adults at Iru-Itu other than a young Uru woman about 30 years old and two very old women whom it was impossible to measure and who allowed themselves to be photographed only with difficulty. The children were
[144] largely Uru-Aymara half-breeds. The consanguinity of most of our subjects is another inconvenience of this small series.

121 In spite of these defects it seemed necessary to us to publish our results, which allow useful comparisons with the works of Posnansky and Imbelloni and will without doubt be the last
[167] observations on this group. Some other Uru are scattered in the region and already incorporated into the Aymara populations; their affiliation will be difficult to establish.

114 It is regrettable that the ethnographers who visited the
126 region when the Uru were still numerous did not seek to obtain a few essential anthropometric measurements. However, it must be recognized that working conditions were not very favorable; the Uru proved to be opposed to any examination of this type, and the cold climate as well as their heavy, woolen garments were also obstacles difficult to overcome. Patient negotiations were necessary, for example, in order to get some of them to allow themselves to be photographed without their woolen caps, and most refused.

162 /193/ In 1942 the population of Iru-Itu was as follows:
--- 6 men, whose ages varied between 40 and 95 years.
--- 6 women between 30 and 90 years old.
--- 9 children, 5 boys and 4 girls, between 4 and 15 years old.

/96 cont./

600 1. Posnh. p. 6.

213 excellent quality. They pull them up with their roots, then put them in a pile, cutting off the two ends, and let them soak in 213 water. Then they crush them on a slab with hammer blows. 412 The latter is made of a stone put in a leather sheath to which a wooden handle is attached (Fig. 25, 1 /see p. 15/). There is no doubt that this handle is a recent innovation, and that the primitive hammers of the Uro, like all those of the Aymara of the conquest and of the modern Cipaya, were nothing more than a simple pebble with, at the most, somewhat of a depression to facilitate grasping it. Once the straw is flexible through the soaking and hammering, it is rolled on the leg with the flat of the hand, following a process common to America as a whole.

291 171 Dress. The dress of the Uro is identical with that of the Aymara, i.e., with very few exceptions, to that of the poor classes in practically all of Latin American trousers, a shirt, a felt hat, and a poncho. Almost all the Uro, however, still 295 179 keep the "camiseta," the long woolen shirt which was once the 297 / national costume of the Indians who belonged to the Andean civilizations or who were subject to their influence (Fig. 25, 6 /see p. 15/). They rarely put it on nowadays, and only on my express request did those whom I photographed consent to slip this tunic over their ordinary clothes (Pl. V, A /see p. 25/). 291 They cover their heads with a wool helmet, whose pre-Colombian origin is doubtful. The Uro formerly knitted them with thread 297 made from the down of water birds. The Berlin Museum has a couple of these caps, the technique of which Dr. Th. Krickeberg was kind enough to study on my behalf. This examination led 298 him to the conclusion that although the idea of spinning bird down is ancient, the knitting stitches are clearly European in origin.

291 The women are dressed like the Indian women of La Paz: several colored skirts put on one over the other, a dirty blouse barely hidden by a muceta closed over the chest, a felt hat, and

188 cont. They are as good and as bad
771 Catholics as the Aymara, and the little church constructed in the
171 center of the village is the type which is prevalent on the high plateau. The pagan practices to which they are given seem to be the same as those of the Aymara.

776 The Pačamama, or "Earth-mother," is their principal
[171] divinity, as everywhere else on the high plateau. They also spoke to me about mal'ku and samiri although I was not able to obtain anything specific or any details about the cult rendered them. I noticed on the wall near the entry of all the huts a spot
[342] [342] of blood, a reminder of the sacrifice which had been made to the local spirit at the moment when the house was covered with its roof. A pile of potatoes which had just been grubbed up was
[702] surmounted with a straw cross, a bottle of alcohol, and some coca leaves; these were, no doubt, offerings made to the Pačamama.

782 An old Indian man dictated to me several of the prayers
539 addressed to this divinity on different occasions. She is spoken of as mal'ku, i.e., "chief," as in Chipaya. Here are the prayers:

Samtña Mal'kwa		pïčnaču	ču'tama.
Holy Divinity		come	let us offer up libations.
Tï'ča	ti koka	samtña	ta'ča.
Here is	this coca	Holy One	I will give.
k'ïñoina		koka	tabi.
Potato		coca	I give.
Xuaia (č)	ta'ča	Samtña	Mal'ku.
Llama	I will give	Holy	Divinity.

773 Mythology. I was able to gather fragments of an old
[171] myth at Ancoaqui, of which I possess a more complete version which was narrated by the Čipaya. "In former times there was

[For additional comparative data on material culture from other Andean groups, see category 116, *pp.* 183-206.]

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Chipaya
Aymara SF5

/119 cont./

blackbirdlike animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole course of the "camino." Chipaya tales have a small rodent, the tuco (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), possessed to the rank of preserving fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis geoffroyi, Meiluo, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another preserving animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my companeros, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 250 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This hipertine division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relacion de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geograficas de Indias, published by M. Jimenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Tapa Tupangui did was to appoint caraques, chiefs,

2:Mexico--19 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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/121/

Aymara and Kečua /Quechua/ communities recall the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-making. Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

/121 cont./

621 not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could
616 not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have
614 compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality
[368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

342 Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the
343 prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are
361 grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long,
[363] more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

351 The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts
[171] so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this
[176] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

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[171]
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[113]

/122 cont./

The chapels are surrounded by an enclosure and before the portal stands an oratory or a cross from which emanates a whole series of small chapels and oratories which follow each other in close succession for five or six kilometers. These strings of sacred buildings correspond in every respect to the zeque (1) of Cuzco, the

1. Ondegardo (Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas /Accounts concerning the Religion and Government of the Incas/, Part I, p. 114: "Many others, men and women, have charge of set huacas, of which particular account is given in the general letter about Cuzco, which is common in the whole realm and includes all the places which are distinguished from the others in some way, whether near the town or even as far away as the mountain peaks, if it is rugged country, and which they call apachetas, such as some large stones, and all the puquios and springs of water, or some level places which they build on some slope, or some specific trees, or the places where they sow the maize for the sacrifices, because all of these things are divided off by their ceques and boundaries around every town and are in the charge of persons who make within them different sacrifices for diverse effects, in some so that women may become pregnant, in others because they say that from them come the ice or the hail, and in others so that it may rain. Thus in this way does the Inca teach them this division of places

I 341 978

/122 cont./ in all that was conquered, charging them greatly with the benefit which they would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 3-43.

I 341 978 191

succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominiums in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

I 361

U 823 82 [361] [788]

It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

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Chipaya

/123 cont./

Aside from one chapel

the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

The Čipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Čipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the saya tusnta overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the homes of the authorities.

The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Čipaya give them: o^{w}as-k^{w}oya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancias.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

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/326 cont./

mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even Kičua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last detail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence. The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed vocal music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century. They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence. On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Aymara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

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/327 cont./

consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerónimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku, Kemperani-mal'ku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, and their church tower (Turi-mal'ku).

The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio mal'ku, and by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

/328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumaries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Čipaya.

The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of María but always by that of Virxina, which they make follow the word for earth (taika). Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

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/330 cont./

The word mal'ku among the Čipaya as among the Aymara also indicates a special category of fetishes which are widespread in Carangas Province and perhaps also in other parts of the territory inhabited by the Aymara and the Kičua. These are stuffed animals or plants which protect the house. My Aymara interpreter gave me miscellaneous information on the subject of the mal'ku of his people, the accuracy of which I have subsequently been able to verify. The mal'ku can be a rather rare cactus which the Indians gather in the fields and which they transplant to the courtyard of their hut. They build a miniature chapel of adobes for it, decorate it with tufts of colored wool and snakewood /serpentin/, and make a sacrifice to it on the first of August, the month which is considered "aciago," i.e., of evil omen.

/331/ Here is the sacred formula in Kičua which is recited while making offerings to the mal'ku:

Mal'kito	kaita	korisk^{ǩ}aiki	wawaik^{ǩ}ika
Little mal'ku	this	I will give thee	we are thy sons

amapinak^{ǩ}onkič^{ǩ}u	tukuy	imata	korisk^{ǩ}aiki.
do not be angry	all	next	I will give thee.

"Little mal'ku, I make thee this offering. We are thy sons. Do not be angry. I will make thee this offering presently."

The titi-mal'ku is a wildcat, grey in color, which the Indians stuff, put on a table or a box, and to which they make offerings of coca every Friday and Saturday. It is often decorated with ribbons and other ornaments. My informant led me to the house of a cholo of Oruro, where I saw one of these animals prepared in this way.

The crossbeams of the roof (tiko mal'ku) are also qualified with the epithet mal'ku and are considered sacred since they receive blood sacrifices.

/331 cont./

Further on (p. 115) the description of a sacrifice made by a Chipaya Indian in honor of a titi-mal'ku, i.e. the wildcat protector of his house will be given. In a hut which served as a storage place in Chipaya, I saw a stuffed hawk, mamani, which was likewise pointed out to me as the mal'ku of the family which owned the hut.

Certain characters in Aymara folklore also bear the epithet mal'ku. Thus the Wasa mal'ku, mysterious protector of wild animals. These examples allow us at present to form a fairly clear idea of the evolution undergone by the word mal'ku and of its present meaning. In the beginning this term denoted pre-eminence, whether it was purely secular and due to social rank or derived from the sacred nature of the object or person thus qualified. The substitution of approximate Spanish equivalents for the ancient native names designating the different degrees of authority has caused the use of the word mal'ku in the sense of chief to disappear. It is only preserved in the language to denote excellence, that which is worthy of respect, and consequently the supernatural and sacred. This evolution has been carried through to its most extreme limit, and today mal'ku can be translated in certain instances by "demon." In some Chipaya prayers the magician calls indiscriminately upon "all the mal'ku"; he invites the "mal'ku" to come eat the pieces of meat which are tossed to them in the air.

/332/ The bibliographical research which I have undertaken has brought me only rare examples of the word mal'ku being attributed to supernatural beings or being invested with the meaning "sacred." The present natives of the Huarochirí region (1) worship

1. Tello (Julio C.) and Mirando (Prospero). "Wallallao. Ceremonias Gentilicas realizadas en la Región Cisandina del Perú Central /Wallallao. Pagan Ceremonies carried out in the Cisandean Region of Central Peru/." Inca. Lima. Vol. I. No. 2. 1923. pp. 475-549, 510, 532, 545.

2:Métraux--41 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Urv SF24
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/332 cont./
the "mallkos or mummies of their pagan ancestors." Before repairing the irrigation canals "the people go to the communal house where the officials are in order to learn from their mouths the prognostications transmitted by the mallkos." "Near the lagoon of Pokle there is a large, rounded rock, which they call the Mallko of the potato. The officials and the old men dance around this rock, chanting in Keshwa /Quechua/." In the first examples the word mal'ku seems to be synonymous with malqui, bodies of ancestors. "After the stone Huacas," Arriaga (2) tells us, "their greatest object

2. Arriaga. Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru /Extirpation of the Idolatry of Peru/. p. 14.

of veneration and adoration are the malquis, which are called Munaos on the plain; these are the bones or the entire bodies of pagan ancestors, whom they call sons of Huacas; they keep them in the fields in secluded places and in the Machay, which are their ancient tombs; sometimes they adorn them with very precious tunics and with plumes of various colors or with cumbis." As at Huarochirí mallko is, it appears, the native name for mummies; it may be assumed that it is a dialectal form of the word malqui, which has the same meaning. As for the mallko rock, it is identical with the ancient konopa and comes close to our sacred cones and the zemiri which we will discuss later. It is evident that in this case the word mallko corresponds fairly exactly with its Aymara and Chipaya homonym.

Rigoberto Paredes' book (3) on religious survivals in Bolivia

3. Paredes (Rigoberto). Mitos, supersticiones y supervivencias populares de Bolivia /Bolivian Myths, Superstitions, and Popular Survivals/. La Paz, 1920, pp. 53-56.

2:Méxsoc--42 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uro SF24

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Cayapa

/332 cont./

contains several allusions to mai'ku, which the author confused with the Waya mai'ku which was under consideration above. "If the Indians slaughter a sheep, a llama, or an ox, they sprinkle the fronton, or the triangular extremity of the main wall of their house, in homage to the mai'ku, who, being assured that he has not been forgotten, favors this hearth on thanks for the offering." Here it is a question of the worship of the household mai'ku, which I have already mentioned. The same folklorist describes some ceremonies performed in honor of a mai'ku, i.e., a doll which the Indians attach to the end of a pole and to which they make blood sacrifices. "This effigy can sometimes be a decorated doll /333/ and at other times a carved stone, a plaster image, or a stick wrapped in colored rags."

In contrast to the word mai'ku itself, the idea which it expresses is familiar to all those who have been occupied with the ethnography of ancient Peru. I could give many examples to demonstrate that the Cayapa mai'ku are nothing other than huaca, whose nature, form, and manner were so often mentioned by the old chroniclers. As their descriptions have been compiled by numerous modern authors dealing with Peruvian religion, I think it unnecessary to cite in my turn these well-known passages (1).

[113]

1. See among others Lizárraga y Casasola (I). La religión del imperio de los incas /The Religion of the Inca Empire/. Vol. I. "Los fundamentos del culto. Huacas, conopas, apachitas, ucus, huauques, machais /The Foundations of the Cult. Huacas, Conopas, Apachitas, Ucus, Huauques, Machais/." Quito, 1940; Lanchan (Riccardo E.). Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos /The Religious Beliefs of the Ancient Peruvians/. Santiago, Chile, 1929, pp. 51-55.

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Chipaya

[1930 cont.]

wood and come from the forests of eastern Bolivia. The Indians call them by the half-Aymara, half-Spanish word kamana-para, "house stick." I never saw one in the Aymara huts where I stayed.

Sanctuaries, chapels, and oratories. The Čipaya celebrate their festivals at the foot of the sacred cones of earth, or mal'ku, near the ayllus' cellar or in the chapels and the village church. I have already mentioned above the location of the mal'ku in relation to the village, and I have given a complete description of them. Hence note must be taken here only of the edifices of a mixed character, i.e., those which are used simultaneously for observances of Christian and pagan worship.

The church falls into this last category. Its belfry is a divinity common to the entire tribe, as the church is situated in the middle of the neutral ground which separates the two saya. Its interior is miserable and does not differ at all from the rural churches in the rest of Bolivia, unless in its poverty. On the altar are a few images made of pasteboard, which receive blood sacrifices, offerings of coca, and libations of alcohol and chicha. Exactly as in other Bolivian churches, one finds in this one an unusual number of boxes containing the image of Saint James on his horse, a saint whom the Indians hold in particular veneration and to whom they have given all the attributes and functions of the ancient god of thunder. One sees there also innumerable small terra-cotta bowls, full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns; these little lamps take the place of candles and are given by the faithful.

Each ayllu has in addition its chapel, built on the same plan as the church but smaller. The interior decoration is almost the same but even more wretched. In front of the chapel a small enclosure is used for gatherings of the faithful when they assemble to drink or feast together in homage to some Christian or pagan divinity. From the Tuanta chapel a line of chapels and little square edifices, which for want of a better word I shall call oratories or altars, extends in a straight line toward the east, or more precisely toward the southeast. These are small cubes of earth topped with a niche

7

2:Métraux--53 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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/339 cont./

and decorated with small earthen cornices which make them vaguely comparable to miniature pagodas. The niche always faces east and generally contains coca leaves, dishes with the remains of offerings, small bottles full of alcohol, morsels of copal, and little lamps /340/ with tallow. Some coins are also to be found there. These curious constructions are carefully painted white and are numerous not only in the village but also in the whole extent of Chipaya territory, where they tend to be distributed in long strings. They alternate with tiny chapels which are within an enclosure and also decorated with cornices. The interior of these chapels is completely bare, and on the earthen altar one rarely finds anything other than the remains of offerings. However, one may make some bizarre discoveries there: tea boxes containing the oddest objects, cheap little mirrors, pious or secular pictures taken from illustrated magazines which have come to be stranded in these distant parts.

Chapels and oratories are particularly abundant in the whole of Carangas Province. They are generally on top of mountains in the middle of the desert. Paths and even superb roads lead to them in a straight line, without regard for rugged places and sloping ground. These strange monuments which stand out against the grey of the mountains and which, distorted by mirage, look like temples or churches radiantly white, all contain the remains of offerings and some rare decoration. Near the village of Kala, a day and a half from Chipaya, I saw a whole group of these chapels carefully kept up and, in addition, bearing a small shelter for pilgrims. One could see piles of excrement there, drawn from the entrails of sacrificed animals, and traces of blood. At the foot of the hill there were stone enclosures for llamas. From this place roads five to six meters wide broke away and led in straight lines to all the points of the horizon. These large avenues, absolutely clean, did not seem to have been used for a long time. I never had the leisure to follow them to the end, but I believe that they would have led me to some village or to some group of houses forming an estancia or an ayl'u. The Indians never wanted to give me any information about the purpose of these sanctuaries, and the priest

2:565Uruus--54 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 9F24 Uru 9F24

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of Huachacalla whom I questioned replied to me that they were used for "superstition," and that he did not want to know anything about the cult and the pagan ceremonies which were clandestinely performed there.

The agents of worship. Each festival is presided over by an alferez who bears the costs of it. It is he who furnishes the victims for the sacrifice and who distributes the coca and alcohol, the main attractions of these ceremonies. He must, moreover, offer a feast for all the inhabitants on the day after the festival. This generosity gives him the right to occupy a place of honor in the middle of the assembly, to sit behind the sheaves of sacred straw, and to /341/ receive the homage and compliments of those present. These privileges do not end with the ceremony of which he took charge. On Carnival day the alferez of the preceding festivals dance, carrying on their backs the sheaves which they acquired while they were in office and which the rites have consecrated. On this day they bear once again the white bonnet, the insignia of their rank from which they draw their name. A rivalry exists among the alferez which is translated into a desire to eclipse each other and to surpass each other in luxury. If the festival for which they had responsibility was particularly successful, if the people of their ayllu were well entertained and impressed, and if the garlands of cheese and fruit were plentiful, they gain a certain prestige which flatters their vanity. For vanity is the weak point of the Indian character. I do not know of an alferez who has proved himself generous has more of a chance than another to get the title of alcalde or corregidor. The institution of the alferez is very widespread in the entire Andean region. It is so strongly impregnated with Spanish and Catholic elements that one hesitates to see the survival of indigenous traditions in it. Nevertheless, this idea of rivalry and certain details recall the forms of potlatch too much to allow us to attribute an exclusively post-Columbian origin to this important office. One must read in Parsons (1) the pages which he devotes to

Reference--55 E-5 (1930-1931) 1930, 1938 9F24 Urs 9F24

Cayapas-
Cójaya

F106 /141 cont./ In Paredes (1) two Dates which he doubts To
B54 1. Mitos, supersticiones y supervivencias,
etc., p. 170-186.

the ailero's to realize what the cash of ailero means to an Indian or Bolivian Chola. The peculiar glory of bearing this title for one day generally brings the ruin of the host of the festival with it.
F106 This expense is so crushing that in order to meet it the ailero are
B54 often obliged to have recourse to their relations or friends for help.
432 This consists of small gifts, and those who give them are called
ayni. The debt which is contracted in these circumstances is, Paredes tells us (1), sacred, and one cannot fail to discharge it.

2. Ibid., p. 182.

F106 During the Cayapa festivals I have actually seen Indians who came
B54 to offer the ailero either eggs, skeins of straw, cocoa, or alcohol.
431 These little gifts were most welcome and accepted with gratitude by the ailero, whose resources had been singularly strained by the world-wide crisis. Dr. Rivet (3) observed customs in Ecuador

F106
B54
• 141
(Urs)

3. Rivet (Paul). "Étude sur les Indiens de la région de Bucheombe /Study on the Indians of the Bucheombe Region/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Paris, New Series, Vol. I, No. 1, 1903, p. 76.

identical with those described here, the only difference being that in that land the ailero bears the name of prioste. "The Indians have a strong desire to give festivals which will eclipse all previous ones. This fully pushes some unfortunates to work a whole year, denying themselves stubbornly all but the strictly necessary /fact/ even on Sundays (strange contradiction). Then the festival arrives,

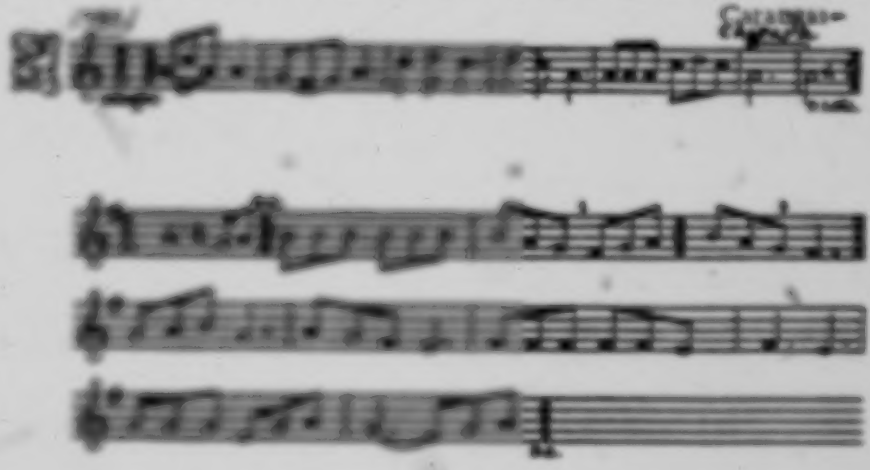
Cayapa-
Chachi

[illegible] case. /
there they are prayers, and in eight days of magic the fruits of one year of work are threatened."

One cannot give the officiant of Cayapa festivals the title of "magician," although the Indians designate him by the name of yachi (magician in Aymara). The personage who appears at the ceremonies, who prepares the heavenly mixtures offered as libations to the demons, and who says the prayers, is not at all like a medicine-man /given in English/. He is generally an old Indian who has maintained the traditions of the past. Beyond the service which he renders the younger generation thanks to his knowledge of the ritual, he fills no particular office and enjoys no more esteem than any other elderly man. It is not, however, impossible that my friend, Asuncion Illescas, was actually a real yachi. This is only a supposition on my part after having seen him officiate at several festivals and having admired the competency with which he accomplished his task. The Indians frequently pointed him out to me as the man who best knew the prayers to the gods. He also had some talent as a fortune-teller and was a past master of the art of "reading in the coca." I do not know, however, if his skill was related upon in cases of illness. The only case at which I was present was made by a Cayapa whom I had never seen officiate in any festival and whom I would never have suspected was versed in these superstitious practices.

Espiritu Mamani, a hopeless giant with the head of a fawn, made himself noticed by his zeal during festivals. His functions were, however, limited to reciting prayers, which by the most part had a marked Christian character. He discharged this duty with a fervor and enthusiasm which made me doubt his mental equilibrium. Among all the Cayapa he alone was enamored with exuberant life. He appeared truly possessed by an internal demon when with half-shut eyes he prayed as if in ecstasy. Immediately afterward he would wink and laugh with an air of complicity, as if he had just pulled a good trick. He was affable and pleasant in spite of this, but fickle, unapproachable, and to exist as a fervent god.

Carampa-



Then remained the Ayma[illegible] themselves to the most remarkable of dances: the one which I described in connection with the festival of the [illegible]. The circle broke up from time to time to form pairs which, at a running pace, made the whole tour of the village, approached the neighboring [illegible] or ayllus to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to everyone. Although the members of each ayllu preferred to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring ayllus were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which continued with the rigorous exclusion usually in force.

In a few huts belonging to some ayllus a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated loaves of bread and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. Pongo went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of corn piled before the various saints.

The festival generally lasted for a whole week. At night the young girls would gather through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few musicians offered up tunes until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol did not allow uppermost passions to be unleashed, and I was not present for any of those brutal nights in which the Aymara orgies terminate. They scarcely [illegible] had a few quarrels and

2:\Méreau--112 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 8F24 Uru 8F24
Carangas--
Chipaya

/380 cont./ they scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Cunkirini-mal'ku, is common to the two ayca, was recited in the course of this sacrifice:

Turi-mal'ku,	°awk	mal'ku,	Santa Ana,	mal'ku	tuanta,
Tower-demon,	great	demon,	Saint Anne,	demon	east,

tayatirra,	maintiñ,	roxtiñ	hasbi
west of	he who obtains,	who prays,	in this moment,

suma,	waina,	tiempo	°maintiñmal's,	wale,	wale,
good	young	weather	hearken to me,	good,	good,

suma	wata	°maintiña	t'apa	awayuñta,
good	year	grant us	all	servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuanta and Tanata ayca, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

529 The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol. [Illegible] Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred stacks. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

Cayapa-
Cápaya

/382 cont./

The number of spirits which rule over a household may be even more considerable. In a prayer of Aymara origin which I recorded among the Cápaya, in the course of a sacrifice made to the demons of the house, the shed and the kitchen are invoked at the same time as the court.

Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which are uniform throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara. There is no Cápaya hut on which one does not see to the left of the door upon entering the blackish spot of blood with which it was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the costs of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirit, that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

sʰuk'a	uta	kamarinka	suma	hallo	wata
straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

ewantiña (1)	uta-ki.
endure	house this.

1. From the Spanish aguantar, "to endure."

/383/ A beautiful example of the frightful jargon, a mixture of Cápaya, Aymara, and Kitsu /Quechua/ words, which the Indians use in their conversations with the divinity.

The sui-mal'ku is honored each time that an Indian returns home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the number of sui-mal'ku in Cápaya is limited, I would not have

Cayapas-
Chipaya

/1951 cont./

with her spoon and other effects. This is the fate which the earthly goods left by the Cipaya undergo, and the charred remains of their buildings are piled up beside the enclosure where their body remains. The husband gave out a few more tears near the tomb and returned home, escorted by a large number of individuals who came to take their share of the funerary food. The widower's family had been occupied with it since morning and had slaughtered two sheep and put enormous kettles full of quinua pulp on the fire. Among the Cipaya as among the Aymara, mourning obligations force the survivors to make considerable sacrifices and to dissipate their meagre capital.

Passing near the hut of the widower this same evening, I see him with one of his children on his back and the other near him busy preparing his dinner. On /this/ seeing me he let out some moans, too modulated to be the expression of any excessive. This was the last evidence of regret that the dead woman received. From the next day on she was forgotten, and the village, disturbed for a moment, sank back into silence and indifference.

Myths and rites

The way that I made among the Cipaya was dedicated in large part to gathering as many elements as possible of their agonizing language. In the hope of being able to make a grammar out of it, I busied myself as much as possible with assembling expressions, phrases, and reference narrative. Accomplishing this task was not always easy for me. The Cipaya know only Aymara outside their own language and, with the exception of the corregidor and two or three young people, do not know a word of Spanish. In order to be able to deal with them, I almost always had to have recourse to my Aymara interpreter, and the impossibility which often arose of being able to communicate

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Cayuga: Chiapas

(316 cont.)

the summit. This incline need only be accentuated to create the conical hut of the second type entirely made of clods.

The wall facings are plastered on the outside and inside with a thin layer of earth which conceals the irregularities of the surface.

The door. The opening (*tan*) of the door (*tzeke*) which is always framed with a white band is generally larger below than above and its angles are rounded. It does not open at ground level but on a threshold about 30 centimeters high. The door itself is situated inside the habitation. It is made of laths of Cerous ground by leather thongs and by creepers, and is articulated by means of two pivots, one of which, the upper one, is stuck into a piece of perforated wood (Fig. 1, C-D *[see p. 142]*).

Figure 1, E to G gives an idea of the ingenious peg lock of the Cayuga and its functioning. It is carved of Cerous wood and is of a type identical with that of the Aymara, who copied it from the old rural Spanish locks (1).

1. On this subject see Cesump (L., 1913). "Etudes d'ethnographie sud-américaine *[Studies of South American Ethnography]*." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, New Series, Vol. XI, 1914, pp. 121-133.

The roof. The straw dome (*tzeme*) which covers the Cayuga huts of the first type is complicated and ingenious in construction and certainly represents the most delicate work which these natives undertake. When the walls of the hut are two meters above ground, two rows of clods larger than the others and with perpendicular joints are placed on top. The upper ones are provided with orifices intended to receive the ends of the arches which support the straw cupola. The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots

[See pp 162-163 -- 0.0795]

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Chipaya

/165 cont./ It is more as
224 [434] themselves trapping them with small reed baskets, which are sold
to them by the Indian peddlers who come from Andamarca or
[211] Orinoca. These openwork baskets are, it appears, real fish traps
which the shore-dwellers on Poopó use. The Čipaya use them to
hold small objects (Fig. 3. B /see p. 155/).

Preparation of Food

252 It is more to relieve my conscience than in the hope of pre-
senting new facts that I shall devote a few lines to Čipaya cooking.
[211] Their food and the preparation of their dishes are exactly those
which have so often been described in connection with the Aymara
and Quichua.

The quinua cuticle has, as is known, a bitter and disagreeable
[434] taste. To free the seeds from it they are grilled in a dish, then
soaked in a stone vat (takxira) (Fig. 2. J /see p. 150/) which the
Čipaya buy from the people at Huachacalla who make them (1).

1. The vats are sometimes of baked clay.

When the seeds have been softened, a woman takes a standing position
in this vat and leaning against a wall, she husks them by turning
the lower part of her body (Pl. V. A /see p. 214/). To see them
execute this strange gymnastic is a picturesque spectacle. The seeds
submitted to this treatment are then spread on a blanket and win-
nowed by hand.

253 The quinua is used to prepare a soup or, reduced to meal
243 (akxal'ič), a pap. Leaves (čalli) of this plant or of cañagua are
cooked in water like spinach greens. Maize (tara) is eaten roasted
(tara-tara) or boiled the same as beans. The Čipaya eat /166/
potatoes (kxina), as everywhere on the altiplano, in the form of čuño.

/166 cont./ When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is firmly bound with a wool rope and left to drip for a certain number of days. These cheeses, white and tasteless, are seasoned with salt which the Čipaya get from the great salt deposits which spread out about 30 kilometers from their village. /167/ /Figure 3 appears here./

/168/ Weapons

The small number of weapons that the Čipaya have is a direct consequence of the insignificance of hunting in their economy. As for war, it is an unknown phenomenon for them. Who would dream of coming to pick a fight with them for possession of the sand dunes or stunted pastures? The only occasions for giving free rein to their bellicose instincts are the festivals. The alcohol they absorb then accentuates the underhand rivalry of the sayas among themselves, and, awakening passions, leads them to often bloody fights. I do not know if any weapons other than sticks and fists enter into play in this case.

The sling (kxorawa) (Fig. 4, A /see p. 157/), which is the weapon par excellence of the Indians of the altiplano, has only a peacable use in Chipaya: it is used to hurl lumps of earth at llamas or sheep to prevent them from straying from the flock or from the route being followed. It is possible that the Čipaya might have recourse to the sling when they have some quarrels with the people of the other saya, but I was never able to get particulars on this subject. Another circumstance contributes to making the sling of the Čipaya a harmless instrument: the lack of stones able to serve as projectiles.

The bolas of the Čipaya play a role close to that of the sling: they permit them to catch the sheep. The most common type is the ordinary bola. The stones instead of being caught in a leather sheath, as is the case with the archaeological specimens (Fig. 4, D-B), are furnished with a groove which prevents the rope from slipping (Fig. 4, J).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 156]

/168 cont./

223 411 191 In hunting water birds the Čipaya use a straw rope ending with a knot the size of a fist (Fig. 4. C /see p. 157/). This weapon corresponds exactly to the bola perdida of the ancient Patagonians, with the difference that among the latter the terminal ball was of stone. Aside from this the principle of these two weapons is the same. This is the first time that the bola perdida has been found elsewhere than at the southern end of South America. Its presence among the Čipaya is one more argument in favor of the archaic character of this culture trait.

223 411 The Uro Indians of the Desaguadero hunt the water birds which swarm in the totorales with bolas, two weights of which are wooden, and the third a small pyriform stone. The rope of this projectile is rolled up in very tough black thread. If the weapon does not reach its goal it floats on the water, and the Indians have only to pick it up with their balsas. /169/ /Figure 4 appears here./

/170/ Clothing

291 Men's wear. The essential piece of men's wear is a square shirt (ira) made of thick, stiff woolen cloth. It is a kind of sack with openings for the head and arms (Fig. 5, ~~C /see p. 163/~~). As a result of its width the upper part of this shirt falls on the shoulders practically down to the elbow. The ira was formerly the only garment of the Čipaya, as it still is for young boys up to the age of ten. At a doubtlessly recent date, the Čipaya adopted the pants that they wear under their tunic. By making the latter bunch at the waist on a cord which takes the place of a belt for them, they have transformed it into a blouse, while keeping its original length which was enough to cover them down to mid-leg. The ira is the best product [531] of Čipaya textile art. The decoration of this article of clothing invariably consists of a blue border and small brown and white [386] strips separated by black lines. None of these dyes is aniline.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 158]

Caranga:-
Chipaya

291 /171 cont./

1. The specimen at the University of Tucumán is 1 meter long and 87 cm. wide.

(yakol'a) of pre-Columbian times still competes with the poncho. This fact thus comes to the support of Montell's thesis (2), which

[113]

2. Montell, Gösta. "Le vrai poncho, son origine post-colombienne /The True Poncho, Its Post-Columbian Origin/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Vol. XVII. 1925; Dress and Ornaments in Ancient Peru. Göteborg. 1929. pp. 237-244.

sees the poncho as a practically modern culture trait, at least for [294] Peru. The Cipaya cloak is made of two strips of material sewn together and bound with piping. It is point for point the ancient 291 191 Aymara llacolla of which Cobo (3) has left us a description. In the

[113]

3. Cobo (Bernabé). Historia del nuevo mundo (Published for the first time with notes and commentaries by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada). Seville, 1893, Vol. IV, p. 160: "The cloak takes less work: they make it from two pieces, with a seam in the middle, two varas and a cuarta long, and a vara and three cuarta wide; it ends with four points or corners, like a woolen blanket /manta/ or coverlet, and because of

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Curanga--
Chipaya

/171 cont./

this we call it manta, although the name the Indians give it is yacolla." /Cited in Spanish./

In the Museum of Ethnography in Göteborg there is a magnificent piece of fabric from the coast of Peru which presents the same characteristics as the modern Čipaya cloaks and which was certainly used in the same way. The Čipaya ponchos are very short and display no [531] peculiarities. Their only decoration is the strips of colors.

The men's outfit is completed by a knitted wool helmet with two flaps which cover the ears (Fig. 5, C /see p. 163/). This is the famous Aymara chullo. The famous felt hats (skara) worn by both sexes in the entire Andean region has become more and more widespread in Chipaya as well as the pants. They have not yet succeeded in destroying the picturesque archaism of the area. The [532] material for the pants is made in the village of Chipaya on a treadle loom of the European type.

Bags (kšis) are a part of Čipaya clothing because they are never separated from it. These bags, which are worn thrust through the belt, are of various kinds. There are small ones with vivid [533] colors and geometric ornamentation, others which are simpler with black lines on a grey background, and finally large ones covered with a kind of velvet, i.e., with tufts of fine wool slipped into the weave (Fig. 4, B /see p. 157/). The last are the most expensive. I also bought in Chipaya small leather pouches /172/ made of the skin of a young llama's neck pulled off without a side incision and with the fur (Fig. 4, I).

Woman's dress. The costume of the women has remained as it was several centuries ago, and it is the main factor which contributes to giving Chipaya its so clearly pre-Columbian look. Here also the general law which will have it that women, as soon as we abandon our urban centers, remain attached to tradition and to old ways more faithfully than men is verified.

Cayanga:-
Chipaya

/172 cont./

291 Next to the skin the women wear a square shirt (almi'a), which is identical in form to the masculine shirt (ira), although narrower (Fig. 5, 9 /see p. 163/). It is wide enough to make the shoulder line fall on the arm. Blue sleeves are sewn to the shirt. This accessory is modern as is proved by the name mankan (from the Spanish: manga, sleeve) by which the Indians call it.

The Čipaya women wrap their bodies in a large piece of cloth (urku) which they pass under the arms and the ends of which, lifted to the shoulders, are held together with a cactus spine or a silver pin (kiin, pāz-kiin). This tunic is held at the waist by a large belt invariably decorated with brown and black chevrons (Pl. III, C /see p. 212/). Most of the women sew the lower part of this garment from the waist down on the side so as to make a shirt. This [291] innovation, post-Columbian in origin, dates from the beginning of [293] the Conquest and was imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities to safeguard the decency of their flock.

The urku is made of material woven with great care, brown or black in color and ribbed. It is always adorned above and below with a beige strip with white stripes. A specimen at the Museum of Ethnography at the University of Tucumán measures 1.38 meters by 1.36 meters. Over this tunic is thrown a long brown or black mantle (talu) which falls down the back to the knees and which is pinned at the breast. This garment is still worn by all the women of [291] the Andean region (lliclla), but whereas the Aymara and Quichua [293] Indians like to make it with varied motifs and bright colors alternating, the Čipaya are satisfied to decorate it with a white strip crossed with fine dark stripes (Pl. I, A,B,C /see p. 210/). The mantle of the Čipaya women is, in addition, much longer than that of the other [291] Indian women of the altiplano. It is only on the banks of the Titicaca that I met some women whose lliclla were as long as in Chipaya. These Indian women no doubt came from some distant village in the interior.

/172 cont./

291 To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Čipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here/ /174/ a folded cloth (unkuña) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European [53] peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric identical to the mantle, like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip.

Style of Wearing the Hair

302 The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (ikuru) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each 301 other by small strings. On these strings are hung small bronze pendants (laurake), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/).

The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kits, pĭz-kits, kxola), the round, flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 163/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass [71] beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two culture traits which are completely typical of Andean culture.

302 The women know no other toilette other than the care given their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity [42] [324] [239] of redoing their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few friends who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kˣara) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig bristles (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

2:Métraux--168 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas--
Čipaya

/178 cont./

To lay out the warp threads for a fabric made up of stripes of different colors, the Čipaya have recourse to a very quick process. They put each of the differently colored balls /of thread/ into a bowl and pull successively on each of them.

Women's belts are made using a technique which differs from that of ordinary fabrics. Two weft threads are used. They are crossed alternately on each of the sides of the strip, as shown in Figure 7. A woman who wishes to weave a belt sits down on the ground legs extended, attaches the forepart of the loom (Fig. 4, G /see p. 157/) to her waist, and then stretches out the warp by placing her two feet against the stick at the opposite end.

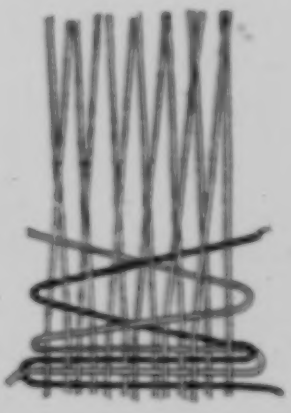

Fig. 7. — Weaving with two weft threads going in contrary directions.

The Čipaya loom, which is of a very simple type, differs from those of the other Indians of the Sierra only by the absence of the two posterior stakes, for which the body of the weaver is substituted here.

[191] The Čiriguano /Chiriguano/ women use the same process to weave their belts. This system is certainly older than the modern solution consisting of stretching the warp threads between four pegs.

The pieces of material used to make pants are woven on a treadle loom of Cereus wood locally made (Pl. V, D /see p. 214/).

[191] This apparatus, the only one of its kind in the whole village, completely resembles those which are to be seen on the puna of Jujuy (1).

2:Métraux--171 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga:-
Chipaya

/180 cont./

Musical Instruments

[534 14] The musical instruments that I got among the Čipaya have been the subject of a detailed monograph by Mr. Izikowitz, assistant at the Museum of Göteborg and an outstanding specialist in that field. I am allowing myself to refer the reader to this work (1), as

[113] 1. Izikowitz (K.G.). "Les instruments de musique des Indiens Chipaya /The musical instruments of the Čipaya Indians/." Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán. Vol. II. entry 2a, 1932.

he will find only a brief summary of it here.

Membranophones. There is not one family in Chipaya which does not have at least one drum. This instrument, very common on the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, in Chipaya presents the peculiarity of having a square shape (Fig. 8. A /see p. 173/). It is made up of a wooden frame whose sides, made of small boards brought together with tenons, are about 20 centimeters long and six to seven centimeters high. This skeleton is covered on its two faces with sheep or llama skin stretched by means of ligatures passed in a zigzag across the holes in the membrane. Along the latter there has been fastened a drum cord, or a string holding a splinter of wood which hits the membrane. They play the drum by holding its handle in the left hand and beating it with a single drumstick, the enlargement at the end of which is covered with rags.

[126] I was able to acquire a round drum in Čipaya (Fig. 8. E). The mounting is formed by a piece of flexible wood bent into a ring, with the ends sewn together by means of leather thongs. This specimen measures 37 cm. in diameter and nine cm. in height.

2:Mbrunes--174 F-b (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Urs SF24

Cayapa
Cáipaya

/182 cont./

534 inserting practically the whole tube in the mouth. This instrument, clearly post-Columbian, is rather rare in Chipaya. The Indians part with it willingly, attributing to it only minimal value. They play it for the pleasure of making noise without any musical pretension.

[291] The quena. The abundance of different kinds of flutes may be considered typical of the Indian music of South America. This variety is displayed even among the Čipaya. One finds here the quena, different sorts of flutes with mouthpieces, and lastly Panpipes or the syrinx.

Quena is the old Quichua word for the ancient song flute of Peru. As the quena of the Čipaya are exactly the same as those of [291] the /183/ Aymara or the Quichua, we have only to reproduce here what d'Harcourt says on the subject of the latter: "This flute is open at both /Figure 9 and 10 appear here;/ /184/ ends. A square opening has been carved in a portion of the upper end of the instrument. The edge of the opening is very thin, and it is blown against while the lower lip practically closes the opening. One must place the lips in such a way as to allow a stream of air to meet the edge of the opening. Before one is used to playing this instrument, it is very difficult to adjust one's breath and find the suitable position, all the more so as it changes according to the tones."

As bamboos and reeds split easily in these basically dry regions and, on the other hand, the raw material for these instruments comes from faraway places, it is easy to understand the care with which the Indians take care of them and the value which they attach to them. The quena I collected are carefully strengthened with untreated leather thongs and the interstices have been glued with so much care that no breath of air can escape and render the flute unusable.

The quena (Fig. 9 /see p. 175/) has six holes and a hole for the thumb at the bottom. All are on the lower part of the instrument. If we start from the mouthpiece and begin with the upper hole, the respective distance of the holes, calculated in centimeters, is the following (Fig. 10. b /see p. 175/):

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 196]

Cayapa-
Chiripa

/180 cont./

In La Musique des Incas /The Music of the Incas/, R. d'Harcourt reproduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

While examining the contents of one of the huts that the Cayapa use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 6, C /see p. 177/). The beak inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to here are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkul'a, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 6, C presents one of these pinkul'a, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The Cayapa pinkul'a are identical and without doubt come from some Bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The tula flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these perfected instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uno-Cayapa dialect, tiku, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used for /186/ secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

While there are very few Cayapa who know how to play the quena, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The players accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may thus play a little melody from time to time while seated.

Lindblom--178 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga-
Chipaya

/[illegible]/

[94] Panpipes. The Čipaya Indians have two types of Panpipes. The first (maiso) is extremely simple. It is composed of two tubes of unequal length, closed at one end and tied together with a wool cord (Fig. 8, D /see p. 173/). One of the tubes is 10 cm. long and the other 12.1 cm. This instrument was a particularly difficult acquisition for me. There was only one specimen in the whole village, [96] and it was moreover the property of the mayordomo, the official entrusted with maintaining places and objects of worship. He only resigned himself to giving it to me after much hesitation. Even before I had acquired this object it had been mentioned to me as a venerable piece. I had only one occasion to see it in use: this was at the Carnival, a particularly solemn and clearly pagan festival.

[92] One Čipaya had the happy idea of selling me a whole series of syrinxes which present several very interesting peculiarities. They are composed of a single row of bamboo tubes (five or seven) closed by a natural node and held inserted between two sticks themselves joined by a crossed string. Each of these pipes is provided on one side with a splinter of bamboo cut obliquely on its lower part (Fig. 8, E).

What is the purpose of this arrangement, which has not been found on any other Panpipes in the Old or New World? Mr. Izikowitz conjectures that it is a question of accessories of no practical value which have been substituted for a second series of tubes. This [94] hypothesis appears very far-fetched to me, and I ask myself if it is not a matter here of the fantasy of a flute-maker who thought of reinforcing the ligature by this means. The latter, in contrast, merits [91] our attention: it is actually a type which has only been found at Arica in the Andean region, but which still has a wide distribution in the west of the Amazon basin. Let us add that this ligature is always used for flutes with a single series of tubes.

The syrinxes which I have just described are apparently very old specimens. I have seen newer ones among the Čipaya of the [91] type common among the Aymara and among all the Indians of the altiplano in general.

29Uruaus--180 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 Sf24 Uru Sf24
Caranga: Cipaya

/187 cont./ with the exception of the
534 bamboo splinters placed against each tube, these syrinxes are very
[191] like the rather similar ones which have been discovered at Arica and also like the Panpipes used by the Indians of the area northeast of the Andes in our day.

As for the small syrinx with two tubes, it is too simple an instrument to be considered at great length. In any case, up to the present its equivalent has been found nowhere.

[199] /188/ Aymara influence and through its medium that of Europeans have been strongly exerted on their musical instruments, just as on the rest of their culture. This penetration can be very simply explained when one thinks that aside from tola, they have no other material out of which they could make a musical instrument, and that they are obliged to import those that they use for their festivals.

Objects for purely ceremonial use

796 There are a certain number of objects which I acquired among the Cipaya, whose use is purely ceremonial and which should be
[26] examined in a special chapter. These are, in the first place, the festive slings, several specimens of which I was able to get (1).

1. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, B.

These slings are passed over the wrist or carried crossed on the chest of individuals participating in the dances during great clan or tribal
[301 337] festivals. Another accessory of the Indians on these occasions is the wig made of horsehair (2).

2. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, C.

Smithsonian--182 E-5 (1930-1931) 1931, 1932 SF24 Uru SF24
Campa-
Ch. palm

/189 cont./

after mass on Palm Sunday."
It is not impossible that the
palm /palmiste/ wood of the
Cipaya corresponds to these "palms"
of the Quechua. Cf. Ondéñez
(Dr. Pastor). "Las Varayocc."
Revista Universitaria. Cuzco.
eighth year. No. 29, September,
1918, p. 43.

guardians of the house are worshiped with libations and fumigations. They are also indispensable accessories for the magicians who always plant them before themselves when they are going to make a prayer or a sacrifice to the demons. One must also not forget among the objects used in worship the baked clay censer which are shaped like a footed cup, and the small cupules for libations.

Division of Labor

	Men	Women	
House-building	+	-	
Straw rope	-	-	
Spinning	+	+	
Weaving	-	-	
Weaving with treadle loom	+	-	
Cooking	-	+	
Livestock care	+	+	(preferably the children)
Cheese	-	+	
Milking of the sheep	-	+	
Shearing of the sheep	+	-	
Rope-making	+	-	

Cuzcoan-
Chipaya

/Till cont./

and Doering (Heinrich).
Kunstgeschichte des alten Peru
/Art History of Old Peru/.
Berlin. 1925. Pls. 99-101.

perpendicular rims, whose central circumference is often ornamented with carving in relief. The shape and the layout in which they were often carved (serpentine) seems to exclude the possibility that they could have been used to grind any substance therein. In dimension and appearance they greatly recall the small vessels, also of stone, /Titi/ in which the Cupeya women husk quinua by treading on it. I am inclined to think that this was also the way in which these so-called cereale mortars were also used.

Weaving. The Cupeya method which consists of attaching the loom to the belt instead of fastening it to two stakes as is customary elsewhere on the altiplano is also a survival of pre-Columbian times (1). On a keramos of Tiahuin, often reproduced,

1. This custom is not, however, general. Roland L. Olson, "Old Empires of the Andes." Natural History. New York. Vol. XXXI. 1931. No. 1. p. 11. publishes the photograph of a woman of Marcamachay whose loom is fastened to the waist, and he informs us that the weavers of the equatorial altiplano still follow the same method.

where one sees some women in the act of weaving, one notices that they have their loom attached to the waist, passed around the body by means of a band covered with geometric designs (2). This

Cayapa-
Chipaya

/208 cont./

[illegible] Boredom and silence overwhelm the village. The children themselves share in the general sullenness: they never have fun, or so to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a vague eye or stay squatting in their huts chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material or occupy their leisure time by looking for lice on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

The Čipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mistrust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians of the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of strangers. They know how to appreciate well-working, and my relations with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /209/ blatantly. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they [illegible] forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small objects which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent devil. No Indian dared to [illegible] me the objects which I acquired for my collection; in broad daylight: all feared the unkind comments of those near them.

/[173-case]/

14. We are going to place a rim of totoras. 15. He attaches the rim of the balsa. 16. He tightens the rim of the balsa. 17. We are going to finish. 18. (The totora) is still a bit loose; we are going to tighten it a bit more. 19. All is finished. 20. Now the balsa is ready. 21. Let us go fishing with the new balsa. 22. We are not going to hoist a sail? 23. We are not accustomed to use a sail; there is too little water. 24. We always use a boat hook manipulated by hand. 25. Here is the mast which is attached to the large net so that the fish can enter. 26. The fish is going to enter (the net); now we are going to lift (the net) up and put it in the balsa.

Remarks

This text is divided into two parts. The first, 1 to 20, describes the making of balsas from totoras. The second is a succinct description of fishing with a net in the swamps of the Desaguadero.

To build their balsas the Uru use the Scirpus totora, which used to grow in abundance in the swamps of the Desaguadero and at numerous points on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Two Indians work at the same time on the construction of a balsa. First they lay out the bunches of totoras on the ground, from which they make three spindles the length of the balsa, two large side ones and a middle one which is shorter and thinner; this middle cylinder, the "heart of the balsa," used to stabilize the craft, has passed unnoticed by practically all the authors who have concerned themselves with the Uru. Only the fishers on the lagoon of Arapa, to the north of Lake Titicaca, who speak Keŝwa, build balsas, small and rather narrow, formed with two cylinders.

The totora of three cylinders is held in place with the aid of thin straw plaits (2-4), which hold the cylinders evenly between them. These straw ropes are tightened in a progressive and methodical fashion by two /[174]/ men, working alternately

/176 cont./

*539 39 on each side of the balsa (10, 12, 17) in order to make the two large side cylinders equal in weight, bulk, and compression. This is the delicate part of the manufacture, on which the stability and quality of the craft depend. The Uru use wooden hooks for this job (12). At the same time they compress the totora with a stout hammer (13), adding or removing totora as necessary; they water it from time to time to prevent it from drying. When the work is finished the middle cylinder, the heart of the balsa, completely hidden between the side cylinders, is invisible. Depending on the size, the construction [96] of a balsa takes an average of three to six days. The life of a *539 28 balsa is short; after having been wet they become heavy and 50 rot inside; they are good for six months to one year in general.

The balsas used on the Desaguadero and on the low parts of the lake in the neighboring lagoons which are not very deep (Arapa, Umumayo) do not have sails (23), or only a very small sail, in contrast to the balsas on the large lake which they propel by sail. The Uru steer them with the help of a boat hook ending in three teeth, which they push against the muddy bottom (24). These boat hooks are identical to those of the [101] Guatos of upper Paraguay, who belong to the Nu-Arwak /Nu-Aruak/ linguistic group.

*539 193 From the point of view of grammar, note the frequent use of the repetitive particle -ɛu-, indicating that the action expressed by the verb is habitual. Also note the repetitions of words or roots to reinforce the idea expressed (3-12, etc.)

The verb ɬɑ̃ɬ' ɛay expresses the idea of carrying off, of lifting up, of raising (22-23); compare it with 4-5 of text III.

*539 /182 cont./ also the Uru do not have any
82 apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/
[118] at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments
[191] are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations.
[152] However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kispe, is very frightened
[829] of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure
Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood.
[848] Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was fatherless, "hána hep' šeš- čay," "no father is," "an illegitimate son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be
[961] assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder,
[829] drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which
[848] the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

*539 From the point of view of vocabulary this text shows the
191 same irregularities as the preceding text by the same informant
192 (V) /see p. 15/ frequent elisions of final vowels: ča instead of čay; the repeated use (1-7) of wáli, "much," an Aymara form not found in the texts nor in the numerous phrases gathered from the other informant. 2. wáli- píni, association of an Aymara word and an Uru word with the same meaning to reinforce the idea; we find an analogous case in ti- hún (5), the Uru-Spanish association already noted. 2. hána Kala či čúña, "not good good is," association of two words of almost identical meaning to reinforce the idea: "this is not good at all." 3. The particle -kála after the verb "to go" has the exact meaning of ex in Latin, literally exit. 4. The correct form would be war- tis. 6. háske indicates a very distant fact, an idea still more strengthened by the suffix -ta, sign of the past: "a very long time ago."

/184/

*539 764

IX. Funeral Customs
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 167 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

[985] [982] 1. We others, we have the custom of making a meal in honor of the soul. 2. We offer libations to the souls. 3. At night we have the custom of digging (the grave). 4. Then we have the custom of coming to burn (the clothes of the dead person). 5. We have the custom of burning the clothes of the soul. 6. Let us go burn these clothes. 7. Let us light the fire. 8. We burn only the clothes.

Remarks

In this short account the informant summarizes several funeral practices of the Uru. At first it is the evening of the funeral, during which relatives and friends eat in honor of the dead person (1) to whom libations of alcohol, chicha, and coca are offered (2). After the burial, without a coffin, in a simple ditch dug during the night (3), and which will not subsequently be marked by anything, the clothes of the dead person are burned.

*539 764 ●171 These practices are very different from those of the other natives of the Cordillera, speakers of Aymara or Keŝwa, who gather several days after the burial to wash the dead man's clothes and divide them up. The customs of the Uru recall those of numerous Amazonian groups.

The complete abandonment of the grave after burial must also be noted; it contrasts with the care which other populations of the Cordillera give to graves.

*539 101 193 1. ucúmi; this is the personal pronoun of the first person plural, with the exclusive meaning "we others, the Urus."

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 23]

/207 cont./

143 Kline: ++

[164] /208/ We shall only conclude from this isolated observation the existence of possible heredosyphilis or of a very attenuated syphilis in one of the most conservative members of the group, who always severely condemned sexual relations with other natives as being against the traditions.

128 These few isolated examinations have no great significance; they do emphasize however the interest which a numerous series of hematological and serological investigations among the isolated native groups of the Cordillera or the South American forests would have.

Conclusion

141 [128] In spite of the small number of subjects examined (9), owing to the rapid decline of the group and its approaching extinction, this study of the last Uru of Iru-Itu permits us to make a few interesting conclusions.

[171] Height varies little from that of the neighboring Andean populations, and small and medium stature predominate. The population is as a whole macroskelic.

The cephalic index among the men who can be considered as not crossbred with the neighboring populations is lower than 75.0% (average: 73.51). Three women are moderately brachycephalic; we must note that they are closely related.

Dolichocephaly, a tendency to leptocephalia and to leptoprosopy, the bigoniac diameter almost equal to the minimum frontal diameter, leptorrhinism, a high and narrow ear succeed in characterizing this group.

114 141 144 As a whole these results agree with the few previous observations on the Uru and the Chipaya (Imbelloni's two Uru skulls; a few measurements by Posnansky), emphasizing the morphological unity of these two groups.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

Herding.—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

Farming.—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

Food preparation.—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.

HOUSES

Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

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the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

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Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

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Chipaya

ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the ysiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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Bertonio, 1879 b; Brinton, 1890; Chamberlain, 1910; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1925–27; Ehrenreich, 1905; Forbes, 1870; La Barre, 1941; La Grasserie, 1894; Latcham, 1910; Métraux, 1934 c, 1935 b, 1935 c, 1936 a, 1936 b, 1936 c; Ore, 1607; Polo, 1901; Posnansky, 1934; Rivet, 1925–27; Uhle, 1896; Vásques de Espinosa, 1942.

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characteristic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally

Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

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women. The hair is divided into innumerable tiny braids, each decorated with a small flat piece of bone, or a miniature bronze idol exactly like those found at Tiahuanaco.

Chipaya men wear a costume similar to the *ajsuy* used by various Indians in eastern Bolivia. It resembles the shirt worn by the women, but is fuller because it is square. In former times it was the only garment worn by the men; trousers are a recent addition. Colorful decorated pouches are always slung from the belt. The short striped poncho is known as the Chipaya cape. The hair is cut short all the way around and is covered with a cap similar to the *chullo* of the Aymaras; the distinction lies in the broad ear flaps worn by the Aymaras in contrast to the smaller ones and the much finer cloth of the Chipaya caps.

Every Chipaya family owns at least one drum. These instruments are common in the altiplano, but the square shape of the Chipaya drum makes it unique. It is also unusually small, measuring six to eight inches on a side and about two inches in thickness. It is covered with tanned llama skin, stretched over a wooden frame. This instrument is thought to be pre-Columbian, since its unusual construction is so dissimilar to that of the drums introduced by the Spaniards. The Chipayas make two kinds of flutes. The straight Andean flutes are generally made of bamboo, which is brought from other regions and becomes brittle very quickly in the dry climate here.

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They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *oyo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *mallcus;* the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P. 22-B]

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(but further complicating the matter by bringing in the dispute about the possible relationship of Atacameñan and Uran, which relationship he finally denies).[10] The problem, of course, awaits the attention of the linguistic specialist who shall have complete access to all the documents in the case. Garcilaso de la Vega, it is true, in his *Historia General de las Indias* listed "the Puquinas, Collas, Urus, Yuncas, and other Indian nations." But the Colla and Yunca were subdivisions of the Aymará-speaking stock, which weakens Chamberlain's citation of this as proof of the distinctness of the Uru and the Puquina. *Prima facie* evidence suggests that they are the same; meanwhile, where are we to find any considerable group in the Lake Titicaca region to have spoken the non-Aymará, non-Quechua "lengua general" of "Puquina" *except* the linguistically moribund and heavily Aymarized Uru-Chipaya?[11]

Name. The present-day Uru of the Rio Desaguadero have been given various names by chroniclers and ethnologists. De la Grasserie gives the synonymy *Urus*, *Uros*, *Hunos*, and *Ochomazos*, as well as the controversial "Puquinas"; Calancha, however, gives the name as *Ochozumas*, and Brinton *Ochozomas*. Posnansky says the name of the Uru for themselves is *Uchumi*, and their language *Uchumitaku;* they also call themselves *Kjotsuni*, but never "Urus" or "Puquinas." Métraux, however, found the Ancoaqui Uru

[10] Métraux (JSAP 27, 1934), p. 89. Eric Boman, *Les Antiquités de la Région Andine de la République Argentine* (Paris 1907–1908), pp. 67–73. Boman (p. 72) identifies the Desaguadero Uru with the Changos, also called "Uros," of the Pacific coast farther south, making them the pre-Quechua, pre-Aymará, pre-Yuncan aborigines of the Peru-Bolivia region. Chamberlain thinks they must have been Inca "colonists; so too Brinton (*American Races*, 221) who notes that Oliva (quoted in A. Bastian, *Culturländer des Alten Americas* (1878 Berlin, vol. 2), p. 93) averred some of them were found on the coast near Lambayeque. Since "Chancu" was one of the Aymará nicknames for the Desaguadero Uru, this coastal group of "Changos" may indeed be Uru. Wissler, *The American Indian*, 2nd ed. pp. 312–313, lists and maps a northern "Puquinan" stock and a southern "Uran" stock; but on the linguistic map of South America (Fig. 82) he places "Puquinan" north of Lake Titicaca, and "Uros" in northern Chile, apparently following Boman on this point.

[11] The possible Arawakan affiliation of the Uru-Chipaya is another matter. Rivet and Crequi-Montfort have discussed this problem at length. Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 402–403, suggests connections of the Chipaya with the Chané and the Arawakanized Chiriguano, on the basis of zoomorphic characters in myths; but he further suggests the possiblity that both the Chané and the Chiriguano got their mythical figures from the Aymará-Quechua general Andean folklore, as well as from the Uru-Chipaya. This second direction of diffusion appears to me more plausible: the myths Métraux (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67–102, collected from the Uru-Chipaya are nearly all tales identical with those of the neighboring Aymára. It is my opinion, however, that neither Nordenskiöld's nor Métraux' myth material is sufficiently specific in reference to bear any such burden of proof; some of them show Asiatic, Siamese, Shuswap, and Nootka parallels, *i.e.*, the data are pan-Amerind, indeed, proto- and pre-Amerind.

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193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 [191] All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[10] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

171 177 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

144 [162] [178] *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [55] [62] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 142 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[10] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90–110.

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slant. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymára. Wallis (page 155) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Posnansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient American habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *luña*-consuming Aymára (*luña* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fishermen, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymára and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymára-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymára, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymára; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymára is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymára nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymára; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymára, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tulutin*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[17] the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the

[17] In Neveu-Lemaire, *Los Lagos*, p. LXI.

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bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *ivo* (Aymará **unku**), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (**makú**) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear thin "camiseta" (Aymará **ajwalu**), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tihuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulli*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *likawa*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *ikiawa*), complete the male costume. The belt called *luri* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called **wiku**, but clothing in general is called *shiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *tolo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancuaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *'alpas* of Incaica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

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(Aymára rectangular houses are dia-gram thatched, not matted in the Uru fashion). Possibly because of the scarcity of wood, "rafters" in the roof are made of thick bundles of reeds, the main supports laid east and west, with secondary supports arched north and south. Some of the round houses have a roof framework made of bent sticks laid at right angles and grass-rope lashed at their crossings. On this framework of wood or *totora*-bundles, large mats, employing the full lengths of these giant reeds, are laid in two sections, so that there is a sort of pseudo-ridge to the roof, running from over the door to the west wall; this ridge is made by the meeting of the butts of the reeds. Grass ropes are laid over these mats to hold them down in the wind, and tied to wooden pegs in the mud walls of the house. There is no smoke-hole save the door, so the roof mats become speedily coated with soot and are quite waterproof. One must stoop in entering the door, but a man can stand upright in the center of the house. A mud "stove" is placed to the right (north) of the door, in which *t'ola* (a kind of grease-brush), *yareta* (woody, turf-like masses of a semi-subterranean shrub), or *taki* (llama-dung) are burned for fuel, owing to the absence of wood in the region. The cord used on the roof-mats to twine the ends of the single reed elements, is true two-element twisted rope, the torque of the twisted strands of wiry grass holding the whole together. The rope used in binding *balsas*, on the other hand, is of tightly plaited grass, possibly because the more laboriously made plaited grass rope has greater strength and durability than the twisted kind.

Anciently, according to the 18th century writer Alcedo, the Uru lived in caves and holes in the ground, but they share the round type of house with their congeners the Chipaya. The same round house type is seen elsewhere scatteredly in the *altiplano*. Forbes noted "beehive" houses in out-of-the-way places, and in the 16th and 17th century descriptions such as that of Cobo are indications that the round hut was the original Aymára style. Métraux noted round mud houses with corbelled domes like those of the Chipaya, at Kruliri, near Toledo; and villages of round houses may be seen the west of the railroad halfway between La Paz and Oruro.[15]

[15] David Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (Journal Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 2: 193–305, 1870), p. 255. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 69, also says the Uru formerly lived in caves or holes dug in the ground, and roofed with mats. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1890), Vol. 4: pp. 165–167. Métraux (JSAP 28: 190–194) says that the rectangular huts of the Aymára are built after Spanish patterns, and that only the chiefs at Chipaya used them, others building the older round type of house. The round style is endemic, however, for tracing the provenience of the Uru. Braun noted Quechua storehouses of this kind in southwestern Bolivia, Nordenskiöld the same form among Aymára at Tunari, near Cochabamba (Otto Braun [Letter to Nordenskiöld in 1931]; Erland Nordenskiöld, *The*

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Another house type, beyond the rectangular-thatched and round-matted forms, is that to be found in several examples on the plain just to the north of Ancoaqui. These have a rectangular ground-plan, and instead of being thatched with grass or *totora*-mats, have a pyramidal "dome" corbelled of the same turfs that the walls are made. One of these photographed was on a slight artificial elevation, and had a shallow "moat" around it, possibly to provide dryness and drainage during the long rainy season. Another has two doors, both east and south, suggesting that shepherds might watch their llamas from these tiny huts, which are too small for family habitation; one of them has a chimney-hole in the roof.

Posnansky[19] says the Uru of Sojopaca built temporary shelters, apparently of mud, "like beavers," and figures a carefully domed *puñku* on the islet of Simillaque, as well as a round, stone-roofed house on the Isle of Panza. Uru round houses at Ancoaqui have vertical walls, but some of those of the Chipaya (Posnansky, Figs. 39 and 56) are battened inward, like truncated domes. On islands in the Desaguadero swamps I noticed temporary shelters of *totora* shaped like an old-fashioned straw beehive with a point, erected to shelter the *balsa*-builders.

Food. The Uru have repeatedly been referred to as being chiefly fishermen, but fish are by no means exclusively their diet. Their linguistic congeners to the south, the Chipaya, are chiefly pastoral, and the Uru likewise have pigs, donkeys, some few chickens, sheep, and cows, but no llamas or alpacas. Of the cows Métraux writes:

> those on the border of the Desaguadero [have] become amphibian. They pass the whole day in the water browsing on aquatic plants. From a distance one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan marsh.

These half-wild creatures are so "pastured" because of the acute lack of land among the Uru, whose agriculture,[20] for the same reason, is thus greatly circumscribed. The Uru have dogs, which they call *puku*. Like the Aymára, and most *altiplano* Indians, the Uru keep domesticated guinea-pigs in their houses. Pigs wander about the village also, but are sometimes placed in

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Ethnography of South America seen from the Mojos of Bolivia (Comparative Ethnographic Studies 3, Göteberg, 1924), p. 19; see also Bernabé Cobo, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 2: p. 62; Huaman Poma de Ayala, in Montell, *Dress and Ornament*, p. 188, Fig. 86 (in Métraux *loc. cit.*).

[19] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 108 and Figures 104, 111.

[20] George McCutchen McBride, *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia* (American Geographic Society, Research Series 5, New York, 1921), p. 18, says the Uru "form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them."

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

knives on the ends of poles, then stacked in shocks like corn, after they have been dried spread out in the sun. Nearly all able-bodied Uru males have quantities of these materials in various stages toward the manufacture of the complete boats. In their houses, even, in spare moments, men are continually braiding *t'a*-grass into tough ropes to bind the boats together.

Though shaped like a boat, the *balsa* is of course actually a raft. A handful of reeds is bound together and repeatedly thickened with more reeds as the middle of the cigar-shaped element is reached, then tapered off again into a point. The only tool used in the manufacture of this is a wooden hook (*kayla*) with a handle at an acute angle to it, used to tighten the lashing of grass rope. A more tubular and thinner sheaf of reeds forms the keel of the *balsa*, and two of the fat cigar-shaped bundles are separately lashed to it, forming a sort of sea-sled type of hull, which cannot be overturned in a storm; the thinner ends of these cigar-shaped bundles are slightly raised fore and aft of the boat. To form gunwales, a still thinner and tubular sheaf of reeds is lashed (during its own round-and-round binding with braided grass rope) through the original lashing of the hull-elements. One of these gunwales (*piala*) is placed on each side of the top of the hull-elements to prevent splashing of water onto the occupants of the boat as it is poled along. The Uru *balsa* thus differs from the Aymára[*] type in that its two large basic elements are lashed to a central "keel" and not to each other (though the bulwark lacings are similarly looped through the lacings of the two hull-elements); it has therefore five instead of four elements. The Uru also rig their *totora*-mat sails with a slight difference from the Aymára. Sails, however, can only be used on the Lake and on the open river "before the wind" since the boat has no center-board and cannot tack. In the narrow swampways a punt pole or gaff (*tokai*) with a stubby trident at its end is used to push the boat along. The wood for these comes from the *yungas* of the Cordillera Real's eastern, tropical slopes. (See Posnansky, Fig. 83.) A complete *balsa* cost in 1937 from ten to sixteen *bolivianos*, then worth about 3¢.

Of Uru textiles we have already noted twined single-element *totora balsa*-sails, twined many-element mattress-mats of reed, fish- and bird-nets (which they themselves make of cord obtained in Guaqui from La Paz), and single-element twined roof mats of *totora*. Métraux has an excellent description (page 86) of the preparation by soaking, pounding, and rolling of the wiry grasses of the region (*Stipa ichu*, *Festuca orthophylla*, and *F. dis-*

[*] Lorenzo R. Parodi, *Los balsas usadas por los Aymaras en el lago Titicaca* (Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. 11, Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 145-149. Métraux' description (JSAP 27: 84) is of the Aymára type.

9:La Barre E-6,5 (1938) 1941
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difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*pini*) and *balsa* (Sharp), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *pelo* (Aymará *pusiña*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'isu*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a reeded bamboo-like plant in the yungas. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusiña* or *pelo* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in connection with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *llenos*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *lanka*, *coca*, net-thread, *kañawa* (quinoa), and the two other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*llenos* and *lequas*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very incomplete. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: [illegible]

Underwood—III 8-4 (1930-1931) 1930. 1930 NPDA Uru NPDA
Calango-
Chipaya
Bolivia 1931

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fit all that was conquered, charging them greatly with the tenets which they would believe in satisfying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of in their succession, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and this it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the pages or pages of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part II, pp. 3-43.

/VIII/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the compass of the dominions in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, Incas and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. The ceremonial posts exert a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. The ancient tombs of the pre-Columbian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de Leon. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from our chapel

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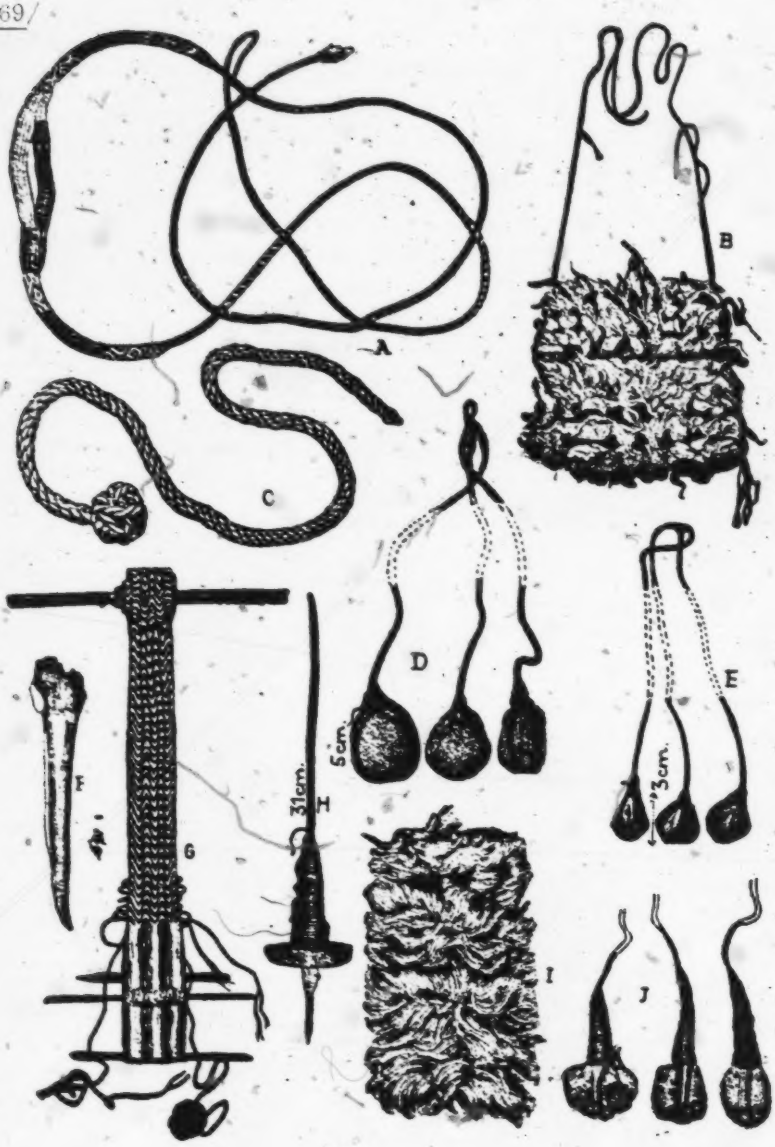

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Fig. 4.—Čipaya material culture. Weapons and technology.

A: Čipaya sling.
B: Bag (käls) covered with white, black, and red tufts forming a sort of velvet.
C: Čipaya bola perdida.
D-E: Pre-Columbian bolas.
F: Weaver's dagger (wiña), of bone.
G: Čipaya loom for weaving women's belts (tsai).
H: Spindle with wooden weight /whorl/ (t'eri).
I: Bag (käls) made from the skin of a llama's neck.
J: Weights of a modern Čipaya bola.

/191 cont./

342 [554] Conquest it was perfectly natural that the chiefs should be the first to adopt it. In my opinion it would be a mistake to see in the round hut of the Čipaya a culture trait which is characteristic of this ethnic group and capable of furnishing a clue to their origin. The modern Čipaya have retained the round hut solely because it was more practical and the only type which they could erect easily and without too much expense on the wretched plain where they are cantoned. If in place of tola they had had some other tougher shrub, their picturesque hovels would have given way to the dull sheds of the Aymara long ago.

*171 342 /192/ The Uro Indians of Ancoaqui build their huts on the model of those of the Aymara. Up to recent times they must have had to retain the circular hut, for I noticed two or three houses in their village which, without exactly being round, had at least considerably rounded corners. The wretched abodes to be seen among the Uro have exactly the same form as those of the Čipaya and, consequently, the second type of huts, i.e., those which are dispersed in the pastures. In contrast to the Aymara or Čipaya, the Uro cover their huts with totora mats, which they fasten with wooden pegs stuck in the walls.

Facing Ancoaqui on the other bank of the Desaguadero I saw several huts of a type new to me, one which I think has not yet been described. These are cubes with thick walls covered with a masonry dome, a middle term between pyramid and cupola. These huts were grouped exactly like the estancias of the Čipaya. They were, moreover, as it seemed to me, the dwellings of shepherds who certainly had a house in the village. The huts on the Desaguadero recall chullpas much more than do the Čipaya huts which have been compared with these funerary buildings.

*171 ● 172 342 164 Whoever has traveled by mule on the altiplano and ascertained the fabulous number of chullpas left by the pre-Columbian inhabitants must have asked himself what befell the actual habitations where the Indians who are incarcerated in these strange sepulchers lived. It

/192 cont./

*171 seems inexplicable that precisely the funerary houses would have survived, whereas the houses themselves have disappeared without leaving a trace. How could it happen that a people capable of building such remarkable and lasting buildings as the chullpas would not have left a single village behind? Chipaya gives us the key to the problem: the ancient Aymara huts were undoubtedly made of clods, a perishable substance which time has made disappear down to the last vestige. Although the Cipaya have occupied their present habitat since remote times, one cannot find any ancient ruin among them. It is enough that a hut be abandoned for there to be nothing left of it at the end of a few years.

*171 One word more on the distribution of the round hut: this form was formerly much more widespread in the western part of South America than it is in our day. The Relaciones geográficas (1)

1. Xauxa Province, Vol. I, p. 89; Huamanga Province (San Juan de la Frontera), Vol. I, p. 97; Repartimiento /fief/ of Atunsora, Vol. I, p. 176; Collao, Vol. II, p. 62; Corregimiento /district/ of Otavalo (Equator), Vol. III, p. 116; District of Cuenca (Equator), Vol. III, pp. 164 and 176; Region of Quito, Vol. III, p. 94; Region of Chuquimayo, Vol. IV, p. LI; etc., etc.

makes allusions all the time to round houses in regions where they no longer exist.

*171 /193/ The Quichua Indians of Cochabamba in the middle of the last century still had round huts made entirely of earth and stone with dome-shaped roofing. One of them has been reproduced and described by Herndon and Gibbon (1): "The ancient habitations

/197 cont./

women caused the disappearance of the folded napkin with which up to a short time ago they covered their heads exactly as the present-day Čipaya women (3).

3. Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 232.

Even in cases where historical documents may have remained silent on this /198/ subject, archaeology brings us proof that Čipaya female clothing has remained, even in the smallest details, just as it was before the Conquest. /Figure 12 appears here./

The excavations I made in the chullpas near Iscara some 20 kilometers from Chipaya gave me a large number of fabrics identical to those of the present-day Čipaya. The resemblance is such that the Indians themselves thought when they saw my collection that I was amusing myself by collecting rags they had thrown away. They did not hesitate once in identifying the clothing from which each fragment of archaeological fabric came by simply comparing it with their own material. A woman's belt (Fig. 12 /see p. 198/) which I extracted from one of these sepulchers is so completely similar in technique, design, and color to the belts in fashion today in Chipaya (Fig. 13 /see p. 198/) that I defy the most expert ethnographer to indicate the least difference between a modern specimen and an ancient one. Some fragments of urku which I was able to withdraw from the charnel houses which the chullpas are also bear witness themselves to the fact that the principal garment of Čipaya women has not varied since pre-Columbian days from the point of view of color as well as of the nature of the cloth. /Figure 13 appears here./

Are the picturesque little braids of the Čipaya women also a reminiscence of the past? The chullpas of Iscara and Huachacalla gave me a large number of female skulls to which the scalp still adhered. The disposition of the plaits and their number corresponded exactly to the fashion still in existence among our Indians. The small

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Fig. 12. —Fragment of pre-Spanish belt found in a chullpa near Iscara (Carangas Province).

pendants depicting a female personnage, or laurake, found in Tiahuanaco bring us proof /199/ that in remote ages of the Aymara civilization women already had their hair parted into an infinite number of small braids. This hair style was also that of the pre-Spanish populations in the Atacama Desert: Boman has in fact published the skull of a woman from Calama, which he describes in these terms: "The black, stiff hair is divided on top of the head and forms numerous plaits on each side, the ends of which /Figure 14 appears here/ are tied with a woolen string. In each of these knots a strong cactus spine has been placed which serves as a hairpin. Certain Indians of the Bolivian Altiplano still arrange their hair in several plaits on each side, in the same manner as the ancient inhabitants of Calama." The women of the Arkcocahua (Lupinar Province) clan in Peru have kept up to recent years the custom "of dressing the hair in the back and of dividing the hair into a group of small, thin plaits joined together by strings of cotton or woolen thread which end in fringes, which gives them the appearance of a thick material. /200/ This hair style is called sakcapa, without doubt

Fig. 13. — Detail of a belt worn by Cipaya women.

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*171 because of the tripartite division of the hair on the skull (1)."
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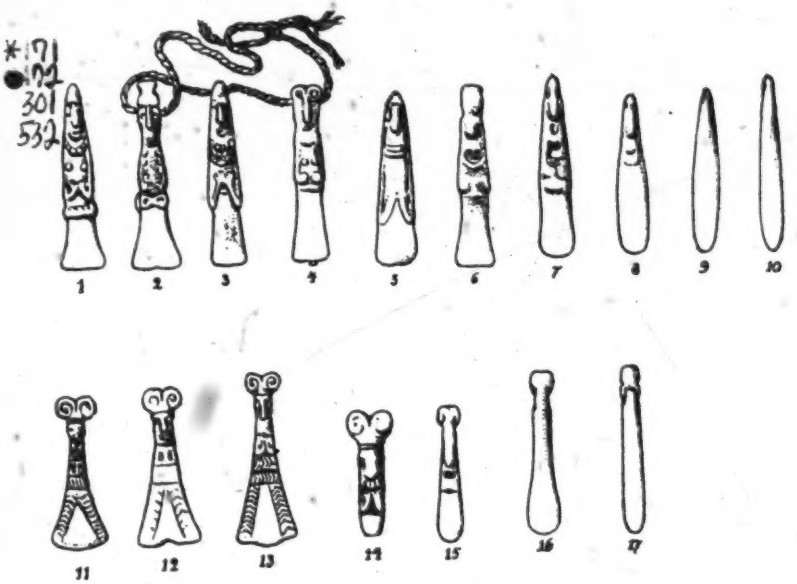

Fig. 14. — Evolution of the laurake from the original, entirely anthropomorphic prototype up to the modern, stylized forms. Each row represents a particular evolution. The laurake Nos. 8 to 10 and 15 to 17 are modern and come from Chipaya; the others were found in the excavations made in Tiahuanaco.

[113]

1. Alvarez (Angélica), "Ankcoccahua," Revista Universitaria, Cuzco, 15th year, No. 47, 1925, p. 18.

*171 Pendants identical to the Chipaya laurake have been found
172 in great number on the shores of Lake Titicaca in the Tiahuanaco
301 [i.e., a small pendant depicting a female personage --Analyst]

/200 cont./

*171 region. Most of the specimens coming from here are rather similar
172 to those of the Čipaya but more perfect in their workmanship. The
30 features and the costume of the female figure are more easily dis-
[532] tinguishable, and one can even observe that the hair style is made up of small plaits. These strange figurines have long been an enigma to the archaeologists: their use was revealed the day the Čipaya were discovered. Taking as a point of departure two slightly different types of old laurake, I have endeavored to indicate their morphological evolution and progressive degeneration (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/). Among the Čipaya the latter has been extended so far that in some cases small, simple metal plaques have been substituted for real laurake.

*171 The Čipaya are the only Indians of the altiplano who have
172 kept this archaic ornament. As they do not practice metallurgy I
126 thought at first that the laurake worn by their wives were not only
301 very old pieces but dated from pre-Columbian times. To verify
325 this hypothesis I had a qualitative analysis made of two of these pendants and some examples coming from Tiahuanaco. The archaeological laurake are of copper alloyed with tin; one of the Čipaya specimens contains zinc as well. This composition is a certain indication of its post-Columbian origin. Unless we assume that the Čipaya formerly practiced metallurgy, which is highly improbable considering their habitat and way of life, we are forced to admit that they received these ornaments from the Aymara. But, as the use of these figurines must have disappeared very early among the latter Indians since no chronicler, not even Cobo, makes illusion to them, the Čipaya examples which were cast during the post-Columbian epoque must be very old nonetheless and have been passed down in the same family for many centuries.

*171 The headband for the forehead, one last specimen of which
301 I was able to obtain, was itself also an integral part of the ancient pre-Columbian costume. Among the Čipaya its wearing must have been reserved for festival days, for the manner in which the Čipaya women dress their hair renders this ornament useless; in contrast,

/201 cont./

*171 412 Nitsche gives a drawing of an object from an excavation in the Jujuy puna which probably represents a hairbrush. The hairbrushes of the Choroti, the Ashluslay, and the Mataco are made from the hair of anteaters. The Tapiete Indians use brushes made either of hair or of roots. They are also rather frequently made with branches or roots. It is interesting to ascertain that Uhle has found some of these hairbrushes in the excavations of very ancient tombs in Arica. He has also discovered some in the excavations, still older, of Pisagua, while in the more recent beds which he attributes to the Tiahuanaco period he has come across combs. The hairbrush is evidently one of the oldest signs of civilization in South America; it is presently more widespread in the southern part of this continent."

I shall complete Nordenskiöld's list by adding the Quichua and Aymara Indians of the altiplano who use both the brush and comb. There is not one stall in Peru or Bolivia where one cannot acquire both of these objects. The Quichua name for brush is saxrama.

*171 301 [172] The wig is a culture trait which, as archaeology reveals to us, has existed in Peru from remotest times. The Museum of Göteborg has several specimens which come from the Peruvian coast. This false hair is arranged in small plaits and hang from a /202/ string exactly as does the hair in the modern wigs of the Čipaya. Aside from Peru the wig has been discovered among the Jivaro, who perhaps borrowed it from the Andean civilizations, from that of Nazca in particular, with which they have so many features in common. In North America the wig is also no rare culture trait. The Handbook of American Indians assigns the following distribution to it: Crow, Assiniboin, Mandan, Mohave, Yuma, and Pueblo (1).

[113]

1. Izikowitz (K. G.), "Une coiffure d'apparat d'Ica /A Festive Headdress from Ica/," Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Chipaya

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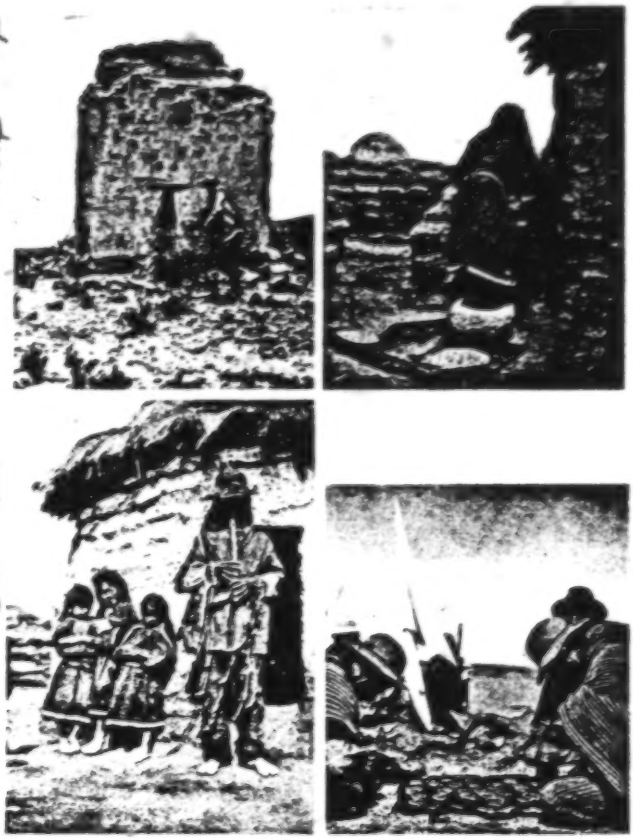

PLATE 120.—**Chipaya country and Chipaya Indians.** *Top (left):* Chullpa, or ancient burial tower. *Top (right):* Woman shelling with feet. *Bottom (left):* Dancer. *Bottom (right):* Playing a game. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleevless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

7:Ruiz Camacho)-S (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24

teenth century. To reach them today, you travel by train from La Paz to the city of Oruro, then by car or bus to Curaguara de Carangas. From there you must walk over a desert worthy of Siberia to the left bank of the Lauca River, where a canoe must be found for the crossing, before you go on to the village.

Little is known of Chipaya history. It has been conjectured that they may be the descendants of one of the first groups to reach the American continent. They call themselves the descendants of the *chullpas*, the ancient inhabitants of the area who, according to legend, hid themselves in reed baskets when the sun appeared for the first time.

The *chullpas* are still in the neighborhood, silent mummies resting in the square sod houses they built long ago. The word *chullpa* is also used for the burial houses. The ghost villages of *chullpas*, their doorways invariably facing east, can be seen by travelers today. Modern Indians avoid them with superstitious dread. It is claimed that the Chipayas are feared by the stronger Aymaras be-

[Text continues on p. 20-B]
[p. 19-D]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and ill-treated, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.

Professor Vellard had arranged with KENNETH WASSON, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, JORGE ROJAS and AUGUSTO ROCA, and a young professor, RICHARD ARBELOT was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14.000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one sunny winter morning.

Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brazil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

more reliable authorities have dated Tiahuanacu about the ninth century; thanks to the recent C_{14} investigations, we shall doubtless in the near future be able to obtain precise information on the subject. The site appears to date from two periods; the ponderous and primitive monoliths have little relation with the finely sculptured "Gate of the Sun". It is conceivable that at the period of its construction Tiahuanacu was considerably nearer the lakeside than at the present day, but in many cases lakes have been known to shrink in a remarkably short space of time. The lake of Guanacache in upper Argentina, now very small, was within living memory a large navigable extense of water. There is in the church of Tiahuanacu village an early colonial painting showing a boat skirting the edge of the lake beneath willow-trees, with a wooded background; at present there is not a tree in the landscape. It is possible that the climate of the region may have suffered certain modifications. "Practically nothing is known of the Aymara Empire, except that it extended over a considerable territory as far as Northern Argentina and down to Arica on the Peruvian coast. Certain place-names are of Aymara origin and their well-shaped, finely decorated vases are found in Ecuador and as far north as Central America. The conventional geometric style of decoration gives the impression of a people organized and disciplined, but the only important relic of the past is their language, very rich in technical terms, suitable for the expression of abstract ideas, clear and concise, a language which denotes a long evolution towards a high standard of civilization" [3]). When the Incas arrived with their Quechua followers from the region of Urubamba about the eleventh century, they conquered the country, but the Aymara population remained, retaining their language, their customs and their distinctive physique.

We stop for a moment at the village church which

[3]) BAUDIN, LOUIS: *L'Empire Socialiste des Incas*. Paris, 1928.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 309-A]

[p. 304-B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *iru* (Aymará **uñu**), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*makči*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *almiña*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulči*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *škara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *iktara*), complete the male costume. The belt called *časi* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *urku*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *čočo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *'ulpas* of Incasica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chearaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

of this gallant village which should be preserved because of its anthropological value and, above all, for its human value:

1.—Return of the extensions of pasture land of which the villagers were deprived by the neighboring Aymara communities.

2.—Periodic visits of medical and sanitary personnel in order to care for the minimal necessities of vaccination, care of the sick and preventative services.

3.—Teaching material to aid in operation of the school.

4.—Agricultural tools and basic training in improved practices of agriculture and animal husbandry.

5.—Realization of a scientific study comparable to that done by Métraux thirty years ago, to be extended to the neighboring Aymara communities in order to determine the degree of influence which one town has had upon the other. Likewise, a detailed study of the remaining branches of ethnography and folklore of the Chipayas.

6.—A plan of archeological excavations on the site called Los Chapel five kilometers to the north-west of the town of Santa Ana de Chipaya, which appears to be the ancient residence of the Chipaya people, according to their own account, during the period in which they were still *chullpas*.

7.—The establishment of contact, for study purposes, with the Morato Indian group, apparently a sub-group of the Chipaya tribe, which at the present time, in reduced numbers, carries on a nomadic life in the territory to the south-west of the Chipaya and whose members speak a distinct language".

(From *Educación Boliviana*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 31-33).

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Rare Coll. F3 .... 1980 F934 Dm F934
Chipaya

[13] north century. To reach them today, you travel by train from La Paz to the city of Oruro, then by car or bus to Corquoora de Carangas. From there you must walk across [33] a desert worthy of Siberia to the left bank of the Lauca River, where a canoe must be found for the crossing, before you go on to the village.

[14] Little is known of Chipaya history. It has been conjectured that they may be the descendants of one of the first groups to reach the American continent. They call [73] themselves the descendants of the *chullpas*, the ancient inhabitants of the area who, according to legend, hid themselves in reed baskets when the sun appeared for the first time.

[12] The *chullpas* are still in the neighborhood, silent communities resting in the square and houses they built long ago. The word *chullpa* is also used for the burial towers. The ghost villages of *chullpas*, their doorways invariably facing east, can be seen by travelers today. Modern Indians avoid them with superstitious dread. It is claimed [45] that the Chipayas are feared by the stronger Aymaras be- [82]

[Text continues on p. 20-B]
[p. 19-D]

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calling themselves "Pukina" or "Puquina," which agrees with the synonymy of Ehrenreich, Herrera, *et al.* The "Uruquillas" of the early chroniclers appears to have meant the Uru, but Chamberlain's "Urianyo" is the name of a society, not of the tribe, and is moreover an Aymará word.

Bertonio, a missionary of the late 16th century, gives the Aymará name, probably approximate, "Kiuchacunani—Big-browed [People], Nickname of the Pinquinos." Chamberlain notes the Quichua name for the Uru as *Tarascuro*, but Momi says their Quichua designation is Uruquilla. Paredes says the Aymára call the Uru "Chuncumuldanis" [etymologized by my interpreter as *lunku-mang'ani*, lit. "water-kaleido-eaters," i.e. eaters of the water-plants of the genera *Myriophyllum*, *Potamogeton*, *Cheiophora*, *Elodea*, and *Chara*] or "Chancu." The tradition was that their ancestors were brought from the Pacific coast by the great Colla or Aymára conqueror, Tarsilla, but the Aymára say that the "*achachila*" or place-deity of the Uru is the swamp itself, much as Mt. Illimani is the place-deity of the Aymára in its region. Neveu-Lemaire[6] says that the Uru were the group from whom the Inca exacted the famous tribute of lice.

Pomansky notes several place-names—Urubamba, Urupampa, Urmiri, Urucalla, Uru-Uru (Oruro), and others—which he believes incorporate the name Uru, but these are etymologizable in Aymará, in which language "uru" means "day," or according to some authorities "worm."[7] Polo suggests the implausible etymology from "uri" (Aymará "unaccompanied, brave"); but in the 17th century "uro" or "uru" seems to have been in current use in the sense of "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. A punning proverb, "De todos Uros ningun hombre esta seguro" ("No man is safe from an Uru Indian"), appears to testify to the treachery of an incompletely subjected minority.

Temperament. The temperament of the Uru has been spoken of in no very flattering terms by all who have known them. Acosta said that they were so brutish as not even to have considered themselves human: "los estos Uros son brutales que ellos mismos no se tienen por hombres." Garcilaso de la Vega called them "rudos y torpes," rude and stupid. Even the

[6] Neveu-Lemaire, *Les Lacs*, LX-LXI; this authority also says that the name of the Department of Oruro and its capital city in Bolivia comes from the subjunction "Uro-ero." Other authorities in this paragraph not heretofore listed: Arturo Posnansky, *Anthropologia y Sociologia de las Razas Interandinas y de las Regiones Adyacentes* (La Paz, 1937), p. 91; Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara*, 3di (Chuquisaca) [Vol.] 1 vols. 1612 Facsimile edition, J. Platzmann, Leipzig 1879] vol. 2, p. 356; Ramiro Matos, *Diccionario Quechua* (Cuzco, 1940); Rigoberto Paredes, *Mitos, Supersticiones y Supervivencias Populares de Bolivia*, 2nd ed. (La Paz, 1936), p. 23.

[7] In connection with the meaning "day" see the myth in Métraux [*JAFL* 27: 366 f.

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sympathetic. Bertonio lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Un lucion de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento." Paredes calls them "brutish . . . despicables, de poco entendimiento, áspero y silencioso." The Belgian traveller Wolle says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression; it betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Pentecostly writes:

El Uru no tiene glacieres, duermen sobre el junco. La vida jamás asoma a las brisas de su alma inmóvil, sin la menor sintesis, tostado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus ritos son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes, acurrucados y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Uros es el de un pueblo amordazado.

Whereas preferred their conquerors, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

The Uru have a character and a genius as useless as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this thrill is added the unhealthy capacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the altiplano Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field-work with the Aymára, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hate-filled group. In my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . rather more vivacious and handsome than the Aymára."*

History. Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymára. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states that those on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in holes in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymára, Inca, and Spanish.

Language. I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The utter independ-

* J. de Acosta, *Historia de los Indios* (1590), p. 62. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 6. Bertonio, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 380. Paul Wolle, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall). Pentecostly, *op. cit.*, p. 66. Métraux (*BAAP* 17), p. 69; (20), p. 207.

/83 cont./

231 Animal raising. They raise guinea pigs in their huts, which renders habitation there even more disagreeable. They have several flocks of sheep, pigs, and cows; those of the latter along the shores of the Desaguadero have become amphibious. They spend the entire day in the water and graze on water plants. From afar one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan swamp.

262 252 Cooking. The diet of the Uro is that of all the Indians of the altiplano: : potatoes cooked in water, chuño (potato fecula), boiled or roasted meat, maize, broad beans, quinua, cañave, etc. The Uro add to this a dish of their own creation: the juicy pith of the totora. The edible part of the plant is the base of the stalk. It does not need to be prepared in any way.

252 [174] The Uro have preserved a method of cooking which is very old and whose distribution in South America, completely unusual, corresponds perhaps to a very archaic cradle of civilization: this is the subterranean oven, or Polynesian oven. "These ovens, which the Uro call vaxaña, consist of a hole dug in the earth whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 centimeters. The rounded edge juts out at the level of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uro light a fire inside and put in stones which are more or less flat. When the rocks are incandescent they are withdrawn, with the exception of those at the bottom. On top of them is laid a bed of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a second bed of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is then closed with rocks which are covered with rushes. The fish thus cooks by stewing" (Palavecino).

251 They preserve fish by drying it on mats after having /84/ salted it. They do the same with the birds, whose flesh is cut up and exposed to the rays of the sun.

273 They make a beer called xawinskania from cañave seeds (Palavecino).

396 [439] Manufacture of balsas. The most important industrial activity of the Uro is the manufacture of rafts of totora, or balsas, to be provided with which partically all the shore-dwellers on the Titicaca come to them. As these small craft deteriorate rapidly,

/86 cont./

000 1. Parodi, p. 4.

283 excellent quality. They pull them up with their roots, then put them in a pile, cutting off the two ends, and let them soak in
283 412 water. Then they crush them on a slab with hammer blows. The latter is made of a stone put in a leather sheath to which a wooden handle is attached (Fig. 25, 1 /see p. 15/). There is no doubt that this handle is a recent innovation, and that the primitive hammers of the Uro, like all those of the Aymara of the conquest and of the modern Cipaya, were nothing more than a simple pebble with, at the most, somewhat of a depression to facilitate grasping it. Once the straw is flexible through the washing and hammering, it is rolled on the leg with the flat of the hand, following a process common to America as a whole.

291 171 Dress. The dress of the Uro is identical with that of the Aymara, i.e., with very few exceptions, to that of the poor classes in practically all of Latin America: trousers, a shirt, a felt hat, and a poncho. Almost all the Uro, however, still
292a [174] keep the "camiseta," the long woolen shirt which was once the /87/ national costume of the Indians who belonged to the Andean civilizations or who were subject to their influence (Fig. 25, 4 /see p. 15/). They rarely put it on nowadays, and only on my express request did those whom I photographed consent to slip this tunic over their ordinary clothes (Pl. V, A /see p. 25/).
291 They cover their heads with a wool helmet, whose pre-Colombian
294 origin is doubtful. The Uro formerly knitted them with thread made from the down of water birds. The Berlin Museum has a sample of these caps, the technique of which Dr. Th. Krickeberg
[283] was kind enough to study on my behalf. This examination led
[177] him to the conclusion that although the idea of spinning bird down is ancient, the knitting stitches are clearly European in origin.

291 The women are dressed like the Indian women of La Paz: several colored skirts put on one over the other, a dirty blouse barely hidden by a mantle closed over the chest, a felt hat, and

/87 cont./
291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[174] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B /see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
291/ tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).

286 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is, unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans,
[614] a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities:
[616] anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai and xanača. These may be translated by their Aymara equivalent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
622 Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoraturčirčki:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čauk čapsti) who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

/113 cont./

178 Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly
123 sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I
124 was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously.

178 Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has
771 been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared
121 forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves
174 only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My docu-
[126] ments have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

404 The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); č corresponds to the Spanish "ch," ȟ to the French "ch," ǰ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and l' is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign k^{x} is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel e is a very open e close to a closed a.

2:Métraux--31 É-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Chipaya

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The Religion

Preliminary Remarks

Aymara and Spanish influence. The Čipaya /Chipaya/ have probably been Catholic for a very long time. I do not know the date when they were converted but I presume it to have been a long time ago. It is possible that their conversion to Christianity took place at the time when a priest came to settle at Corque, perhaps at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The churches of the neighboring Aymara villages were doubtless already in existence in the eighteenth century and perhaps even in the seventeenth. The one that stands in the middle of the Čipaya clans can hardly be more than 50 years old. The Indians were incapable of giving me information on this subject, as was the curé of Huachacalla on whom the Čipaya depend. These Indians are totally ignorant of all religious doctrine, for only once ayear, in June, do they receive a visit from their spiritual shepherd, who has nothing more pressing than to leave this desolate region and this wretched flock. The Čipaya nevertheless insist on celebrating their marriages or the birth of their children at the church; in each of these circumstances they undertake the trip to Huachacalla.

The religion of the Čipaya is essentially pagan as you will be convinced upon reading the following chapters. The relative isolation of this Uro tribe, the often superficial work of the first Spanish missionaries, the worthlessness and lack of zeal of the modern Bolivian clergy have contributed in different degrees to the preservation of the beliefs and practices of the pre-Columbian epoch in this lost village. So many causes must have favored the persistence of the past that it is difficult to explain to oneself /326/ the number of Christian elements which are mingled with the ancient rites. The whole way of life of this fossilized people would make one think

/326 cont./

mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even Kičua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last detail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence. The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century. They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence. On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Aymara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

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/327 cont./

[171] consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives
[174] of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

[176] [178] Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerŏnimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku, Kemperani-mal'ku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, and their church tower (Turi-mal'ku).

[178] [825] The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio mal'ku, and by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

[182] /328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumaries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Čipaya.

[179] The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that of Virxina, which they make follow the word for earth (taika).

[182] Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

329 cont./

778 782 there is generally a small oratory or altar with a niche, where the Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries, where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes every Čipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration of the ceremony the Indians burn khoa there, a resinous plant which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

778 In the mind of the Čipaya these cones of earth are "statues" representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were designated to me when I heard about them for the first time. These are," the interpreter translated, "bultos a manera de hombres busts in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a 552 name (Čunkirini, Korisančuri, Kemperani, Kant, Kilimint, Kusil'er, Kusil'awari, Estewan, Waxma, etc.), and if the majority of these names are Čipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of 770 776 the saya tuanta is called Estewan, or Stephen (1). When I asked the

1: I am tempted to see in the Kiliment (o) mal'ku a demon whose Spanish name, Clemento, has been indianized.

recognized officiant of the saya tuanta about the nature and attributes of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied to me that they were spirits who crossed the puna disguised as white men dressed in a tunic (ira) of the same color, and with a large hat on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

616 Each saya has its own mal'ku near which it acquits itself, i.e., 627 makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the 782 Kemperani mal'ku) constructed at the boundary of the sayas, which is worshiped by the whole tribe.

778 These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous 114 waka (huaca) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

/329 cont./
destroying in the villages of the ancient Peruvian empire. The word waka is moreover the equivalent of mal'ku and is also difficult to translate exactly. This difficulty arises from the fact that the demons of the popular Peruvian religion and of modern Čipaya folklore are not very individualized and hard to disengage from the sacred object itself. I am even led to believe that the Indians had only a very vague idea of a spiritual being who was the counterpart of their waka. I will not go so far, however, as to say that the notion of spirit was foreign to the representation which the natives made for themselves out of stones or trees, which they worshiped under the name of waka. /330/ Everything seems to indicate that these sacred objects were considered in themselves as provided with a certain individuality and life. It cannot be otherwise, for wives and children (1) are often attributed to them. This is pre-

1. Santillán (Licenciado Fernando de). "Relación del Origen, Descendencia Politica, y Gobierno de los Incas /Account of the Origin, Political Development, and Government of the Incas/," in Tres Relaciones de Antigüedades peruanas /Three Accounts of Ancient Times in Peru/, published by M. Jiménez de la Espada. Madrid, 1879, p. 33: "Some (huacas) are worshiped as men and others as women and they express their devotion to each one by a kind of necessity." /Cited in Spanish./
Arriaga (F. Pablo Joseph de), Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru. (Reprint, facsimile of the original edition of 1621). Buenos Aires, 1910, p. 12: "others have diverse figures of men or women, and some of these

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/330 cont./

> huacas are said to be children or wives of other huacas." /Cited in Spanish./ Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Accounts of the Indians/, Vol. I, p. 75: "and it was so much the practice of these people that there was no idol to whom they did not give a wife and children." /Cited in Spanish./

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cisely the case with the Čipaya mal'ku. In prayers their name is often repeated two times, the first time followed by the word mal'ku and the second time by the epithet tal'a. The latter was explained to me by the Čipaya themselves as designating the wife of the mal'ku. This assertion is accurate because we find in Bertonio's dictionary (2) the word "Ttalla Ccaprhomi: wife of the

> 2. Bertonio. Vocabulario de la lengua aymará, p. 347.

chief man of the town, and the lower relatives of the maycos." /Cited in Spanish./ If the word mal'ku, "chief," finally took on the meaning of "demon," "spirit," it is natural that the word tal'a, "wife of the chief," "noblewoman," should have acquired the sense of "female demon." The mal'ku who are symbolized by these monuments or who are these very monuments personified are hence conceived of as forming a couple. The word pokara, which often follows the word mal'ku in Čipaya prayers, is, it appears, a synonym of mal'ku. The meaning and origin of this term are unknown to me; I am inclined to believe that it is not Aymara but Uro. In this case it would have the meaning "demon," "spirit." Hence the Čipaya church tower is called hača pokara, "great mal'ku."

/332 cont./

*178 191 contains several allusions to mal'ku, which the author confused with the Wasa mal'ku which was under consideration above. "If the Indians slaughter a sheep, a llama, or an ox, they sprinkle the fronton, or the triangular extremity of the main wall of their house, in homage to the mal'ku, who, being assured that he has not been forgotten, favors this hearth in thanks for the offering." Here it is a question of the worship of the household mal'ku, which I have already mentioned. The same folklorist describes some ceremonies performed in honor of a mal'ku, i.e., a doll which the Indians attach to the end of a pole and to which they make blood sacrifices. "This effigy can sometimes be a decorated doll /333/ and at other times a carved stone, a plaster image, or a stick wrapped in colored rags."

*178 ● 194 In contrast to the word mal'ku itself, the idea which it expresses is familiar to all those who have been occupied with the ethnography of ancient Peru. I could give many examples to demonstrate that the Čipaya mal'ku are nothing other than huaca, whose nature, form, and number were so often mentioned by the old chroniclers. As their descriptions have been compiled by numerous modern authors dealing with Peruvian religion, I think it unnecessary to cite in my turn these well-known passages (1).

[113]

1. See among others Jijón y Caamaño (J). La religión del Imperio de los Incas /The Religion of the Inca Empire/. Vol. I. "Los fundamentos del culto. Huacas, conopas, apachitas, urcos, huancas, machais /The Foundations of the Cult. Huacas, Conopas, Apachitas, Urcos, Huancas, Machais/." Quito, 1949; Latcham (Ricardo E.). Las creencias religiosas de los antiquos Peruanos /The Religious Beliefs of the Ancient Peruvians/. Santiago, Chile, 1929, pp. 51-55.

/158 cont./

257 who mentions them seems to consider them as /159/ indigenous.
352 The smoke escapes through the door, but in some huts, not very
[175] many it is true, a hole in the wall facilitates ventilation.

513 Enormous wool blankets (ču̯si), extremely heavy, take the place of beds. They are warm enough for one to suffice to cover
513 for the night two or three people, who roll themselves in them. At
175 the beginning of the seventeenth century these blankets were in general use on the altiplano. "The bed which the people of the Sierra and the cold lands use," Cobo tells us, "is a large blanket called a chusi, which is spread on the ground. One half serves as a mattress and the other, which they pull up from the foot end, as a
[177] blanket or sheet. All the inhabitants of one house, fathers and sons, sleep in one blanket, although now under the influence of civilization
351 they are beginning to have separate beds." The present-day Andean Indians sleep on earth benches which are altogether lacking in
[174] Chipaya. One might conclude from this that they were unknown in pre-Columbian times and that they are only a crude imitation of European beds.

In some Čipaya huts one can find a wobbly table made of
[178] old boxes. The Čipaya use them only as an altar on which to place the heads of sacrificed animals or coca that they offer their guests when they celebrate a festival at home. Outside of these occasions the tables have no use.

Several wooden pegs thrust into the wall serve as pegs for clothes. The few articles to be seen are arranged in niches contrived in the wall or on small whatnots of earth shaped like swallows' nests (Fig. 2, F /see p. 150/).

354 To illuminate the always very dark interior of their huts, the Čipaya have tallow candles or, more frequently, very primitive small lamps: bowls (ču̯a), full of tallow in which a wick of wool
[177] burns. This apparatus, which gives them only feeble light, has the Spanish name mecha, a practically certain indication that the idea came to them from the Creoles.

/176 cont./

415 Besides these vessels of archaic form which have not been
[19] shaped with the help of a potter's wheel, the Čipaya use locally
439 produced receptacles, the technique of which is more advanced and influenced by European civilization. These vessels are produced in quantity in various regions of the altiplano and bear trademarks.

The Čipaya take good care of their ceramics, each piece of which represents a pecuniary sacrifice for them; hence many pots for daily use are wrapped in a protective sheath of undressed leather (Fig. 6, C /see p. 165/).

[193] The names (maska, lūš, čua yuru, oč, yakina) that the Čipaya give the different pieces of pottery they use are always Aymara. One can deduce from this that the Uro did not know this [194] industry or that they have been dependent on the Aymara for a long time in this respect.

283 Spinning. The raw sheep's wool (uš-čuma) or llama wool (xwal-čuma) is rolled around the left arm and spun by means of a spindle (t^{h}eri) (Fig. 4, H /see p. 157/). The spindle stick is not surmounted by any enlargement. The weight /whorl/ (waiñu) is now of turned wood, but I was still able to obtain two specimen crudely carved with a knife.

[284] To spin, a bit of wool is pulled out and attached to the spindle by a /177/ slipknot. The movement communicated to the spindle is made by holding the thumb against the index and middle finger of the left hand, from right to left. When the spindle has begun to turn, the male or female spinner rapidly brings the right hand toward the left, following the thread (kauni) being formed. This movement is to even the thread. Once the hands are together, he draws out the wool and repeats the twisting movement. The spindle is suspended at the end of the thread, or, when the spinner is seated, it turns in a bowl (Pl. V, B /see p. 214/). When a certain length of thread has been obtained it is unrolled from the top part of the spindle and rolled on below. A new loop is made and the spindle is placed in action again in the way indicated. The threads obtained by this method are generally very thin. For weaving

/180 cont./

534 [616] The saya taxata (west) owns a very old, very large drum, the only one of its kind in the village; unfortunately, the Indians did not want to sell it to me at any price, alleging that it was the property of the whole community. Its construction was, from what I could see, similar to that of the round tambourine which I have just described. A very special importance devolved on this drum during the festival /181/ /Figure 8 appears here/ /182/ of the Comadres. [198] During the whole day it remained hanging from a flagstaff and was the object, at the same time as the standard, of real worship.

The drum bears in Čipaya the Spanish name caja. We should not conclude from this that the instrument is of Spanish origin among them. Some details at the most are of post-Columbian origin, but they are not numerous. The "drum cord," for example, is certainly an element added to it in the course of the centuries which followed the conquest. [194] It is possible that for lack of flexible wood to make round drums, the Čipaya were obliged to make them with boards from old boxes and consequently to modify the original type.

Wind instruments.

[237] Trumpets. Čipaya trumpets are of the most rudimentary kind: they are made up of a cow's horn sawed off near the point and of a bell formed of the dried tail of the same quadruped.

Only very rarely did I see the Čipaya make use of this instrument, which makes a hollow sound resembling the lowing of one in [196] the state of having breath of exceptional power. The trumpets which figure in all the festivals play the role of ritual or decorative accessories in them. They are placed in front of the sacred sheaves or on the table in front of the heads of the sacrificed animals. They bear the name tʰoti in Čipaya.

Clarinets (Fig. 8, F /see p. 173/), which like trumpets have a cow horn for a bell, also have a reed mouthpiece from which a small tongue has been cut out and smoothed to make it more flexible. So that it would be easier to play on, it has been raised by means of a string passing under its lower part. It is made to vibrate by

[Text continues on p. 174]

teenth century. To reach them today, you travel by train 131
from La Paz to the city of Oruro, then by car or bus to
Curaguara de Carangas. From there you must walk over [133]
a desert worthy of Siberia to the left bank of the Lauca
River, where a canoe must be found for the crossing,
before you go on to the village.

Little is known of Chipaya history. It has been con- 174 ●
jectured that they may be the descendants of one of the
first groups to reach the American continent. They call 173
themselves the descendants of the *chullpas*, the ancient
inhabitants of the area who, according to legend, hid
themselves in reed baskets when the sun appeared for the
first time.

The *chullpas* are still in the neighborhood, silent mum- 172
mies resting in the square sod houses they built long
ago. The word *chullpa* is also used for the burial houses.
The ghost villages of *chullpas*, their doorways invariably
facing east, can be seen by travelers today. Modern In-
dians avoid them with superstitious dread. It is claimed 48
that the Chipayas are feared by the stronger Aymaras be- 86

[Text continues on p. 20-B]
[p. 19-D]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

Professor VELLARD from the University of San Marco, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.

Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they extended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro, which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru', meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers, DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds them in low esteem, remarking that they have no talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

[p. 303-B]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

more reliable authorities have dated Tiahuanacu about the ninth century; thanks to the recent C_{14} investigations, we shall doubtless in the near future be able to obtain precise information on the subject. The site appears to date from two periods; the ponderous and primitive monoliths have little relation with the finely sculptured "Gate of the Sun". It is conceivable that at the period of its construction Tiahuanacu was considerably nearer the lakeside than at the present day, but in many cases lakes have been known to shrink in a remarkably short space of time. The lake of Guanacache in upper Argentina, now very small, was within living memory a large navigable extense of water. There is in the church of Tiahuanacu village an early colonial painting showing a boat skirting the edge of the lake beneath willow-trees, with a wooded background; at present there is not a tree in the landscape. It is possible that the climate of the region may have suffered certain modifications. "Practically nothing is known of the Aymara Empire, except that it extended over a considerable territory as far as Northern Argentina and down to Arica on the Peruvian coast. Certain place-names are of Aymara origin and their well-shaped, finely decorated vases are found in Ecuador and as far north as Central America. The conventional geometric style of decoration gives the impression of a people organized and disciplined, but the only important relic of the past is their language, very rich in technical terms, suitable for the expression of abstract ideas, clear and concise, a language which denotes a long evolution towards a high standard of civilization" [3]). When the Incas arrived with their Quechua followers from the region of Urubamba about the eleventh century, they conquered the country, but the Aymara population remained, retaining their language, their customs and their distinctive physique.

We stop for a moment at the village church which

[3]) BAUDIN, LOUIS: *L'Empire Socialiste des Incas*. Paris, 1928.

[Text continues on p. 309-A]
[p. 304-B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO

By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *totora* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—viz., scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.[1]

Location. According to Polo, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Akaulle maya*, some 20 km. from Ancoaqui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoaqui*, on the left[2] bank of the Desaguadero, 23 km. from Lake Titicaca *Irnita*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31'40"),

[1] The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uro-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South American ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

[2] Métraux, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 26, p. 75) is in minor error in locating this *communidad* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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[*de Indias*, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1582, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the kingdom." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace.

Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Uru with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raoul de la Grasserie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquinas, known also by the name of Urus, Urus, Hunos and Ochomanos, etc." Ehrenreich also lists the "Uro or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Grasserie:

In the midst of the Kolya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raoul de la Grasserie seems to belong to a different people.

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uros of Iruito [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruito ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uro of Raoul de la Grasserie is totally different from my Uru."[9]

More recently Métraux has done linguistic work with both the Chipaya of Lake Poopo (Carangas) and the Uru of Ancoaqui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chipaya, of the group he calls "Uro-Čipaya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Métraux with my own and Polo's make it clear that:

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chipaya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

[9] Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York, 1891), pp. 223-226. Raoul de la Grasserie, *Langues Américaines: Langue Puquina, Textes Puquina Contenus dans le Rituale seu Manuale Peruanorum de Geronimo de Oro* (publié à Naples en 1607 avec texte espagnol en regard, traduction analytique interlinéaire, vocabulaire et essai de grammaire, Leipzig, 1904), p. 67. (De la Grasserie used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Brinton, according to Chamberlain, used a British Museum copy of Oro.) Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Ethnographie Südamerikas im Beginn des XX. Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturvölker* (Archiv für Anthropologie N. F. 3: 29-73, 1905), p. 68. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896, cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uros: A New South American Linguistic Stock* (American Anthropologist 12: 417-426, 1910), p. 418, from which this record is taken. See also M. Uhle, *Reisen in Bolivia und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlungen 23, 1896), pp. 357-360, idem, *Ueber die Sprache der Uros in Bolivia* (Globus 69, 1896), p. 19.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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whereas the *kalas* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymara traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a protolitic substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *kala* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymara, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into gowns. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.*

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymara of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "tupus" (Uru *tokolo* [cf. the term for penis, *ziki* ("eggs") *zhiki*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *kalpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Ojeivie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymara ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long rollers, together with hammers (*kapaka*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *kala*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving battens, distaffs and spindles, *kala*-pairs, spear-handles, the wooden *kala*-making hook (*kayle* or *'kayl*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

* Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 302, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Hilmore (*JSAP* 27, pp. 66-67; 29, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

/158 cont./

252 reproduced here (Fig. 2, C /see p. 150/). These stoves are well
352 contained; they are always to the right of the entry against the wall.
252 They are provided with holes for the pots and with a compartment
352 where the stores of taquia, i.e., of dried excrement, are kept. As
372 this substance is the chief fuel on the altiplano and has been through-
237 out time, the use of these stoves, an equivalent of which exists in no other region of South America, is self-explanatory. This dried excrement burns with difficulty on an open fire, and like wood (Yup) it is too rare to allow the least heat which emanates from it to
252 be lost. It is hence because of the material and from considerations
352 of economy that the Indians of the altiplano arrived at the idea of
175 constructing these stoves, which are certainly very old since Cobo (1)

[113]

1. Cobo (Bernabé), Historia del nuevo mundo /History of the New World/, for... of the Society of Jesus, published for the first time with notes and other illustrations by D. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. Seville, 1893. "In all the houses, however small they may be, there is its cook stove behind the door, which is made of a small clay stove no higher than a handbreadth, closed on all sides, with a small mouth through which they feed the fire, and in the upper part, two or three round holes, where they set the pots. With this they use very little fuel, because they never put in more than two small sticks by the ends, and as they are being burned they are fed in, so that there is more fuel used in one of our cook stoves than in 20 stoves of the Indians."

Carangas—
Chipaya

/158 cont./

252 who mentions them seems to consider them as /159/ indigenous.
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[177] burns. This apparatus, which gives them only feeble light, has the Spanish name mecha, a practically certain indication that the idea came to them from the Creoles.

Carangas — Chipaya

/170 cont./

294 286 These shirts[1] are woven on old native looms according to a process which I would not be able to describe in a better way than through the words of the old Spanish chronicler, Cobo (1): "Over the

1. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, p. 160.

guaras (loincloth) the Indians put on an article of clothing without sleeve or collar, which they call uncu and we camiseta because of its resemblance to our shirts. Each of these garments is separately woven, for they do not know about making long strips of cloth as we do and then cutting them. The fabric from which they make this shirt is like a piece of ticking. It is three palmes /handbreadths/ wide and two varas (about 1.65 meters) long. They make the neck opening on the loom itself so that they will not have to cut it; when they take it off the loom they have nothing to do but fold it and sew the sides with the same thread they used for weaving, exactly as if it were a sack. They are careful to leave a space open on the sewn-up sides for the arms. This garment falls down to three or four fingers more or less above the knees." Cobo would have been able to complete his description, otherwise so exact, by adding that from the neck opening (ir(a)-kʸora), the thread of the weft, which has ended up in the middle of the cloth, is made to come back on itself. Proceeding thus on both sides for a certain length, the desired slit is obtained. Among the Čipaya the edges are crudely embroidered with yellow thread, the same moreover as the one which is used to sew the two sides of the shirt. The sewing stitches are treated as ornamentation.

291 [175] /171/ Early travelers often mention the cloak when they describe the attire of the highlanders of Peru and Bolivia. This garment has completely disappeared from this region, vanquished by the poncho which, in contrast, is not in evidence either in the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries. In Chipaya the cloak (1)

[1 [i.e., The men's shirts made of stiff woolen cloth - Analyst]

/29/

121 In several previous works we have cited a series of his-
175 toric documents on the Uru.

Some of these documents were published by Créqui-Montfort and Rivet in their study on "La langue uru ou Pukina /The Uru or Puquina Language/," which appeared in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, XVII, XVIII, and XIX, 1925, 1927.

Others are unpublished or were published individually in hard-to-obtain periodicals.

It seemed to us necessary, as a sequel to Créqui-Montfort's and Rivet's work, to publish the texts of some of these documents. We were unable to reproduce them in their entirety, but we extracted from them the chief passages concerning the Uru.

For other, recent works, we have merely listed bibliographic references.

Notes on the Uru

101 The Uru give themselves the name of Kot'sufis, "people of the Lake." In old tales they are sometimes called uchumi (ouchoumi), a personal pronoun of the first person plural with an exclusive sense, meaning in their language "we, the like of us" as opposed to other men. The name ochozuma, found in Father de la Calancha's chronicle, corresponds to uchumi sufis (ouchoumi soufis), literally "our people" or "we, our kind of people," as opposed to other peoples. The Uru call other men toxs'naka, "different people," or kont'sun'chay, "dry men," "land people." Similarly, Aymaricized fishermen call Aymara agriculturalists huaña hake, also /meaning/ "dry men."

The Aymara of the settlements call their Uru neighbors /30/ uru or uro (ourou, ouro), giving the second u a sound

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

101 between ou and o /French sounds/; or else urito (ourito), an affectionate diminutive, or chana wawa, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of hosle or huslé, "bastard," without father or master," or on the other hand the very respectful one of haké waka, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives uru, uro, kotá-haké ("men of the Lake"), uma-hake ("water men"), and chaika-uira ("fishermen") in Aymara; laguneros /"lake men"/ in Spanish; uru, uru-kuna ("Uru men"), cocha kuna ("men of the Lake"), kocha-la ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Chroniclers

101 Morua (Fr. Martin de)
175 ...but since the peoples of Peru are many, very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the bigness of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull, as in Collao and other areas;
[131] because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and
[262] subsisted on the totora and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Puquinas, some of them or generally most raise livestock, and some live near the said
175 lake, intermixed with the said Uros; and these eat raw fish,
[262] which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore
[501] clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and
[291] cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they
[294] made a sort of jacket which they were accustomed to wear;
[241] and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make
[342] houses, but they merely subsist on plants, although there also
[222] exists among them a seed similar to mijo, which grows on

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

[175] its own, without cultivation, and which they call quinua [222] /quinoa/ or canagua; all of these Indians are fond of and eat the [262] leaf of same.... /Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Incas del Peru /History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru/, 1590, Constantino Bayle edition, Madrid, 1946, p. 214.)

[648] /31/...The Uros were Indians that the Inca sent for when [707] the army was short, and they were compelled to follow the [726] flags, not knowing even how to hold a bow; they went into battle almost without weapons and they and some of the Puquinas were killed like flies; because they had no military training, they let themselves be killed like animals. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibidem, p. 184.)

Garcilaso de la Vega

[181] ...and thus the Puquina, Colla, Uru, and Yunca Indians, and other nations that are crude and dull, and owing to their crudeness, even speak their own languages poorly.... /Translated from the Spanish./

(Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales /First part of the Royal Commentaries/..., VII, Chap. 4.)

Oliva (Rev. Father Anello)

[181] ...(Sinchi Roca) ordered that...useless people, as the [648] Uros were, who are ignorant and useless, should each one of [651] them gather one reed tube full of lice each month, so that no one should be idle..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de sus Incas Reyes /History of the Kingdom and Provinces of Peru, of its Inca Kings/..., 1598. 1895 edition, Lima.)

Ramirez (Baltasar)

[131] The Uro Indians are a people who live on lakes, such as the lake of Chuquito and that of Paria, and in other parts.

[16th Century]

/31 cont./

175 [342] They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes, which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tule....

...They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant, [262] although not very good....They dress badly and eat, aside [181] from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land; they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They [648] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general [65] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/..., 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua: Juicio de limites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/, Barcelona, 1906, I, 295-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[824] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats [101] and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/..., Madrid, 1601-1615, III, 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[133] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current, according to what they say.

[16th Century]

/32 cont./

●175 according to what they say. It[1] is crossed on a remarkable
[491] contrivance, peculiar to the Indies, a straw bridge placed on
[824] the water itself, which is of such light material that it does not sink, and it is a very safe and easy crossing...there grow large quantities of a type of reed that the Indians call totora, which they use for a thousand things, because it is food for pigs and for horses, and for the people themselves; and with it they make house and fire, and boat and whatever is needed;
[101] so much do the Uros find in their totora. These Uros are so brutish that they themselves do not regard themselves as men. It is said of them that when asked what people they were they replied that they were not men but Uros, as though this were
[361] another class of animals. Entire pueblos of Uros were found living on the lake, on their totora rafts, joined together and fastened to some large rock, and they may fetch themselves off from there and move a whole pueblo to another location; and thus when sought today where they were yesterday, no trace of them is to be found, or of their pueblo..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia natural y moral de las Indias /Natural and Moral History of the Indies/, 1590. Book II, Chap. VI.)

Noticia sobre los Indios Uros en un Memorial de la Epoca del Virrey Toledo /Note on the Uro Indians in a Memorial of the Epoch of the Toledo Viceroy/.

175
648
[511] The Inca, being below Lima, sent one of his captains, called Casiracapa, to those heights with many men, to survey the land and recount to him what he saw there, /33/ and while traveling through the land he came across some people whose dwellings were like those of animals, and who lived in them like brutish animals, around a large Lake, naked, and eating nothing but roots of plants that grew in the Lake, and some Fish if they caught it, and when the Captain saw these people,
[728] he recounted the fact to the Inca and was sent by him to re-
[519] move them from the Lake and resettle them among the

[1] [i.e., Lake Titicaca outlet--Analyst]

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them:
648 The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-
728 settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the
579 inhabitants, unable to bear with it, asked Casiracapa to rid them of those people, because they robbed them, ate their livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the Captain advised the Inca of this and he was ordered to return them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it;
[101] these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where
[131] they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small
[262] villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable: they are infidels in addition, Your Excellency would perform a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so
[356] that they and their descendants might become Christians, and giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings defy description. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

175 Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima, 1568/.

[14] This document from the General Archives of the Indies in Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed by Marie Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-150, 1951.

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Repartimiento general de los Indios que se an de ocupar en la labor de las Minas y beneficio de los ingenios lamas y relaves de la Villa Imperial de Potosi, con las /34/ ordenanzas que en ello se an de quedar, fechas por el Escmo, Senor Don Francisco de Toledo, Virrey que fue de estos reinos /General Repartimiento of the Indians who are to be employed in work in the Mines and labor in connection with the mills, llamas, and metal sweepings of the Imperial Town of Potosi, with the ordinances that are to apply to it, ussed by his Excellency, Señor Don Francisco de Toledo, when Viceroy of these kingdoms/ (Lima, 16 August 1578).

175 162 This text gives two successive censuses, one in 1578, the other in 1596.

[648] [466] For the work in Potosi two Uro mitayos were the equivalent of one Aymara mitayo, whence this information on the number of Uros in the census of the population of 16 provinces subject to the mita, forced labor/.

	1573		1596
Urus:	2.558	Paria (Poopo)	3,038
	37	Pune	62
	400	Quillagas y Asanaquis	400
	581	Aullagas y Uruquillas	581
	53	Urinoca	53
	2..	Andamarca y Colquemarca (Carangas)	260
	100	Totora	100
	302	Chuquicota y Sanaya	302
	147	Machaca la chica	147
	81	Machaca la grande	1 1
	136	Viacha	?
	203	Tiaguanaco	?

[16th Century]

/34 cont./

1578			1596
175 162			
632	"	Guaki	632
58	"	Copacabana	88
380	"	Puno	380
245	"	Paucarcolla	240
419	"	Capachica	515
242	"	Moho y Conima	141
350	"	Carabuco	—
162	"	Guaicho	—
442	"	Hachacache	442
44	"	Guarina	?
58	"	Caracoto	108
120	"	Juliaca	120
59	"	Nicasio	159
79	"	Ayaivi y Chuchero	49
230	"	Lampa de Esquivel	231
23	"	Lampa de Xare	25
141	"	Canavilla	141
210	"	Cavana	216
210	"	Atuncolla	210
276	"	Mañasso	276
75	"	Horuro	75
149	"	Arapa	149
589	"	Samany Susi	589
275	"	Taraco	265
91	"	Azangaro	91
46	"	Caxiguana	46
128	"	Chupa	128
/35/ 94	in	Achaya	98
—	"	Carauco	44
—	"	Numa	22
—	"	Coata	448

/Table given in Spanish./

(Document contributed by Miss Marie Helmer.)

[16th Century]

A
U /35 cont./

175 Machuca (Juan Lozano)
162 ...In the bay of Atacama, where the port (Cobija) is, there are 400 Uro Indian fishermen....Likewise in the city district and environs of Tarapaca, which extends from the port of Pisagua and Hique-Hique, where there are Uro Indian fishermen, to the port of Loa, there are many mines....The repartimiento of the heirs of Lucas Martin Begaso is under the jurisdiction of the city of Arequipa and there must be some 2,000 Aymara Indians and more than 1,000 Uro Indian fishermen in the said territory..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Reports on the Indies/, II, Appendices, pp. XXV, XXVI, and XXVII.)

U
175 Aside from the 4,000 Aymara Indians of Lipez, there
162 were in this repartimiento another 1,000 Uro Indians, a poor
433 people who neither sow nor reap and who subsist on the hunting
735 of guanacos and vicuñas and on fish and roots found in the
A marshes, which they call coroma; and herewith the 4,000
175 Aymara Indians claim poverty, because while rich in native
162 livestock and reaping and sowing and conducting trade and
433 barter in this town of Potosi, Tarapaca, and Atacama, and
735 founding many metals, which they extract from the mines,
A they excuse themselves from paying tribute to H. M. under
[648] pretext of being poor, like the 1,000 Uro Indians who truly
[651] are..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibidem, Appendix 3.)

U
Jujuy Archives
175 Dr. Ernesto Sourrouille, in the historic studies he carried
127 out in the Jujuy archives and with private documents (testa-
[131] ments, grants, etc.) told me, that at the western source of the Orosmayo River, in the Department of Santa Catalina, south of the Cerro Esmoraca, there lived a tribe of Uro Indians like those who share a boundary with the Atacamas..../Translated from the Spanish./

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/35 cont./

175 (Juan Alfonso Carrizo, Cancionero popular de Jujuy /Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy/, p. XV, Tucuman, 1935.)

/36/ Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada /Moral Chronicle/ of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

[162] [181] In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor Lorenço de Aldana gave us...; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uro Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscene and dark-skinned /renegrida/ they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. The chief [103] pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Volume I, p. 353.)

[162] [197] [181] This pueblo (of Challacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians who were being catechized by our Order.... These are crude Uro Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned /renegrida/, without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all [226] prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish [342] in the lake of Paria...those who live on land /do so/ in sepultures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails...the [137] Uro Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here [291] they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold [197] land) than some mats of these cattails....Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion. [103] [197] There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a Priory with a subsidiary church of Uro Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away....There is another pueblo four leagues

[17th Century]

175 /36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues
361 east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are
103 resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from
648 other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

497 ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town....
171 Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake....They
262 are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat
142 a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long
309 and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a
181 knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

101 In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of
131 Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Simillake.

423 ...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all
489 defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths
226 throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we
175 shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this
72 cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

[16th-19th Centuries]

/37 cont./

● 175 701 721 648 Nearly all of this first book of Chapter XVII is devoted to the great rebellion of these Indians, led by mestizos or Spanish bandits, like their last chief, a certain... "Don Pedro Laine, a fierce and bold man, the son of the Auditor /Contador/ Ansa, who is regarded by them as a great sorcerer.../cited in Spanish/."

(Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustin en el Perú /Moral Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru/. Lima, 1653. Vol. II, Chap. XVII, First Book.)

195 Diligencias e informaciones hechas para sacar de la isla del Choro y del Paraje de Villivilli en el Lago Poopo a los indios sus habitantes, considerados como infieles y pernicioso /Measures and inquiries carried out to remove from the island of Choro and the region of Villivilli in Lake Poopo their Indian inhabitants, regarded as being infidels and destructive./

[131] Report made by General Don Francisco García Picado, Corregidor and Lord Chief Justice of Oruro, at the request of the Duke de la Palata, Viceroy of Peru, on the existence of savage Indians on Paria Lake.

[197] Among the witnesses whose testimony was gathered by the commissioners /Commissaires/ we find..."the Teaching [635] Father Fray Nicolas de Loayza, a religious of the Order of Our Father Saint Augustine...of Chacacollo, the principal [164] pueblo of the district of the corregidor of the province /38/ of Paria, and of its native Indians called Urus, and of some outsiders who live in said pueblo and the neighboring areas under its authority...a person who has known them for 35 [197] years and has more than sufficient experience...teaching them the Christian doctrine in three languages: the general one, Aymara, and their own mother tongue, which they call Ura.../cited in Spanish/."

(Document partly published in the Revista del Instituto de Sociología Boliviana in Sucre, by Gunnar Mendoza L. under

/38 cont./

U 175 the title: "Posición geográfica de los indios Urus en el Lago Poopo /Geographic Location of the Uru Indians on Lake Poopo/," III, No. 3, 50-65, 1943-44. This document was made known to us by Dr. Guillermo Francovich, at the time Rector of the University of Sucre.)

A 175 197 Ludovico Bertonio

The (words) listed here are peculiar to the Aymara of this Lupaca Province....But not on this account should one judge that this vocabulary will be of use only to the priests and other persons who reside in the Province of Chucuyto, and among the Lupaca Indians, because without any doubt wherever the Aymara language is spoken, and in the whole nation of Aymara Indians...because the Aymara nation, although spread out in many and various Provinces, is very similar in language, and manner of speech generally, and thus he who knows well this Lupaca language will without difficulty understand the Indians of other Provinces...except for a few special words, very few, as we have said.

A [361] ...It is certain that in this Aymara nation, if we count the small ones and the large ones, there are more than 1,000 A [1997] pueblos or slightly less. Let us see now how many are the preachers who, knowing this language well, with the necessary clarity and proficiency, teach the Gospel. I would not be far wrong if I stated that they are barely 20.../Translated from the Spanish./

(Vocabulario de la Lengua aymara.../Vocabulary of the Aymara Language/, printed in the house of the Compañia de Jesus de Juli, a pueblo in the Province of Chucuito. By Francisco del Canto, 1612; preface A1 and A2.)

U 175 3 6 511 Lizarraga

...This province (Omasuyo) is heavily populated, and most are Puquinas; they are well favored /son recios/ with

[16th-17th Centuries]

/38 cont./

175 [161] [131] [511] native livestock, and in addition they share in more maize and wheat than those of other parts, because of /39/ having on their left the province of Larecaja, abundant in both.... /Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción colonial /Colonial Account/. Biblioteca Argentina, XIII-XIV, Buenos Aires, 1916, I, 227.)

Constituciones sinodales del Obispado del Cuzco, expedidas el 29 de Setiembre de 1951, por el Illmo Sr. D. Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of Cuzco, issued on 29 September 1951 by the Illustrious Don Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo/.

175 [799] [199] ...Because in many pueblos of this our Diocese as a rule all Indian women, or most of them and some of the Indian men, do not understand the Quechua language, but rather Aymara or Puquina, and for this reason do not know the mysteries of our Faith, and do not confess their whole life, not even at the hour of death, in order to remedy this we order that all parish priests among the Indians, in accordance with the mandate of the third Council, should hear confessions in the language peculiar to their parish, /whether/ Quechua, Aymara, or Puquina, and because this is so different in each pueblo where said language is spoken, within a year of their being appointed to said parishes, they should prepare with the help of Indians who know Spanish /ladinos/ a short Confession and Catechism wherewith to confess and instruct these persons, which they must do under penalty of 20 pesos the first time and twice as much the second, being warned that they will even be deprived of their parishes, if they are negligent in this respect..../Translated from the Spanish./

Statement of the Bishop of Cuzco, D. Antonio de la Raya, charging the Jesuits on 12 March 1549 to give examinations to clergymen applying for Indian parishes:

4:Vellard--15 D.E-4.5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Urs SF24

[16th -17th Centuries]

/39 cont./

...Because in like manner it is necessary that the said Aymara and Poquina languages should be taught in this city, since they are spoken in many parts of this diocese and there are great deficiencies in the administration of the holy sacraments because the priests do not know them..../Translated from the Spanish./

Constituciones Sinodales del Obispado de Arequipa hechas y ordenadas por el Illmo. y Revdo. Señor D. Pedro de Villagomez, Obispo de la Santa Iglesia de Arequipa, en el primero Synodo que se celebró en dicho Obispado que fue por el ano de 1638 /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of Arequipa, issued and ordained by the Illustrious and Reverend D. Pedro de Villagomez, Bishop of the Holy Church of Arequipa, in the first Synod held in said Diocese, which took place in the year 1638/.

/40/ ...The Catechism must be taught in the Poquina language. Needful that in some parishes of the Diocese the Poquina language is spoken, therefore, in conformance with the disposition of the law and of the Provincial Council, and having made inquiries as to who is most familiar with this language, we entrust the translation and interpretation of the Catechism which the said Council ordered to be published in the said first two languages (Quechua and Aymara), to Dr. D. Alvaro Mogrovejo, curate of the curacy /doctrina/ of the Zarumas, and to Dr. Miguel de Arana, curate of the Habaya and Locumba curacy, so that they may translate it into the Poquina language..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Book I, f. 17, Chap. V.)

...in the Catechism of the Lima Council no prayers were included for the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, and so that the Indians may learn them, they are ordered to be included here, in the two languages, and to be translated also into Poquina, that is to say, one for the elevation of the Host and one for that of the Chalice..../Translated from the Spanish./

Articles--16 D.C.-A.1 (no date) 1910-1970 1926 thru 1926

[163 - 193 (cultures)]

/90 cont./

● 195 (Manuscritos peruanos en bibliotecas del extranjero /Peruvian Manuscripts in Foreign Libraries/, published by Ruben Vargas Ugarte. 1935. Vol. I, pp. 270-71.)

Report on the Province of the Pacaxes

...and when the Inca ruled and conquered this Province of the Pacaxes they caused the Uro Indians to leave the vicinity of the water, and made them live with the Aymaras and taught them to live on and cultivate the land, and ordered them to pay tribute of fish and to make straw hangers. Since they were very crude people, they did not order them, as they usually did, to worship the sun and serve it; and through the contact they have had with the highland Indians they have come to speak the Aymara language and have almost given up their own language, which was Puquina.... /Translated from the Spanish./

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Madrid, 1881-1897, Vol. II, p. xi.)

/The bibliography on pp. 40-41 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

9:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

THE URU-CHIPAYA

By Weston La Barre

THE URU

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

[illegible] *Bahina, Pukina, Puquina, Uruquilla, Uruquilla, Yarasana* (not to be confused with eastern Bolivian *Yaruro*), *Kiatakaratari* or "Big-Eyered People," and *Chanamamitari* or "Water-grave Eaters," the last two opprobrious *Aymara* nicknames, inhabit the region of Lake Titicaca and some of the watercourses of the inter-Andean Plateau (map 1, *No. 6*; map 4). "Uru" or "uru" seems to have been used commonly in the 17th century to mean "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. It is now the most common name of these people. They call their language *Puquina*.

The Uru language has no connection with either *Quechua* or *Aymara*. It is probably the same, however, as the *Puquina* of the 17th century (Ant, 1607), although it is not the same as the *Puquina-Uru of Do la Cruzeria* (1906). The *Puquina* spoken by the Desaguadero Uru is closely related to the *Chipaya* of Lake Poopó, and Métraux (1936 a) therefore established an Uru-Chipaya family. Rivet's classification of Uru as *Arawakan* has not been widely accepted by linguists. We consider Uru-Chipaya to be an independent linguistic family.

Uru was called a "tongue general" of Perú by 16th-century writers (the "Relaciones geográficas de Indias" in 1582 calls it "one of the three general languages of the kingdom"), although its known distribution at a later date was confined to a few people scattered on the islands of Lake Titicaca, in the Río Desaguadero swamps, and near Lake Poopó. Vázquez de Espinosa (1942) found *Puquina* spoken in Sora and Uru settlements in the Cochabamba Valley. *Uru* evidently once had a much wider distribution than in recent times.

The Highland Uru all now speak both *Aymara* and *Uru*, and a few know a little Spanish.

The Uru of the coast of Tarapacá and Tacna are similar culturally to the *Changos* and are sometimes even called *Changos*. They are said to be descendants of the Uru of Lake Titicaca sent as colonists (*mitimaes*) in Inca times. But, as all now speak Spanish and no trace

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chcaraque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcumi-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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101 Professor VELLARD from the University of San
114 Marco, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake
12 Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were
194 the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with
197 certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.

174 Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they ex-
[361] tended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro, which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru',
[197] meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the
175 Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers,
[361] DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds
[348 them in low esteem, remarking that they have no
351] talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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of information: "the Incas refused to teach them the sun-worship, being content to receive a tribute of fish and baskets", and elsewhere it is said that either from a hygienic standpoint, or to occupy their leisure moments, the Incas demanded yearly a reed filled with lice. Threehundred and fifty years later, the situation has remained unchanged. Their secret mythology, which Professor VELLARD has studied, is extremely nebulous and confused. The Uru consider themselves to be the first race of pre-humans whose blood is not red. They had long legs, long heads and they never suffered from the cold or damp of the lake. There followed successive creations intermingled with cataclysms, far from the sun's rays, and a deluge; among all the peoples only the Uru, the Kaote-ake, the People of the Lake, survived, but subsequently other races appeared, the Wone-ake, who cultivated the earth and were their enemies, and who vanquished them.

The Uru appear from earliest times to have been an accursed race, an unfortunate people forever oppressed, taking refuge in a form of passive hostility. „They are brute beasts", remarks Father ACOSTA in

[1] See Review in the corresponding section of this issue.
[2] See also: VELLARD, JEHAN: *Dieux et Parias des Andes, Les Ourous*. Paris, Editions Emile-Paul, 1954.

[p. 303-C]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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sympathetic Bertonio lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Vn nacion de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento," Paredes calls them "brotado . . . despreciables, de poco entendimiento, ásperos y zahereños." The Belgian traveller Walle says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression; it betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Posnansky writes:

> El Uru no tiene placeres, desconoce ahora el juego. La riza jamás asoma a los labios de su cara inmóvil, sin la menor mímica, tostado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus niños son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes; acurrucados y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Urus es el de un pueblo amordazado.

Métraux preferred their congeners, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

> The Uru have a character and a genius as sombre as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this illwill is added the unhealthy rapacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the *altiplano* Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field-work with the Aymára, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hate-filled group; in my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . rather more vivacious and handsome than the Aymára"![14]

History. Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymára. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states that those on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in holes in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymára, Inca, and Spanish.

Language. I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The utter independ-

[14] J. de Acosta, *Historia de las Indias* (1591), p. 62. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 4. Bertonio, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 380. Paul Walle, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall). Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Métraux (JSAP 27), p. 89; (28), p. 207.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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601 female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa šu; young girl = pax-pak-uš; young woman = ux.

585 *Marriage.* Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is 591 patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male 163 than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára 563 women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction 248 of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, 832 and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

621 *Political Organization.* If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in ef- 622 fect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *hilacata*, commonly called *ilacate* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde?*) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *xoraturčički* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of 692 office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). 701 Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *hilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

195 *Dances and Ceremonies.* Bertonio[28] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 535 16th century which have since disappeared: the *huchhu* (*huču*) or *si:a quir-* 178 *kitha* (*kirkiťa*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualque- 527 pos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the 533 vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 535 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilanča* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusip'ia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[28] Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.

/76 cont./
of the natives cannot be an excuse. There are few in America more easily accessible; the Uro are actually only a few hours by car from La Paz, the capital of Bolivia.

Material Culture

The brevity of my stay among the Uro and the small amount of leisure which I had outside of my linguistic investigations prevented me from making any important ethnographic observations on them. I also doubt that deeper inquiries would have been able to lead me to the discovery of sensational, or even /77/ new, facts. The Uro have been "Aymarized" to a much higher degree than the Čipaya, and to this Aymara influence, doubtless a thousand years old, must be added that of the Spanish and of the Bolivian half-breeds. The village of Ancoaqui resembles, down to the last details, all the villages of the altiplano, and the Uro are not distinguishable, either in physical appearance or in dress, from the Aymara, their neighbors. If I consider the few notes I took as worth publishing, it is because of the small amount of information that we possess on these Indians. I shall repeat again, perhaps in vain, the wish that a serious and well-trained ethnographer will want to devote several months of his /Fig. 21 appears here/ life to the study of the natives of the high plateau. If this is not done soon, our only remaining opportunity to know the great South American civilizations better will have disappeared.

Dwellings. The village of Ancoaqui is made up of small square huts of "adobe," grouped around a quadrangular courtyard. I remember two houses with rounded corners, although this circumstance was not sufficiently accentuated to permit classifying them as huts of a round design (Pl. II, A /see p. 22/). The roofs of these habitations have only one real style: they are made of matting attached to stays which are also of totora, i.e., matting rolled up and solidly sewn together, replacing beams, which are rare and costly

/86 cont./

000 1. Parodi, p. 4.

283 excellent quality. They pull them up with their roots, then put them in a pile, cutting off the two ends, and let them soak in
283 water. Then they crush them on a slab with hammer blows.
412 The latter is made of a stone put in a leather sheath to which a wooden handle is attached (Fig. 25, 1 /see p. 15/). There is no doubt that this handle is a recent innovation, and that the primitive hammers of the Uro, like all those of the Aymara of the conquest and of the modern Cipaya, were nothing more than a simple pebble with, at the most, somewhat of a depression to facilitate grasping it. Once the straw is flexible through the washing and hammering, it is rolled on the leg with the flat of the hand, following a process common to America as a whole.

291 Dress. The dress of the Uro is identical with that of the
171 Aymara, i.e., with very few exceptions, to that of the poor classes in practically all of Latin America: trousers, a shirt, a felt hat, and a poncho. Almost all the Uro, however, still
292 keep the "camiseta," the long woolen shirt which was once the
[174] /87/ national costume of the Indians who belonged to the Andean civilizations or who were subject to their influence (Fig. 25, 4 /see p. 15/). They rarely put it on nowadays, and only on my express request did those whom I photographed consent to slip this tunic over their ordinary clothes (Pl. V, A /see p. 25/).
291 They cover their heads with a wool helmet, whose pre-Colombian
294 origin is doubtful. The Uro formerly knitted them with thread made from the down of water birds. The Berlin Museum has a sample of these caps, the technique of which Dr. Th. Krickeberg was kind enough to study on my behalf. This examination led
283 him to the conclusion that although the idea of spinning bird
[177] down is ancient, the knitting stitches are clearly European in origin.

291 The women are dressed like the Indian women of La Paz: several colored skirts put on one over the other, a dirty blouse barely hidden by a mantle closed over the chest, a felt hat, and

/89 cont./

155 crueler successors, the enfranchised half-breeds of Bolivia. One
648 simple example can illustrate better than any humanitarian tirade the treatment to which, even up to our day, these Indians are submitted: the two Bolivian soldiers who accompanied me and who had interrupted their hunt for Indians who had revolted, threatened my poor informants with public whipping and burning of their huts for the smallest trifle. Those are the most current, and the gentlest, measures employed by Bolivian officers with regard to the natives.

197 Linguistics. The Uro hardly speak their ancient language
177 any more, and even among themselves Aymara is readily used. However, the Uro dialect of Ancoaqui seems to have been less contaminated by Spanish and Aymara than that of the Uro of Chipaya. At any rate, at Ancoaqui I had the good fortune to find several Uro roots which have already disappeared at Chipaya. This fact might appear peculiar when one reflects that the Uro of Ancoaqui have always had much closer contact with the Aymara and with the Spanish than their brothers at Carangas. Their material culture has been more deeply modified than that of the Čipaya, whose physiognomy is clearly archaic. How then can one explain why their language should have remained purer than the dialect of the Čipaya? I am inclined to believe that this anomaly is due to the fact that the Uro of Ancoaqui have been located closer to the great Uro centers of Lake Titicaca, and that since they were formerly more numerous than the Čipaya, they have succeeded better in preserving their own language. A linguistic detail which happens to confirm the
197 thesis supported by Dr. Rivet on the identity of the Pukina and
114 of the Uro remains to be mentioned. The lexicographic concordances pointed out by Dr. Rivet made this assimilation almost certain. The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language bukina, pukina in order to distinguish it from Aymara. The fact had already been indicated to me at La Paz; it has since then been confirmed by all my informants.

/114 cont./

114 passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map,
36 undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is
131 located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and 19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate
36 Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will
[199] help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Iscara, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon
[631] which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the
[484] distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission
36 as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Cipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

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1. Bacarreza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor..., comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor..., commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

/124 cont./ This form, seen in Two or Three other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in use among the Aymara.

/125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori, of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves.

His authority extended no farther. The Čipaya would have had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their duties.

There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an incident which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya, which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or returning with their cargo. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by the timidity of the Čipaya, let their animals graze on the lands belonging to the latter and irrigated by their efforts. The Čipaya decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he called together the majority of the adult men of the village around his hut and they discussed the question all night. The next day the Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

/125 cont./

The family. The Čipaya family like the Aymara is copied on the Creole model. Marriages are performed at the church and registered at Huachacalla. When I made a census of the population, I was able to observe that individuals of the same name have a tendency to group themselves in a specific part of the village. Certain names are characteristic of each of the sectors of the village; thus the Alabe, the Lopez, and the Pirka in Warta-ayl'u; the Kondori (1), the Mul'u, the Losa in the other part of Tuanta; and the

1. Family names such as Mamani (hawk), Kondori (condor), and Kispe are purely Aymara and are borne by almost all the Indians of this race who do not have Spanish names.

Varači, Lazaro, Felipe, Kispe, Kopa, and Ilaka in the saya Taxata. Some other names, in contrast, are found disseminated throughout the village; thus /126/ the Mamani (1) /refers to footnote above/, who are as numerous in Tuanta as in Taxata. The Vilka overlap in Taxata and Tuanta. With the exception of the Mamani, the individuals whose names are distributed in all three sectors of the village alike represent only a few families that are practically isolated and probably emigrants. For example, there are only two Čino households, one of which occupies a hut built on the periphery of Warta, and the other at the end of Tuanta properly so called. This far-out position in the village indicates a nonlocal or recent origin. It is the same for the two Pirka, father and son, who are neighbors of one of the two Čino households in Warta.

My attempt at a census gave me the means to examine the question of exogamy at close range. The results of the study following this line confirmed the testimonies of the Čipaya on the absence of any restriction in this respect. The members of each "moiety" take wives from the other "moiety" as well as from their own. Tuanta wives are in large part from the Taxata section, but in

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/127 cont./

601 father's brother (youngest)	pičʷu-tata, pičota
mother's brother	tolo, tul'u, tul'uya
father's sister	uplaya, pičʷu-mama
mother's sister	malakˣal'a, pičʷu-mama
son	maˇč, (wet-maˇč: "my son")
daughter up to ten years old	tur, māt, (wet-māt: "my daughter"); xat-waw (lit.: "female child")
adult daughter	naš-māt, naš-uš
grandson, granddaughter	tuto
[illegible] brother	hila (Aymara)
brother (name a sister uses)	wisi
younger brother	lakˣ (wet-lakˣ: "my younger brother")
elder brother	pakˣ hila (lit.: "brig brother")
[illegible] sister	kul'aka (Aymara)
younger sister	taipir kul'aki, skolta kul'aki, pič-kul'aki (lit.: "little sister"), lakˣ
older sister	pakx-kul'aki (lit.: "big sister")
brother's son	pakˣ-hil-uša, hil-š-maˇč, lakˣ-lau
sister's son	kul'aka-maˇč
brother's daughter	hil-š-māt, pakˣ-uš
sister's daughter	kul'aka-māt, pakˣ-kul'aka-uš, kul'a-kane-wawalpa, malakˣalkˣa-uša
male first cousin	hilaš-kˣa-uša
female first cousin	kul'akis-kˣa-uš
single woman	turtaka
married woman	tun
a man calls his brother's wife:	tsuñi, t'uñi
a wife calls her brother's wife:	tau(wet-tau: "my sister-in-law")

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/127 cont./

601 a wife calls her sister's husband: tsun (wet-tsun: "my brother-in-law")

/128/ a husband calls his wife's father: axmus, axmus hep

a husband calls his wife's mother: kaičiña

son-in-law: wasi

daughter-in-law: wasal'u, wasal'a

husband of a remarried mother: wir ep

wife of a remarried father: wiri-mā

[illegible] male cousin (without distinguishing degree): pirimiri-hila (Spanish and Aymara)

[illegible] female cousin (without distinguishing degree): pirimiri kul'aka (Spanish and Aymara)

man: ješ

young man: toa

child (boy): skolta-uša

child (girl): skolta-ušal'a, skolta-wawa-ušal'a, kʷat-uš, uš.

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The Religion

Preliminary Remarks

Aymara and Spanish influence. The Čipaya /Chipaya/ have probably been Catholic for a very long time. I do not know the date when they were converted but I presume it to have been a long time ago. It is possible that their conversion to Christianity took place at the time when a priest came to settle at Corque, perhaps at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The churches of the neighboring Aymara villages were doubtless already in existence in the eighteenth century and perhaps even in the seventeenth. The one that stands in the middle of the Čipaya clans can hardly be more than 50 years old. The Indians were incapable of giving me information on this subject, as was the curé of Huachacalla on whom the Čipaya depend. These Indians are totally ignorant of all religious doctrine, for only once ayear, in June, do they receive a visit from their spiritual shepherd, who has nothing more pressing than to leave this desolate region and this wretched flock. The Čipaya nevertheless insist on celebrating their marriages or the birth of their children at the church; in each of these circumstances they undertake the trip to Huachacalla.

The religion of the Čipaya is essentially pagan as you will be convinced upon reading the following chapters. The relative isolation of this Uro tribe, the often superficial work of the first Spanish missionaries, the worthlessness and lack of zeal of the modern Bolivian clergy have contributed in different degrees to the preservation of the beliefs and practices of the pre-Columbian epoch in this lost village. So many causes must have favored the persistence of the past that it is difficult to explain to oneself /326/ the number of Christian elements which are mingled with the ancient rites. The whole way of life of this fossilized people would make one think

/326 cont./

them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism. But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Sometimes even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

There would be little required for certain festivals, such as those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous ecclesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez, "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

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/326 cont./

mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even Kičua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last detail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence. The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century. They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence. On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Aymara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

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Chipaya

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consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerónimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-maĭku, Estewan-maĭku, Kemperani-maĭku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, and their church tower (Turi-maĭku).

The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio maĭku, and by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

/328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumaries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Čipaya.

The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that of Virxini, which they make follow the word for earth (taika). Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

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Cajamarca

/128 cont./

there is generally a small oratory or altar with a niche, where the Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed in an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries, where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes every Cipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration of the ceremony the Indians burn there, a resinous plant which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

In the mind of the Cipaya these cones of earth are "saints" representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were designated to me when I heard them about them for the first time. "There are," the interpreter translated, "huitos a manera de hombres/ huitos in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a name (Cunkirini, Karuaiñuri, Kenpenari, Kari, Kilimiri, Kmiñer, Kuiñawari, Enewari, Wasma, etc.), and of the majority of these names are Cipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of the ayllu Uruni is called Enewiri, or Enqhen (1). When I asked the

1. I am tempted to see in the Kilimiri (?) mallku a demon whose Spanish name, Clemente, has been indicated.

religious officiant of the ayllu Uruni about the nature and attributes of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied to me that they were spirits who crossed the pampa disguised as white men dressed in a tunic (ara) of the same color, and with a large hat on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

Each ayllu has its own mallku near which it argues itself, i.e., makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the Kenpenari mallku) constructed at the boundary of the ayllu, which is worshiped by the whole tribe.

These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous wilka (huaca) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

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Carnegie--
Chipaya

[illegible]

of Huacharalla whom I questioned replied to me that they were used for "supersticion," and that he did not want to know anything about the cult and the pagos ceremonies which were clandestinely performed there.

The agents of worship. Each festival is presided over by an alferez who bears the costs of it. It is he who furnishes the victims for the sacrifice and who distributes the coca and alcohol, the main ingredients of these ceremonies. He must, moreover, offer a feast to all the inhabitants on the day after the festival. This generosity gives him the right to occupy a place of honor in the middle of the assembly, to sit behind the degrees of second order, and to [illegible] receive the homage and compliments of these persons. These privileges do not end with the ceremony of which he took charge. On Carnival day the alferez of the preceding festivals dance, carrying on their backs the charges which they acquired while they were in office and which the rites have consecrated. On this day they bear once again the white tunics, the insignia of their rank from which they draw their name. A rivalry exists among the alferez which is sensitive and it seems to eclipse each other and to surpass each other in largess. If the festival for which they had responsibility was particularly successful, if the people of their area were well entertained and impressed, and if the garlands of cheese and fruit were plentiful, they gain a certain prestige which flatters their vanity. For vanity is the weak point of the Indian character. I do not know if an alferez who has proved himself generous has more of a chance than another to get the title of alcalde or corregidor. The institution of the alferez is very widespread in the entire Andean region. It is so strongly impregnated with Spanish and Catholic elements that one hesitates to see the survival of indigenous traditions in it. Nevertheless, the idea of rivalry and certain details recall the terms of potlatch too much to allow us to attribute an exclusively post-Columbian origin to this important office. One must realize further (1) the pagos which he devotes to

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Cáipaya

/385 cont./

kerge	marka	kot'a	eyewiri	Virxina	Mamita	
rain	country	mountain	foster mother	Virgin	Mama	
Anaru.	paita	°enekina	benimin	ni	k'anasa	kanavita.
Anary.	speak	us	bless		light	?

"Virgin, foster mother, I shall offer thee a libation. (give us) the rain of the sky and you also, mountains of the country, foster mother Virgin, Mama Anary, speak to us, blessed be thou."

In another but on the same day I noticed a censer that was smoking in front of the sacred sticks (kamana-para).

Each Thursday the Cáipaya burned a little khua at the end of the little wall which separates their group of houses from the others. They have borrowed this custom from the Aymara who practice it even in cities such as Oruro.

The Sanjuri of the sheepfold.

In the company of Anacleto Mullo I was invited to attend the burying of a sanjuri in the sheepfold of one of the families of the warta clan.

The first care of the sanjuri upon arriving at the place was to dig the earth to uncover a small cellar made of limestone slabs, 20 cm. deep and 20 cm. long, which was situated approximately in the middle of the sheepfold. The Officiant took out of it four five-centavo coins, dried flowers, and a little bottle of eau-de-vie. The flowers were thrown away but the coins and the bottle of alcohol carefully put to one side. Meanwhile a black sheep decorated with tufts of wool on its ears and neck had been led into the enclosure. He was as usual consecrated with libations and offerings of corn and slaughtered on the edge of the hole. The sanjuri, facing east, offered a little of this blood to the demons whom he invoked and implored in a long prayer; then turning toward the hut of the man who was offering the sacrifice, he poured out the rest of the blood in honor of the protecting spirit of his

/389 cont./

278 [1177] The Čipaya Indians of Carangas have been so deeply impregnated with the influence of the Aymara Indians that we may presume that, in the sphere of medicine, they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbors of the altiplano. It is completely [439] justifiable if their knowledge is more rudimentary because of their isolation and the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the medical substances, almost all of which come from the Yungas. I was able to convince myself of this by examining one day a bag of medicine which had been left by a deceased Čipaya, the father of a young Indian with whom I had a friendly relationship. In the legacy of the old man I found several pharmaceutical products which I had obtained in the Oruro market. The deceased possessed small amounts of them which he had carefully wrapped in some small rags. His son refused to sell them to me, allegedly because of their great value and the difficulty of procuring them. I doubt, [1159] however, that anyone in Chipaya could have benefited from them, for, to my knowledge at least, there is no Indian in this village who possesses sufficient skill to carry out their application.

164 751 183 Practically every day in the hut which I was occupying I received visits from Indians coming to ask me for remedies for various ills. The most frequent was constipation, which seems to frighten the Čipaya very much. I was also able to see a hernia and a terrible infection which the Indians treated by applying a [578] piece of llama heart to the abscess. The Indians often called upon me to care for swellings, the result of drubbings which they [842] had not spared themselves in their domestic quarrels. Some also came to beg me to cure them of impotence. In some not very serious cases of swellings or localized pains, the Indians content themselves with sticking a coca leaf on the skin.

757 At present the empirical medicine of the Čipaya seems to be limited to a certain number of insignificant recipes, frequently and easily applied. Faced with a serious case they have recourse to complicated magical processes which I had the good fortune to observe. I should not be able to say, however, if the exceptional

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Chipaya

/395 cont./ I do not

113 think that they must be considered as belonging to the Čipaya,
199 and for two or three of them an Aymara origin is evident. It must
101 be added that outside their language the Čipaya do not possess
111 any original cultural element, and that they should be considered as an Aymara tribe which has more or less escaped Spanish influence.

126 These texts, the first to have been collected in the Čipaya
113 dialect, are long enough to allow us to extract several grammatical rules from them. The information which they bring us on this point will be completed by the everyday phrases which will be published at the same time as my Uro-Čipaya dictionary. /The myths and texts, pp. 395-415, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

Caramgas—
Chipaya

/158 cont./

252 who mentions them seems to consider them as /159/ indigenous.
352 The smoke escapes through the door, but in some huts, not very
[175] many it is true, a hole in the wall facilitates ventilation.

513 Enormous wool blankets (ču̇si), extremely heavy, take the place of beds. They are warm enough for one to suffice to cover
513 for the night two or three people, who roll themselves in them. At
175 the beginning of the seventeenth century these blankets were in general use on the altiplano. "The bed which the people of the Sierra and the cold lands use," Cobo tells us, "is a large blanket called a chusi, which is spread on the ground. One half serves as a mattress and the other, which they pull up from the foot end, as a
[177] blanket or sheet. All the inhabitants of one house, fathers and sons, sleep in one blanket, although now under the influence of civilization
351 they are beginning to have separate beds." The present-day Andean Indians sleep on earth benches which are altogether lacking in
[194] Chipaya. One might conclude from this that they were unknown in pre-Columbian times and that they are only a crude imitation of European beds.

In some Čipaya huts one can find a wobbly table made of
[198] old boxes. The Čipaya use them only as an altar on which to place the heads of sacrificed animals or coca that they offer their guests when they celebrate a festival at home. Outside of these occasions the tables have no use.

Several wooden pegs thrust into the wall serve as pegs for clothes. The few articles to be seen are arranged in niches contrived in the wall or on small whatnots of earth shaped like swallows' nests (Fig. 2, F /see p. 150/).

354 To illuminate the always very dark interior of their huts, the Čipaya have tallow candles or, more frequently, very primitive
[199] small lamps: bowls (ču̇a), full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns. This apparatus, which gives them only feeble light, has the Spanish name mecha, a practically certain indication that the idea came to them from the Creoles.

/162 cont./

24] of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2, K /see p. 150/). Today
[12] they use long-handled hoes (astuna, takisa) of European make.
[171] The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Čipaya with
[178] an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The quinua which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequent-
[32] ly of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

222

1. The Čipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (siča) which they say is the root of the tola, and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (sawkx-pera) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

of several broken down enclosures.

234 Trade. The Čipaya make cheeses, which constitute their
433 chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk.
439 They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, quinua, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried
439 fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region
[433] of the Salinas, from Garcimendoza. The Čipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

/162 cont./

439 neighboring Aymara villages to dispose of their small cheeses directly and specially to sell pig fat /163/ /Figure 2 appears here/ /164/ which, after cheese, is their most important export. They undoubtedly trade wool, although I was not able to obtain any precise information on this matter. I only ascertained that pieces of cloth started in a neighboring village were given to Čipaya women to be finished. Formerly some Čipaya would go to hire themselves out as workers in the "salitreras" (exploitation of nitrates) of Tarapacá. They returned with some knowledge of Spanish and new tastes. This stay away from home had the result above all of opening their eyes to their poor condition and to make them discontented. Since the nitrate beds have been abandoned, nothing remains to draw the Čipaya outside their "bare plain."

433 The crisis of overproduction which rages over the whole
439 world upset the economic life of the Čipaya. The low quotations for tin on the Stock Exchange, or the New York exchange, led to the closing of the mines, the departure of the laborers, and the sale of cheese at a loss. The Aymara no longer come to Chipaya to stock up on cheeses, and the latter accumulate in the round huts and there is no alcohol or coca for festivals. By virtue of the economic cohesion of all humanity the Čipaya themselves are also overproducing, and their present distress is the sister of the one which constricts the hearts of the great proprietors of wheat fields.

648 These particulars show us that in spite of their apparent isolation, these Indians maintain constant relations with the outside world, and that the fossilization of this tribe is not as total as one might conclude from their material culture.

224 Hunting. Hunting and fishing play only an insignificant role in the life of the Čipaya. In all, for game they have a few herds of vicuña which make their appearance in the neighborhood of the village, water birds which abound in the numerous lagoons which cut their pastures, and toxo, a kind of small rodent a little larger than a rat. Posnansky (1) asserts that the latter constitutes the principal food of the Čipaya.

[262]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 151]

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/171 cont./

this we call it manta, although the name the Indians give it is yacolla." /Cited in Spanish./

In the Museum of Ethnography in Göteborg there is a magnificent piece of fabric from the coast of Peru which presents the same characteristics as the modern Čipaya cloaks and which was certainly used in the same way. The Čipaya ponchos are very short and display no peculiarities. Their only decoration is the strips of colors.

The men's outfit is completed by a knitted wool helmet with two flaps which cover the ears (Fig. 5, C /see p. 163/). This is the famous Aymara chullo. The famous ~~felt hats (skara)~~ worn by both sexes in the entire Andean region has become more and more widespread in Chipaya as well as the pants. They have not yet succeeded in destroying the picturesque archaism of the area. The material for the pants is made in the village of Chipaya on a treadle loom of the European type.

Bags (käls) are a part of Čipaya clothing because they are never separated from it. These bags, which are worn thrust through the belt, are of various kinds. There are small ones with vivid colors and geometric ornamentation, others which are simpler with black lines on a grey background, and finally large ones covered with a kind of velvet, i.e., with tufts of fine wool slipped into the weave (Fig. 4, B /see p. 157/). The last are the most expensive. I also bought in Chipaya small leather pouches /172/ made of the skin of a young llama's neck pulled off without a side incision and with the fur (Fig. 4, I).

Women's dress. The costume of the women has remained as it was several centuries ago, and it is the main factor which contributes to giving Chipaya its so clearly pre-Columbian look. Here also the general law which will have it that women, as soon as we abandon our urban centers, remain attached to tradition and to old ways more faithfully than men is verified.

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Chipaya

/172 cont./

291 Next to the skin the women wear a square shirt (almil'a), which is identical in form to the masculine shirt (ira), although narrower (Fig. 5, B /see p. 163/). It is wide enough to make the shoulder line fall on the arm. Blue sleeves are sewn to the shirt. This accessory is modern as is proved by the name mankasa (from the Spanish: manga, sleeve) by which the Indians call it.

The Čipaya women wrap their bodies in a large piece of cloth (urku) which they pass under the arms and the ends of which, lifted to the shoulders, are held together with a cactus spine or a silver pin (kits, pāz-kits). This tunic is held at the waist by a large belt invariably decorated with brown and black chevrons (Pl. III, C /see p. 212/). Most of the women sew the lower part of this garment from the waist down on the side so as to make a skirt. This [107] [947] innovation, post-Columbian in origin, dates from the beginning of the Conquest and was imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities to safeguard the decency of their flock.

The urku is made of material woven with great care, brown or black in color and ribbed. It is always adorned above and below with a beige strip with white stripes. A specimen at the Museum of Ethnography at the University of Tucumán measures 1.58 meters by 1.36 meters. Over this tunic is thrown a long brown or black mantle (talu) which falls down the back to the knees and which is pinned at the breast. This garment is still worn by all the women of [191] the Andean region (lliclla), but whereas the Aymara and Quichua [53] Indians like to make it with varied motifs and bright colors alternating, the Čipaya are satisfied to decorate it with a white strip crossed with fine dark stripes (Pl. I, A, B, C /see p. 210/). The mantle of the Čipaya women is, in addition, much longer than that of the other [171] Indian women of the altiplano. It is only on the banks of the Titicaca that I met some women whose lliclla were as long as in Chipaya. These Indian women no doubt came from some distant village in the interior.

/174 cont./

U 302 rotten urine. This liquid, which smells horribly of ammonia, is an excellent cutter of grease, the only thing which can give some U [514] suppleness to their greasy mop. This peculiar washing made me understand the reason why there was a receptacle in a corner of all the Čipaya huts which the master of the house used as a chamber pot and whose contents he guarded with care. When I assert that this toilette is the only one which the Čipaya women practice, I U [515] exaggerate nothing. Throughout their lives they never wash and U [516] their skin is covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Their clothes are equally unclean and tattered, and only during festivals do they put on a new urku or mantle. /175/ /Figure 6 appears here./

/176/ Technology

A 323 Ceramics. The pottery of the Čipaya Indians is not indigenous. U 415 It comes to them from the Aymara who trade it (Fig. 6 /see p. 165/). U [439] The center of this industry is situated near Parinacota in Carangas province where banks of clayey earth are found. I shall always regret not having been able to visit this locality to observe the making of ceramics on the spot. Without any doubt I should have discovered there the survival of ancient pre-Columbian techniques since the form of the vessels and jugs coming from this place is exactly that with which we are familiar from Andean archaeology. Aryballus (1[illegible]) are still shaped there as in the times of the Inca empire, and other receptacles which reproduce ancient types characteristic of this part of the altiplano (Fig. 3, E-F /see p. 155/). A U 482 It is not only in the style of these ceramics that we ascertain the influence of pre-Columbian models, but in the very manner in which the aryballus is carried on the back is a continuation of old Inca traditions. By means of a rope of llama wool ingeniously interlaced, the women bear the large aryballoid jugs on the back, exactly like the Indian depicted on a Chimu vase.

[TEXT continues on P. 166]

/176 cont./

415 Besides these vessels of archaic form which have not been
● 190 shaped with the help of a potter's wheel, the Čipaya use locally
439 produced receptacles, the technique of which is more advanced and influenced by European civilization. These vessels are produced in quantity in various regions of the altiplano and bear trademarks.

The Čipaya take good care of their ceramics, each piece of which represents a pecuniary sacrifice for them; hence many pots for daily use are wrapped in a protective sheath of undressed leather (Fig. 6, C /see p. 165/).

[193] The names (maska, lūš, čua yuru, oč, yakina) that the Čipaya give the different pieces of pottery they use are always
[194] Aymara. One can deduce from this that the Uro did not know this industry or that they have been dependent on the Aymara for a long time in this respect.

283 Spinning. The raw sheep's wool (uš-čuma) or llama wool (xwai-čuma) is rolled around the left arm and spun by means of a spindle (t^{h}eri) (Fig. 4, H /see p. 157/). The spindle stick is not surmounted by any enlargement. The weight /whorl/ (waiñu) is now of turned wood, but I was still able to obtain two specimen crudely carved with a knife.

[284] To spin, a bit of wool is pulled out and attached to the spindle by a /177/ slipknot. The movement communicated to the spindle is made by holding the thumb against the index and middle finger of the left hand, from right to left. When the spindle has begun to turn, the male or female spinner rapidly brings the right hand toward the left, following the thread (kauni) being formed. This movement is to even the thread. Once the hands are together, he draws out the wool and repeats the twisting movement. The spindle is suspended at the end of the thread, or, when the spinner is seated, it turns in a bowl (Pl. V, B /see p. 214/). When a certain length of thread has been obtained it is unrolled from the top part of the spindle and rolled on below. A new loop is made and the spindle is placed in action again in the way indicated. The threads obtained by this method are generally very thin. For weaving

/178 cont./

286
294
[113]

1. Rosen (Eric von), Archaeological researches on the frontier of Argentina and Bolivia in 1901-1902. Stockholm, 1904, Pl. III, Fig. 1.

[199] Like the latter, it is a rather crude imitation of old Spanish models. In Chipaya it was always a man who used this loom, while those of the native type were strictly reserved for the women. The designs of the cloth produced on these treadle looms very much recall those of our mills: those with stripes, chevrons, and squares and of a dark color oscillating between grey, black, or brown. These materials are only used for cut garments, or European in origin, such as pants and jackets.

286
531 /179/ The textile art of the Čipaya is fairly poor, inferior even to that of the Uro of Ancoaqui. We have already seen that the ornamentation of the different pieces of their national costume is limited to white borders or stripes of two or three colors. Most of [199] their coca bags are hardly more varied in their decoration with the exception of a few rather small ones in bright colors which are a faithful imitation of the cōca sacks which are widespread among the
286 Aymara. The few rare Čipaya fabrics which have designs are them-
.07 selves also nothing but bad copies of current Aymara models. The lack of initiative and experience of the Čipaya women is so great in this respect that they will hardly weave pieces of material with such a decoration however uncomplicated unless the latter have been begun in a neighboring Aymara village. They continue them exactly as a little girl who has been made a part of the work. These lessons in weaving given to the Čipaya women by their neighbors of a different race is a peculiar example of the way in which cultural exchanges between tribes can come about. I must add that the fabrics, [264] the weaving of which the Aymara entrust to the Čipaya women do not remain the property of the latter, who work on them only as laborers and badly paid ones at that.

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534

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Thumb
19.8	22.4	25.7	28.9	31.8	35.0	1.65

The total length of the flute is 39.8 cm.

[177] We do not find the same disposition of the holes on pre-Spanish quena; according to all probability European influence has played a part here.

Flutes with mouthpieces. When the quena is played the current of air is shaped and directed with the lips and must be conducted against the beveled edge of the mouth to break up there and set the column of air in the pipe vibrating. For flutes with mouthpieces (Fig. 11) the formation of the current of air and the direction given to it are produced automatically; it is sufficient to blow and to control the strength of the air current. The air is led through a "vent" (see Figure 10, a /see p. 175/, which shows us a flute with mouthpiece in section) composed of the space between the walls of the pipe and a block of some material inserted in the opening of the flute. The air passes through this channel and strikes against the lower brim (lip).

[184] Čipaya flutes with mouthpieces are made of tola (Baccharis tola). These Indians /185/ make them themselves, taking an old one as a model to give them the distance between the holes. These flutes are made of a branch which is split along its entire length. The two halves are hollowed out and then joined again in such a way that the air cannot escape. Where a perfect joint could not be made, the chinks have been sealed with resin. Since it is difficult with the bushes at the disposal of the Čipaya to come across straight branches, most of the flutes are not straight. Some even have the shape of a segment of a circle, a form which is perhaps intentional (Fig. 8, H /see p. 173/).

Fig. 11. Flute with mouthpiece.

534 the altiplano in general. The ligature in this case is made of a reed rolled around the two rows of pipes.

When the Indian who sold me the old syrinxes wanted to show me how to use them, he was careful to take two of them and to play them by placing one on the other so as to have actually a Panpipe with two series of pipes.

●[177] Few Čipaya play the syrinx, the few who were capable of it having learned it from the Aymara, and I noticed that during festivals it was almost always some Indians of this race who made the slightly hoarse sounds of this instrument resound. The Čipaya give it the name taks or use the Aymara term phusa.

[439] String instruments. The only string instruments of the Čipaya are manufactured guitars which come to them through the intermediary of Aymara traders.

The conclusion which Mr. Izikowitz draws from his study on Čipaya instruments are the following:

1) These Indians lack idiophones and original string instruments.

[177] 2) They have adopted flutes with mouthpieces and clarinets from the Europeans.

3) In the post-Columbian period they changed the shape of their drums which have become square and are also provided with a drum cord.

4) The trumpets are probably old but the material is entirely modern.

[179] 5) The Čipaya received from the Aymara the quena, an old, pre-Columbian instrument whose system of holes has, however, been modified under the influence of European flutes.

6) They have two kinds of syrinxes which appear of a type more archaic than the modern Andean Panpipes and even than the archaeological flutes with two series of tubes. The Čipaya syrinx, however, seems to have been modified in one way or another under the influence of the syrinx with a double series of tubes; only in this way can one explain its peculiar form. With the exception of the

/187 cont./ With the exception of the
534 bamboo splinters placed against each tube, these syrinxes are very
[191] like the rather similar ones which have been discovered at Arica and also like the Panpipes used by the Indians of the area northeast of the Andes in our day.

As for the small syrinx with two tubes, it is too simple an instrument to be considered at great length. In any case, up to the present its equivalent has been found nowhere.

● [197] /188/ Aymara influence and through its medium that of Europeans have been strongly exerted on their musical instruments, just as on the rest of their culture. This penetration can be very simply explained when one thinks that aside from tola, they have no other material out of which they could make a musical instrument, and that they are obliged to import those that they use for their festivals.

Objects for purely ceremonial use

796 There are a certain number of objects which I acquired among the Čipaya, whose use is purely ceremonial and which should be
[126] examined in a special chapter. These are, in the first place, the festive slings, several specimens of which I was able to get (1).

1. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, B.

These slings are passed over the wrist or carried crossed on the chest of individuals participating in the dances during great clan or tribal
[301 337] festivals. Another accessory of the Indians on these occasions is the ● wig made of horsehair (2).

2. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, C.

Carangas—
Chipaya

/196 cont./

#171 #94 been first spun into yarn and then knitted." /Cited in English./

of these has been preserved at the Museum of Ethnography in Berlin. [197] Dr. Krickeberg, who was kind enough to examine it with care upon my request and to study its technique, has assured me that although the idea of spinning feathers is certainly old, the crochet stitch itself is typically European. This circumstance does not authorize us to place the feather fabrics of the Uro in the category of culture traits common to the north and south of the New World.

#171 #91 Minus the sleeves attached to the shirt and the sewing of the lower part of the tunic (urku), the female costume of the Čipaya is entirely pre-Columbian and identical to that which the women of the Sierra were wearing in the sixteenth century. For evidence I wish to cite the following passage from Cobo (3):

3. Historia del nuevo mundo,
Vol. IV, pp. 161-163.

"The women's clothing, which serves as shirt and cloak, are two mantles: one they wear as a sleeveless cassock, as wide above /197/ as below, which covers them from the neck to the feet; they do not make a neck for the head to go through, and the way they put it on is by wrapping it around the body under the arms, and drawing the ends over the shoulders, they make them meet and fasten them with their pins. From the waist down they bind and constrict *the belly with many turns of a wide, thick, and elegant band called* chumpi. This shirt, or cassock, is called Anacu; it leaves the arms free and bare and remains open on one side; and thus, although one edge is folded a bit over the other, on walking the edges are turned aside and opened from the chumpi, or band, downward, revealing part of the leg and thigh. Because of this now that they practice greater modesty as being Christians, they sew and close up the side to avoid such indecorousness. The other mantle is called Lliclla;

Cayanga-
Chipaya

/206 cont./

of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to dramas a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me, bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of freedom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They [illegible] can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never mistreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya compare very favorably with the Uru of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence. The Uru of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to stay with them.

McVeigh--27 D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/193 cont./

experiences outside of their daily life -- a trip to Chile or life in the barracks.

Nothing better underlines the different character of these two groups than these texts dictated by themselves. The Chipaya are herders, very much affected by the influence of their Aymara and Kolwa neighbors, and even by the Creole culture. The Uru, fisher-gatherers, have kept almost up to their extinction, their way of life and relative isolation, which is reflected in their less altered language.

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4:Vellard--16 D,E-4,5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24
[16th - 17th centuries]

/40 cont./

1975 (Manuscritos peruanos en las bibliotecas del extranjero /Peruvian Manuscripts in Foreign Libraries/, published by Ruben Vargas Ugarte, 1935. Vol. I, pp. 270-71.)

Report on the Province of the Pacajes

...and when the Incas came and conquered this Province of the Pacaxes they caused the Uro Indians to leave the vicinity of the water, and made them live with the Aymaras and taught them to live on and cultivate the land, and ordered them to pay tribute of fish and to make straw hampers. Since they were very crude people, they did not order them, as they usually did, to worship the sun and serve it; and through the contact they have had with the highland Indians they have come to speak the Aymara language and have almost given up their own language, which was Puquina..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Madrid, 1881-1897, Vol. II, p. 32.)

/The bibliography on pp. 40-41 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 113, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock.

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging leaves by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter. Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, scaled, lapped, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of months.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water fowl, ducks, geese, ibises, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the last is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. *A kind of red duck (puna-anhua) is most frequently* hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of parimeboré llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden knobs for balls and a small, grooved, wood stone for a handgrip. One use of diagrams has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Persons in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also gather eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

3:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1966
SF24 Uru SF24

[illegible]

Anciently, it is said, the Uru went entirely nude, which is quite incredible in view of the bitterly cold winters in this region. The essential male costume is like the pre-Columbian Chipaya one—a sleeveless, sacklike garment made of an unsalvaged textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This is woven of llama yarn on a simple loom loosely staked in the ground. Recently, most Uru males have adopted trousers of the *Aymara* style: short, with a slit at the level, and tailored of native homespun after a Colonial pattern. The slit permits the trousers to be rolled up more easily when a man fishes from a balsa or wades in shallow water. Leather sandals are sometimes worn when traveling, but people usually go barefoot. A knit wool cap, with *Aymara*-style earflaps, is sometimes topped with a cruzin, *Aymara*-manufactured felt hat. A belt is sometimes worn, and occasionally a thick woolen poncho. Capes woven of bird feathers were known in ancient days.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts, girdled at the waist, and unsalvaged textiles pinned at the top over each shoulder with a large-headed copper pin (topu). When traveling in cold weather, the women wear woven woolen wimples over the head under the hat.

Women part their hair in the middle and wear it in two braids tied behind the back with vicuña-wool fillets; only a few still wear the ancient style "Tiwanaku braids"—countless small braidlets all over the head. Women wash their hair in fermented human urine. Unlike men, women wear their hair short in quasi-European fashion or in an all-around tropical bang.

[illegible]

The Uru are famous balsa builders (pl. 11B, bottom). Their craft, though actually rafts made of totora reeds, are shaped like boats and are highly navigable even in narrow, shallow streamways. The reeds are cut with knives attached to poles, then, after drying, are stacked in shocks like corn. Nearly every able-bodied Uru male has experience of this material in all stages of preparation for balsas. During spare moments in their leisure, they are ceaselessly twisting silky grass into tough ropes to bind the reed bundles. The keel is formed of a long, thin, tubular bundle of reeds; and separately lashed to this keel are two thick, cigar-shaped pontoon-bundles. Each of these pontoons is built up of reeds so arranged as to be very thick in the middle of the boat and to have upcurved points at each end. An antler-tipped wooden tool with a groove inside one arm is used to tighten the binding. To keep out small worms, gunwales consisting of much thinner bundles of totora are lashed to the upper outside

Le Beau E-5 (1937-1938) 1965
EF24 Unv. EF24

metal casting. Some of the pins (tupul) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably prehistoric old, perhaps having been taken from ancient graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

Pottery.—Although not now made at Arrowpoint, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain rounded-bottomed olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a heavy-set lip and two long handles.

Stonework.—Mortars, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone bound with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of holes, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

Woodworking.—Weaving battens, distaffs and spindles, holes poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening holes bottoms, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the ranges.

Musical instruments.—All the musical instruments are duplicates of those of the Arawaks: the open-ended flute (palo-viro, bone, panpipe, and bamboo), flageolets (bone nose-flutes, bones, pebbles, and turtle), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (pito, shi-shakkiri), and the drums. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charango.

ECONOMICS

The only Uru articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, babiru, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian shade huts. They exchange these for beans and dried potatoes (chuño), corn, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture babiru mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except babiru.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian Uru social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The Uru are grouped into ayllus, named Tiliviri, Kimlin, Kotta, and Kulpa, and their territory is jurisdictionally divided into nonexogamous moieties: Ci ashui (corresponding to Juan moieties), and Anancha (Juan moieties). The kinship system is bilateral, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

3:La Barre E-3 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Like

Marriage is now unceremonial, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Pelo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimulo, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood over the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleevless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into chuño flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year

Rare Coll. Ayacucho 1-8 (on deck) 1980 SF34 Uni SF34
Chipaya

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayra*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *machus*; the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P 22-8]

8:Peru T-S (ca.1954) 1955
SP34 Uru SP34

101 Professor Vellard from the University of San
114 Marcos, Lima, had been working for some time
on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near
the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake
12 Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were
194 the last survivors of the original population of the
South American continent, certain authorities con-
tend that they originally came up from the Amazon
as they have a number of linguistic affinities with
197 certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known
as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the
great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.
194 Once having reached the highlands, what regions
did they populate? There is a belief that they ex-
[34] tended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far
as Lake Poopo and were the founders of Oruro,
which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru',
[197] meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date
they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the
195 Aymara. One of the earliest Spanish chroniclers,
[34] Don Pedro Mercado de Peñaloza, in a report
dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes
the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives
of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds
[48] them in low esteem, remarking that they have no
[51] talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

[p. 303 - B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know [191] Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[10] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

171 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be 177 argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

144 *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some [140] time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a [198] period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [55] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Salina, Bila and Qispi [21] (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 142 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[10] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90-110.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *iro* (Aymará *unku*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*makči*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *almuča*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulči*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *ikara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *iktara*), complete the male costume. The belt called *časi* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *unku*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *čoče*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *chulpas* of Incasica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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whereas the *bolas* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a pretextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *čala* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into *gorros*. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.[9]

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toskola* [cf. the term for penis, *siai-* ("eggs") *skolo*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *tulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Opilvie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*kupoda*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *bolas*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *bolas*-making hook (*kaxlu* or *'kaxi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[9] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 262, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.[29] The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Tuirutuiti* (= Aymara *Tunupa?*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotomptéi* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Tukun-uuuo-omptéi* (the goddess of the Lake), *Pdtani-omptéi-majku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *majku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kaluori-čili* (god of potatoes), *Kjoni-omptéi* (god of the earth) and *Omptéi-majku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uru est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,[30] however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

[29] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprisingly, believe in the superstition of "three on a match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South African copper mines and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps, for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

[30] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-88. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya. "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanaco and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanaco fell down."

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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We the Kjatsuti [q'aŭsti, from Aymará q'ota, "lake", and Uru Jatsi, "men people"]* are the oldest on this earth. A long time we were here, before when the sun was hidden.

Here where you see the salt, in the time of our Achichis [ancestors], everywhere there was water with many fish; many rivers rose and flowed. Then our nation was large and happy.

Before the Sun hid himself for a long time we were in this place. Then the Kollas [Aymará] came, despoiling us of our lands; they used our bodies for Kjaskes [Aymará, human sacrifice] when they laid the foundations of their temples.

When the Lake dried up we came out in search of food and thus encountered the Aymára.

Before Camak pata [Aymará, "time or epoch of darkness"] Tiahuanaco was built.

We have built our houses where our ancestors lived. The broken pots of many colors, and sejes [copper pins] you find when plowing the ground, belong to them.

539 Métraux recorded in Quechua at Oruro a myth which tells of the tricking of the armadillo by the fox, who misled him concerning a fiesta; hence (say the Uru) the mantle of the armadillo is uneven on his neck and shoulders. Most of the Uru-Chipaya tales were learned from the Aymára.

858 48 *Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes.* Small children own property which cannot be sold without their consent; when a little girl refused to sell me a small cloth, in spite of my offering what must have appeared a fabulous sum, that was the end of it.

607 867 916 In greeting a white man on the road, the Uru, like the Aymára address him as *Wirawira*, "sir," or *kurui* "mister."

921 The Pleiades are called *kerkera*, Venus *Asak-kala* ("big-?"), the Milky Way *Jata-kkakai* (from *kka* "road"?) and another constellation *tuwaluma*; a comet is called *mallala* (from the Aymará).

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[149] * Sist, as Posnansky supposes, from the Aymará *sutti*, "pure." The meaning "men" is again obvious from the reference in the second paragraph. Further, the phoneme *t* is lacking in Aymará.

/113 cont./

198 Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly
123 sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I
124 was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously.

178 Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has
371 been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My documents have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

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[126]

404 The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); c̄ corresponds to the Spanish "ch," ȳ to the French "ch," j̄ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and l' is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign b̄ᵉ is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel e is a very open e close to a closed a.

/162 cont./

of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2, K /see p. 150/). Today they use long-handled hoes (astuna, takina) of European make. The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Cipaya with an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The quinua which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequently of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

1. The Cipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (uña) which they say is the root of the tola, and they appear to be very fond of it. As for me I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (sawkapira) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

Trade. The Cipaya make cheeses, which constitute their chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk. They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, quinua, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region of the Salinas, from Garci Mendoza. The Cipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

2556nace--192 E-6 (1870-1891) 1935, 1936 SF24 thr SF24
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/194 cont./

the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and inns were long and square and the wood was brought from the Tungus." /Cited in Spanish./

On some naive pictures in the book by Hurtado Porra de Ayala, published by Morrell, Dress and ornament, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says is to be "Inca dependencies /Cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

The ayllus of the Cayapa explain the formation of the small social units also called ayllus, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayllu, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Cayapa to irrigate their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling also became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

Bolas, or boleadoras, in the Chullpas, I found bolas veiled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 117/).

Cayapa--Ethnology E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 NF26 Lin NF26

Cayapa-
Ethnology

/201 cont./

Erland Nordenskiöld, "Origin of the Indian Civilizations in South America," Comparative Ethnographical Studies, 9., Göteborg, 1931.

at Cuaca Department /204/ still preserve several specimens which have been passed from father to son since the Inca period. Like the Cayapa the Quichua surround these pieces with superstitious respect and only use them to make libations of chicha on the occasion of some solemn festival. They believe that chicha drunk from one of these mugs has the virtue of making one drunk more quickly than that which is contained in another vessel (7).

1. Steward, p. 1.

Conclusions

The review we have just made of all the Cayapa culture traits leads us to the following conclusions: there is no object in the present-day industry of these Indians which could be considered as belonging to them alone or as representing a survival of their former original culture. All their material goods are those which we know from the modern or ancient Aymara, or in a general way from the Indians of the Andean altiplano. In their way of life, that of sedentary shepherds, the Cayapa do not differ from the primitive populations of "les régions froides /the cold regions/," whom the Spanish chroniclers sometimes distinguish from the "sierras /highlands/." The interest in the Cayapa culture does not lie then in the originality of their material culture but rather in the fact that their relative isolation has permitted them to keep many archaic and crude techniques which have disappeared elsewhere. They constitute a cluster as they have managed to resist by life, and not as relict survivors of an isolated ethnic group.

Smithsonian--I D.F-5 (1918-1946) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

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/Cf. I have p. 145. /

The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-ito, or Angosto, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-ito had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora reeds /tortoras/. In 1941 a plain of coarse sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora reeds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing boats and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogs, bispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing boats and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora reeds could not be replaced for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 35 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

2:Velard--7 D.E-S (1938-1944) 1949 9F24 Uro 9F24

/170/

1. The Misery of the Uro
(Account by Manuel Inka)

(See p. 151 /in the foreign text/)

/Note. As a result of the difficulty of obtaining the typographical sign for the exact transcription of the Uro words included in the remarks, we have been obliged to transcribe a certain number of words in an approximate fashion and more or less successfully. It will therefore not be surprising that there are differences of transcription between the texts, which have been reproduced by a photographic process, and the remarks. It goes without saying that only the transcriptions of the texts is exact./

Free Translation

1. We shall never be able to go from here; we all are too much accustomed to be here since always. 2. But our fields will give us very little. 3. This year is too dry and the potatoes are not growing. 4. The frosts have burned everything. 5. That is why we are leaving. 6. Now what shall we do? 7. In the swamp which is drying up there are no more suriz (kind of fish). 8. There are no more reeds and there are no more birds' eggs. 9. All the eggs have departed into the great lake of Guaqui. 10. The fish have left for Guaqui. 11. How will we eat now? 12. If it rains enough this year we shall live. 13. We shall all return to our village. 14. If it does not rain (enough) we shall die. 15. We eat the little potatoes which we cultivate for the people of another race (the Aymara). 16. We earn them by cultivating for them. 17. There are few fish and we have only caught one. 18. We shall sell it. 19. Thou hast seen how small it is. 20. It is necessary to go far to fish. 21. We are accustomed to going home at night. 22. We shall return home to sell (our catch).

/170 cont./

23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

This account, dictated by an old Uru about 80 years old, Manuel Inka, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1941 to 1945. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara population. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Uru, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Uru have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Americanized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui, on the small lake. Iru'ño, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymara. Note the particle ña intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: kéya -ñiñay, tánkña-ñay, ma-náña -ñay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ni intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending ñay indicates the future. The verb náña-ñay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." tumíni, a tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present Lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1. kuntintu, "curtain"; 2. ni-ñay, ene or ene, "that"; 17. ni-ún, "the alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

/[89 cont./

expressions outside of their daily life -- a trip to Chile or life in the barracks.

Sterling Heron underlines the different characters of these two groups that these were dictated by themselves. The Chipaya are broken, very much affected by the influence of their Aymara and Kolla neighbors, and even by the Creole culture. The Uru, fisher-gatherers, have kept almost up to their extinction, their way of life and relative isolation, which is reflected in their low skilled language.

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9:La Barre E-9 (1937-1938) 1946
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Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hare-lipped group which has been enslaved and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the Uru is now largely like that of the Aymara, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing—The Uru depend primarily on fishing (pl. 113, top), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock.

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging leaves by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The Uru also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter. Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and roasted, are stored and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, cooked, boned, and shredded and then stored in a dry, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water fowl, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the last is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (*pato-colorado*) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The Uru are skilful with slings, which are woven and braided of variegated llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden knobs for balls and a small, grooved, wood stone for a handgrip. One use of dogs has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the closest invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The Uru also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sometimes strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus totora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for balsa-sails, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined totora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slings-shots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cored bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

Pottery.—Although not now made at Ancoaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles.

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas.

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara:* the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipia, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkilu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-choklo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charanga.

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into ayllus, named Titicana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Inca* anan-saya), and xanacha (*Inca* mana-saya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of that fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Uros, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullperia*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characteristic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally

Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on p. 219]

It would still be A.D. 1600 in a remote section of Oruro Department of Bolivia today. Here in the retreat of the Chipaya Indians, the living people who can give us an idea of rural life in a distant corner of the great Inca Empire. The few hundred individuals of Santa Ana de Chipaya are the remainders of a once numerous people whose territory extended to the northern shores of Lake Titicaca. Their language, Uru-Chipaya, was called "one of the three main languages of the kingdom" by the seventeenth-century chroniclers of Peru, which included what is now Bolivia. Over the centuries the more powerful Quechuas and Aymaras have seized their lands, leaving them back into a region where life is particularly difficult. But they have made remarkable use of their harsh, ungenerous environment. In their isolation, they have retained their pre-Columbian customs more completely than any other Andean group.

And they are isolated. The modern world did not even know of their existence until it was reported by the famous Peruvianist Max Uhle toward the end of the nine-

[A 19-C]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Nesacava, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Ahuallamaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiñaque*, an islet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sojapata*, 5 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Urus"; it is an *estancia* where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro *haciendas* of *Chearaque*, *Taguan*, *Tococatani*, *Chiconi-uma*, *Machacamarca*, *Urcuni-uma*, *Huallaqueri*, *Calayamponi*, and *Tocavi* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taguan* (W.LaB.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero numbered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.[5]

In March 1938[6] the population of Ancoaqui (*huuq'o-huq'e*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *communidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *ilacate* (head of the *communidad*,? from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancoaqui and the entire region as well in 1931.[6]

This Aymára *communidad* of Ancoaqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancoaqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

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[5] José Toribio Polo, *Indios-Uros del Peru y Bolivia* (Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima, 1901, 10: 445–482), p. 446. D. M. Jimenez de la Espada (in Neveu-Lemaire, *Les lagos de los Altiplanos de la America del Sud*, *La Paz*, 1909, p. lviii) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of *Chuchito*." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; *Chucuito*, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[6] As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Amyára ethnography.

[5] Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The legal term "communidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organisation of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the *altiplano*). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Communidad"—as opposed to the term "finca" (= "estancia," "hacienda") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so-named.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 [191] All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[10] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

191 199 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *tabia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

143 [140] [198] *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [55] [62] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 142 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[10] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90–110.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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wherein the *balsa* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a pretextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *fota* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into *gorros*. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.[a]

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toshala* [cf. the term for penis, *xiai* ("eggs") *shale*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *Tulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Oyilvie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*hupoka*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *balsa*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *balsa*-making hook (*hoxlu* or *'haxl*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[a] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 262, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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female baby, little girl = *ol-tukus-wawa*, *kus wawa*, *tukus-wawa* &c.; young girl = *pas-pak-ul*, young woman = *ya*.

Marriage. Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymara women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hyalella pallida*), transparent, and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

Political Organization. If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymara and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *kilacata*, commonly called *alcalde* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde*?) is called in Uru *lupuli ne sewatsilibi* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *lenk lupuli* ("big lupuli"). Squabbles with Aymara neighbors are led by the *kilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[29] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchka* (*kulla*) or *ni a quichkka* (*kirkil'a*), and the *chiry-chiry*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "quelquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimula," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilancha* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusip'ia* and *pona* flutes are played at the dance of *Tourida* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "tabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panina" or "panonilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimula" and "tourida" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

[29] Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 94 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 353.

Smithsonian--27 D.C.E-S (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/Les uns./

experiences outside of their daily life -- a trip to Chile or life in the barracks.

Nothing better underlines the different character of these two groups than these texts dictated by themselves. The Chipaya are herders, very much affected by the influence of their Aymara and Kečwa neighbors, and even by the Creole culture. The Uru, fisher-gatherers, have kept almost up to their extinction, their way of life and relative isolation, which is reflected in their less altered language.

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4:Vellard--3 D.E-4, 5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uro SF24

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

[175] its own, without cultivation, and which they call quinua [222] /quinoa/ or canagua; all of these Indians are fond of and eat the [262] leaf of same..... /Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Incas del Peru /History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru/, 1580, Constantino Bayle edition, Madrid, 1946, p. 214.)

[248] /31/... The Uros were Indians that the Inca sent for when [108] the army was short, and they were compelled to follow the [108] flags, not knowing even how to hold a bow; they went into battle almost without weapons and they and some of the Puquinas were killed like flies; because they had no military training, they let themselves be killed like animals. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibidem, p. 184.)

Garcilaso de la Vega

[181] ...and thus the Puquina, Colla, Uro, and Yunca Indians, and other nations that are crude and dull, and owing to their crudeness, even speak their own languages poorly..... /Translated from the Spanish./

(Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales /First part of the Royal Commentaries/..., VII, Chap. 4.)

Oliva (Rev. Father Anello)

[181] ...(Sinchi Roca) ordered that...useless people, as the [248] Uros were, who are ignorant and useless..should each one of [251] them gather one reed tube full of lice each month, so that no one should be idle..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de sus Incas Reyes /History of the Kingdom and Provinces of Peru, of its Inca Kings/..., 1598. 1895 edition, Lima.)

Ramirez (Baltasar)

[131] The Uro Indians are a people who live on lakes, such as the lake of Chuquito and that of Paria, and in other parts.

Wellard--4 D.F-4.5 (no date) 1900-1940 N'Zi Uru 6/26

[16th Century]

/31 cont./

[105] They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes,
[148] which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tole...."

[143] ...They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant,
although not very good.... They dress badly and eat, aside
[101] from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land;
they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They
[146] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general
[155] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered
in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now
pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some
order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/.... 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua: Juicio de límites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/. Barcelona. 1906. I. 295-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[124] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities
of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and
pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats
[101] and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so
wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they
were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species
of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/...., Madrid. 1601-1615. III. 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[133] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has
only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said
to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a
bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to
cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current,
according to what they say.

Circulated--10 D.C-6.1 (no date) 1910-1960 DP2a Uru DP2a

[65A. - 195A. Quechuas]

[Title page.]

195 (Juan Alfonso Carrizo. Cancionero popular de Jujuy [Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy]. p. XV. Tucuman. 1933.)

[76] Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada [Moral Chronicle] of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

[62] [61] In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor Lorenzo de Aldana gave us....; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uru Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscure and dark-skinned [renegrida] they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. The chief [65] pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. [Translated from the Spanish.]

(Volume I. p. 353.)

[62] [97] [61] This pueblo (of Challacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians who were being catechized by our Order..... These are crude Uru Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned [renegrida], without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all [204] prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish in the lake of Paria...those who live on land [de tierra] in [342] sepulchures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails...the [37] Uru Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here [291] they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold [99] land) than some mats of these cattails.,... Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion. [105] [99] There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a Priory with a subsidiary church of Uru Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away.....There is another pueblo four leagues

[17th Century]

/At last,/ There is another Pueblo four leagues east-west of Chiahuitle called Tzinan, whose Indians are resplendent, skilful, courteous..... these Indians came from other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) set easy to whites as Uthopians; they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (going not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totoras) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town..... Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake..... They are inclined to steal...they are traitors because they will eat a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long and so sharp /it/ that they can tear it up without need of a knife.....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe...../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 450-451.)

In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were encountered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /outlet"/ and on the small island of Simiriche.

...They are kinds of the totora bed, they have it all settled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

[illegible]) -0 (no date) 1861 6F36 Un 6F36
Chipaya

[illegible] and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as Hallow Flower. The other *mallcus* are represented by small conical wooden towers scattered around the countryside. Second stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village. In the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; flowers and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating priest, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

8.Veröff. 7-8 (ca.1956) 1958
SPSA Uru SPSA

of information: "the Incas refused to teach them the sun-worship, being content to receive a tribute of fish and baskets", and elsewhere it is said that either from a hygienic standpoint, or to occupy their leisure moments, the Incas demanded yearly a reed filled with lice. Threehundred and fifty years later, the situation has remained unchanged. Their secret mythology, which Professor VELLARD has studied, is extremely nebulous and confused. The Uru consider themselves to be the first race of pre-humans whose blood is not red. They had long legs, long heads and they never suffered from the cold or damp of the lake. There followed successive creations intermingled with cataclysms, far from the sun's rays, and a deluge; among all the peoples only the Uru, the Kaoer-ake, the People of the Lake, survived, but subsequently other races appeared, the Woor-ake, who cultivated the earth and were their enemies, and who vanquished them."

● [81] The Uru appear from earliest times to have been an accursed race, an unfortunate people forever oppressed, taking refuge in a form of passive hostility. „They are brute beasts", remarks Father ACOSTA in

[113] [1]) See Review in the corresponding section of this issue.
[2]) See also: VELLARD, JEHAN: *Dieux et Parias des Andes, Les Ouros*. Paris, Editions Emile-Paul, 1954.

[p. 303-C]

0.9mb 7-3 qca.1604; 1810
BPSH Uru BPSH

his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and depressed, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.

Professor Vellard had arranged with Kenneth Watson, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, Jorge Rojas and Augusto Roca, and a young professor, Richard Arbelot was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14,000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one sunny winter morning. Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brïzil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

/118 cont./

221 objective of requesting the demons and saints to send them pros-
796 perity along with the rain. The beginning of the year 1931 was
132 marked by a long period of dryness (1) and I witnessed the anguish
[152]

1. During the months of January and February I made a certain number of meteorological observations which were unfortunately incomplete because of my frequent moves. For January the average maximum temperature was 19° to 20° /centigrade/ and that of the minimum temperature 6°. In February we had an average maximum temperature of 19° and a minimum temperature of 5°. In January I noted a high of 24° and a low of 1°. For February the high was 23° and the low −1°. February was rainier than January although the end of the latter month was marked by some violent storms and hail.

of the Čipaya; this anxiety manifested itself perhaps in the pomp and seriousness with which they carried out the festivals which I shall describe later.

The winter is a testing time for the Čipaya. They spoke to me in eloquent language of its rigors—dried and yellowed pastures, thin and starving animals, icy winds which pierced to the /119/
[182] bone. This entire season passes without festivals, at least without pagan festivals, and this cessation of religious life is good evidence of the close correlation that exists between the pagan ceremonies of the Čipaya and their problems of subsistence.

/119 cont./

133 182 No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly was credited to it there can be no doubt that Cipaya mythology would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the [152] Carangas deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness: "these bare plains where we live," such is the expression which 133 most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an impression of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes in a pale stroke.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous without the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Cipaya worship, is not visible from the village itself, Cerro Camacha hiding it from sight.

136 The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina) (Phoenicopterus andinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly disdained by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining themselves in red against the brilliant blue of the puna sky. The 237 Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the 825 great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated [182] with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I [301] have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of flamingo eggs threaded together.

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Chipaya

/111 cont./

Forward

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[101]
[114]
In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had
123 singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya, convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/
124 to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/ as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting inquiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me. Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered.
91 Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have had pitiful informants in them.

121 A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly, I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they had celebrated before me practically the entire cycle of their main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would
[183] have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, unfold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual
198 religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 5]

/149 cont./

115 large part, and this to the great dismay of the respectable
[149] guardian of the ruins of Tiahuanaco who had accompanied him to La Paz and whose watchfulness he tricked in order to enter
[191] his village alone. A very limited knowledge of Aymara, none of Spanish or Keŝwa /Quechua/. An excellent informant.

Carlos Kispe, from 40 to 50 years old, one of the youngest men in the group. He displayed characteristics in his physical
[144] appearance which led one to suspect a certain degree of Aymara
[848] crossbreeding (see the 2nd note, on Physical Anthropology /p. 30/). Besides he was an illegitimate son, born of an un-
[191] known father. Much more enterprising than Manuel Inta, he spoke Aymara fluently, but neither Spanish nor Keŝwa. He had frequent contacts with the neighboring Aymara populations and, faced with the persistant drought, was thinking of leaving
[191] Iru-Itu to go live as a fisher at Guaki. He also proved to be an excellent informant, but his syntax was less pure and less varied than that of Manuel Inta and his vocabulary poorer and more mixed with Aymara; he did not use, or even did not know, a certain number of words used by his companion.

195 It is interesting to underline these differences in /150/
184 language between individuals of the same village, belonging to two different generations. They allow us to follow the rapid evolution of languages entrusted to oral tradition alone without any monument to establish them.

115 Outside these two principal informants, we utilized other inhabitants of the village, either for the general investigation or for word comparisons.

128 For each text we shall indicate the informant who pro-
191 vided it. These texts were gone over several times with the informant in order to obtain as exact a transcription as possible. Their translation was always checked in Aymara. Even so, in the course of the same text, considerable variations in pronunciation will be observed, which do not appear to follow any definite rule. They indicate a certain phonetic instability, more marked, of course, between different observers.

/188 cont./
*539 193 would be tukú- nua, "woman,"-"spouse." Note the placing of the particle áskę, "for," between the root and the ending of the verb.

*539 121 It was interesting to publish these texts, which make possible some useful comparisons with Orés Pukina text, which will be the subject of our next note, and with Métraux's three Chipaya texts.

*539 190 [194] Considerable phonetic differences exist between Uru and Chipaya. For example, the ending čai, so characteristic of Uru but which already is tending to become ča or to be dropped, becomes ja in Chipaya. Chipaya pronunciation is much harder, with a greater frequency of gutterals, no doubt as a [192] result of Aymara influence. The Chipaya vocabulary contains a much higher proportion of Aymara, Keŝwa, and even Spanish words, and this does not originate solely from the nature of the texts gathered by Métraux: the trip of a Chipaya to Chile, and life in the barracks; one finds the same character in his second text, describing life in the fields. Outside this variable proportion of foreign words, differences in vocabulary are slight.

[193] The syntax of the two groups is identical, but nevertheless much less varied in Chipaya.

All this underlines the close linguistic affinities of these [184] two groups. It is the same language, practically extinct, spoken by two small, completely separated populations; it is better preserved among the Uru and more altered among the Chipaya, and already displays considerable variations from one generation to another within the same group.

*539 184 The differences are much more marked in the very content, rather than form, of the texts. The Uru mainly describe their work as fishermen and, to some extent, their customs. Métraux was able only with difficulty to obtain from the Chipaya a few phrases on their work /189/ in the fields and on animal husbandry, and his texts are mainly accounts of

3:Vellard--27 D, E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/189 cont./

experiences outside of their daily life -- a trip to Chile or life in the barracks.

Nothing better underlines the different character of these two groups than these texts dictated by themselves. The Chipaya are herders, very much affected by the influence of their Aymara and Keŝwa neighbors, and even by the Creole culture. The Uru, fisher-gatherers, have kept almost up to their extinction, their way of life and relative isolation, which is reflected in their less altered language.

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5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

Herding.—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

Farming.—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

Food preparation.—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.

HOUSES

Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

S:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

?:Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Utu SF24
Chipaya

teenth century. To reach them today, you travel by train from La Paz to the city of Oruro, then by car or bus to Curaguara de Carangas. From there you must walk over a desert worthy of Siberia to the left bank of the Lauca River, where a canoe must be found for the crossing, before you go on to the village.

Little is known of Chipaya history. It has been conjectured that they may be the descendants of one of the first groups to reach the American continent. They call themselves the descendants of the *chullpas*, the ancient inhabitants of the area who, according to legend, hid themselves in reed baskets when the sun appeared for the first time.

The *chullpas* are still in the neighborhood, silent mummies resting in the square sod houses they built long ago. The word *chullpa* is also used for the burial houses. The ghost villages of *chullpas*, their doorways invariably facing east, can be seen by travelers today. Modern Indians avoid them with superstitious dread. It is claimed that the Chipayas are feared by the stronger Aymaras be-

[Text continues on p. 20-B]
[p. 19-D]

9:Rois Camacho J-3 (no date) 1963 EP34 Urs EP34

[Ir 20-B]

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymara haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular beehive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called tola. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into chuño flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into stripe of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year

5: Polo de Ondegardo--175 O-5 (ca. 1545) 1916 SE13 Inca SE13
Uncat 3524

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themselves out for no more interest than half a peso per month. If they were all ordered to pay as tribute one piece of cloth, they would not comply, but they weave more than 2,000 to earn 500 pesos, while dying of hunger and being maltreated by those people. Truly this is the way it is, that they do not consider them to be men, nor do they themselves consider themselves as such.

The other subdivisions /parcialidades/ considered the distribution of the livestock and of the little mines in Soroche, and they even said to one another that they had to pay more, because they were more capable in the kind of business which yielded silver, and they dealt with the quality of the lands, and it was thus from the first time that I saw them apportion the tax until the last. I learned that they dealt with these things quite minutely, with the result that I also learned that, among themselves, the ability to pay on the part of the subdivisions /parcialidades/ is well known, from the time when they are formed, and when there is anything new they know about it, with the result that in this general division they then come to an accord with little noise, and the thing is done, and there is no doubt but that none of the principales of any subdivision /parcialidad/ recognizes any other or is subject to him so that he could be injured by him, except that there is the subdivision /parcialidad/ of Anansaya (133), which is usually recognized /167/

133. Anan-suyo = high region. Hanan or Hanac = high, what is above; suyo = region.

as somewhat pre-eminent in the making of accounts in their houses and in calling them together when it should be ordered. But among the subdivisions /parcialidades/ themselves there is no doubt but that they scrutinize every tomin in many places, and that none of them allows itself to be abused by any of the others. This must be understood, as I have said at other times, in many places, when dealing with the ability to pay, and the

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Chipaya

/111 cont./

Forward

In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/ to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/ as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting inquiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me. Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered. Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have had pitiful informants in them.

A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly, I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they had celebrated before me practically the entire cycle of their main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, unfold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 5]

/116 cont./

651 659 that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

163 The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, 163 849 [849] [858] and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

162 [439] One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Iscara seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have [439] shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

197 [197] The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

Chipaya--33 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uro SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/326 cont./

mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even Kičua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last detail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly had have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence. The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century. They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence. On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Aymara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

2:Mdwaco--129 E-3 (1930-1931) 1935.1938 SF24 Uto SF24

Cayapaya-
Cajaya

/393 cont./

with her spoon and other effects. This is the fate which the earthly goods left by the Cipaya undergo, and the charred remains of their buildings are piled up beside the enclosure where their body re-
[152] poses. The husband gave out a few more tears over the tomb and returned home, escorted by a large number of individuals who
165 came to take their share of the funerary feast. The widower's family had been occupied with it since morning and had slaughtered two sheep and put enormous kettles full of quinua pulp on the fire.
[151] Among the Cipaya as among the Aymara, mourning obligations force the survivors to make considerable sacrifices and to dissipate their meager capital.

Passing near the hut of the widower this same evening, I saw him with one of his children on his back and the other near
[150] him busy preparing his dinner. On /394/ seeing me he let out some moans, too modulated to be the expression of any sentiment. This was the last evidence of regret that the dead woman received. From the next day on she was forgotten, and the village, disturbed for a moment, sank back into silence and indifference.

Myths and tales

121 The stay that I made among the Cipaya was dedicated in large part to gathering as many elements as possible of their agonizing language. In the hope of being able to make a grammar out of it, I busied myself as much as possible with assembling expressions, phrases, and coherent narrative. Accomplishing
[151] this task was not always easy for me. The Cipaya know only Aymara outside their own language and, with the exception of the corregidor and two or three young people, do not know a word
[124] of Spanish. In order to be able to deal with them, I almost always had to have recourse to my Aymara interpreter, and the impossibility which often arose of being able to communicate

/Uro cont./ word, as much in Cipaya as
in Aymara, has been adopted by Aymara. I have indicated in my
dictionary the words or roots of Aymara origin with one asterisk,
those of Spanish provenance with two, and Kallua /Quechua/ roots
with three. If one counts up all the words of foreign origin, one will
see that they constitute an impressive percentage in comparison with
the purely Uro words. The latter, moreover, such as they may be,
always have an Aymara doublet to which an Uro ending is simply
added. According to the individual, the number of Aymara roots
which recur in their speech varies: the young people who have
traveled are naturally more inclined than the old to stuff Uro phrases
with Aymara words and terms. They know the corresponding Uro
word but forget to use it; little by little they will leave them aside
and the latter will disappear. The infiltration of Aymara is already
so acknowledged that even children eight to ten years old speak it
fluently. "Cipaya who, for one reason or another, have been absent
from their villages for several years, are subsequently reluctant to
use their old languages; even the women, who hardly ever leave their
village, all express themselves in Aymara. This influence of Ay-
mara on Uro dates from a long time ago. Naturally, the battle be-
tween the two languages will end with the elimination of that of the
weaker and more backward people. In the Cipaya dialect words as
common as "brother" and "sister" have already disappeared before
their Aymara equivalents. This example alone says much on the
state of decomposition of Uro. This disintegration has not only
affected the vocabulary but also the grammar: the negations, ad-
verbs, adverbial locutions are purely Aymara.

One will be struck on casting an eye on this vocabulary by the
large number of Spanish words adopted by the Uro-Cipaya. I myself
was surprised to ascertain this penetration of Spanish in the language
of a people who live so isolated and find themselves in direct contact
with no city or even village where Spanish is spoken. I would have
attributed this phenomenon to the sojourns and trips which the Cipaya
made a few years ago to Chile. If one examines the Spanish element
that Uro contains, however, one cannot consider them as recent

/338 cont./

borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One /339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speaking Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version. This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten his expressions.

The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with a few phrases which effectively summarized their monotonous activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering, obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

/339 cont./

115 with particular intensity during my last expedition when I was dealing with the Chaco tribes. There the stories and narratives spurt out and the poor ethnographer is generally forced to stop the enthusiasm
124 of his interpreter in order not to be flooded. In Chipaya the obstacles that were set before me by the strangely narrow mentality of the Indians were augmented by the necessity in which I found myself of almost always having to use an Aymara interpreter. There is no
197 Čipaya who speaks enough Spanish to act as drogman. I was almost always obliged to state my questions in Spanish and to have them translated into Aymara. As one can imagine, this system compli-
115 cated my task and increased the chances of error. However, I was well pleased with my Aymara interpreter, a young, very intelligent Indian who very quickly understood the nature of my work and was
126 an /340/ excellent assistant. I tried to avoid wrong constructions by
128 proceeding with constant rechecks. Practically all the words in this dictionary were noted down four or five times by me and obtained from different individuals after more or less long intervals. I had all the lists of words dictated by a native verified by submitting them to others, and almost always I had the Čipaya words that I had just transcribed retranslated into Aymara. Moreover, I always tried to make sure of the exact meaning of a word by having my informant use it in a phrase. The exactitude of my dictionary will be confirmed by a simple comparison with the Uro vocabulary collected in Ancoaqui six months later, when I did not have any of my notes taken in Chipaya before my eyes.

/147 cont./

114 this group are the handsome monograph of Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, Métraux's vocabulary, and, at a less important level, the various publications of Posnansky containing numerous words more or less well noted down and translated.

The conditions under which most of the documents on the Iru-Itu group were obtained largely explain the imprecision of the meaning of numerous words and the often very different notation on which Créqui-Montfort and Rivet rightly insist.

195 There is no doubt, however, that many of the words have a very broad meaning and that their pronunciation varies within rather large limits, especially with informants belonging to different generations, or influenced to varying extents by Aymara. One even notes considerable variations in the course of a conversation with one person.

126 During my long contact with the Uru, I collected an important vocabulary of more than 1,000 words, as well as numerous phrases making it possible to analyze the structure of the language.

128 The extent of this vocabulary and of the collection of phrases makes it impossible to publish them now. I have therefore been forced to make a selection of accounts and conver-

121 sations obtained from my informants. These texts /148/ relate to the daily life of the Uru. Beyond their interest in this respect, they illustrate most of the ordinary grammatical forms. Study of them also permits a comparison with the only known Pukina text, that of Oré, which is much more extended than it had been possible to do with the documents at our disposal up to now. This comparison, which gives evidence of very close grammatical and lexicographic affinities, will be the subject of a special note in the second number of this journal.

115 [195] Two informants were utilized in the course of our long linguistic investigation. They belonged to two different generations and displayed considerable variations, not only in

[191] phonetics but also in vocabulary and syntax. Both spoke Aymara, the younger one fluently, and the older rather badly;

/148 cont./

115 the former had had much more frequent contacts with the
191 neighboring populations.

114 Here I should note that Métraux's assertion in his 1937
191 work on the almost general usage of Aymara by the Uru of Iru-Itu, who "practically do not speak their old language any more," was clearly exaggerated. In 1938, alongside individuals who spoke Aymara fluently, numerous men knew only a few words
[197] of it, and most of the women did not know it at all. The only ordinary language in the village was Uru, but it is natural that in the course of a short stay with Aymara informants, a traveler would mainly have had contacts with natives who knew this language, which gives a false impression of the group as a whole.

114 Moreover, it is inexact to state that the Uru call their
197 language Bukina or Pukina. This information was also given to me in 1938, during my first trip, by a Uru who spoke Aymara and even a few words of Spanish, and I published it in a small work on the Uru ("Les Indiens Uru du Desaguadero /The Uru Indians of the Desaguadero/," Boletim do Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1939, XIV-XVII, 303-319). During my second stay I had an explanation /149/ of this declaration made by several Uru. All asserted to me that they did not know who the Pukina were and did not know of any people with this name, but a "mister" had said to them that this was the name of their language. It is not difficult to recognize in this connection Posnansky's intervention, of which it would be easy to cite other examples of the same kind.

115 My informants were the following:

Manuel Inta, apparently a pure-blooded Uru, a great-
[197] grandfather, who was almost 90 years old at the time of our investigation judging from the events at which he had been present in his youth. A robust man, he was still capable of making the trip on foot from La Paz to Tiahuanaco, 90 kilometers, in two days in order to save the price of his passage by train or bus, which had nevertheless been paid for him in

/149 cont./

115 [147] large part, and this to the great dismay of the respectable guardian of the ruins of Tiahuanaco who had accompanied him to La Paz and whose watchfulness he tricked in order to enter his village alone. A very limited knowledge of Aymara, none of Spanish or Keŝwa /Quechua/. An excellent informant.

[91]

Carlos Kispe, from 40 to 50 years old, one of the youngest men in the group. He displayed characteristics in his physical [144] appearance which led one to suspect a certain degree of Aymara crossbreeding (see the 2nd note, on Physical Anthropology [848] /p. 30/). Besides he was an illegitimate son, born of an un- [191] known father. Much more enterprising than Manuel Inta, he spoke Aymara fluently, but neither Spanish nor Keŝwa. He had frequent contacts with the neighboring Aymara populations and, faced with the persistant drought, was thinking of leaving [191] Iru-Itu to go live as a fisher at Guaki. He also proved to be an excellent informant, but his syntax was less pure and less varied than that of Manuel Inta and his vocabulary poorer and more mixed with Aymara; he did not use, or even did not know, a certain number of words used by his companion.

195 184 It is interesting to underline these differences in /150/ language between individuals of the same village, belonging to two different generations. They allow us to follow the rapid evolution of languages entrusted to oral tradition alone without any monument to establish them.

115 Outside these two principal informants, we utilized other inhabitants of the village, either for the general investigation or for word comparisons.

128 191 For each text we shall indicate the informant who provided it. These texts were gone over several times with the informant in order to obtain as exact a transcription as possible. Their translation was always checked in Aymara. Even so, in the course of the same text, considerable variations in pronunciation will be observed, which do not appear to follow any definite rule. They indicate a certain phonetic instability, more marked, of course, between different observers.

/179 cont./

*539 115 191 The whole of this text, the phonetics as well as the vocabulary and syntax, is less correct than the accounts of old Manuel Inta, who belongs to the generation prior (he is nearly 90 years old) to that of the new narrator (Carlos Kispe), who is about 50 years old.

*539 191 192 1. puKáta is an Aymara word, a language which the informant knows rather well; húxk'-čáč' for huxk'-ačáčay, "we can depart." The narrator sometimes says čurk, and sometimes čork or čark, literally, "large," "strong"; this form indicates the superlative here. 3. The Uru have no special word for the mast; they simply call it "the wood" of the sail. 8. The correct form would be šaxka-čúčay. 9. The narrator moreover has a tendency to transform the final -čay into -ča (6) or to elide it into ač' (1); he always omits it with substantives and adjectives. 12. The informant says Kás-si instead of the correct form k^{w}á-si, "water." He often confuses e and i, sometimes saying čúke and sometimes čúki.

VI. The Fishing Enclosure
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 163 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 226 1. This is a fishing enclosure. 2. This enclosure is made to catch fish. 3. We are accustomed to closing the entrance (of the enclosure) with a net. 4. We lift the net quickly with this stick. 5. On this river there is another net. 6. There are enclosures for each of us, very far away from each other. 7. Thus each of us can fish.

*539 /182 cont./ also the Uru do not have any
81 apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/
[118] at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments
[191] are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations.
[152] However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kispe, is very frightened
[829] of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure
Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood.
[848] Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was father-
less, "hána hẹp' šeš- čay," "no father is," "an illegitimate
son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did
not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be
[961] assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder,
[829] drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which
[848] the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable
proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

*539 From the point of view of vocabulary this text shows the
191 same irregularities as the preceding text by the same informant
192 (V) /see p. 15/ frequent elisions of final vowels: čа instead of
čay; the repeated use (1-7) of wáli, "much," an Aymara form
not found in the texts nor in the numerous phrases gathered
from the other informant. 2. wáli- píni, association of an
Aymara word and an Uru word with the same meaning to rein-
force the idea; we find an analogous case in ʒi- hún (5), the
Uru-Spanish association already noted. 2. hána Kála či čúña,
"not good good is," association of two words of almost identical
meaning to reinforce the idea: "this is not good at all." 3. The
particle -kála after the verb "to go" has the exact meaning
of ex in Latin, literally exit. 4. The correct form would be
war- ʒis. 6. háskẹ indicates a very distant fact, an idea still
more strengthened by the suffix -ta, sign of the past: "a very
long time ago."

/186/

Remarks

*539 124 This little, very lifelike scene shows the usual difficulties in any ethnological investigation; the informants tire quickly, and the investigator is harassed by requests. Our two informants however were excellent.

*539 192 193 1. The suffix náka indicates the plural; takú means "word," "speech," "language." 2. s- kõ- čay is used for kõ- čay, the s is euphonic; compare s- mír- háčay in 9. 4. A typical example of an adjective assuming a verbal form: wáka means "all"; by adding kíčay, the past suffix, the word "all she has been," is formed. 5. awáritiš is the Spanish word, aguardiente, eau-de-vie /brandy/. 7. líka-čay, "I shall drink," formula of politeness before drinking. 8. húwa means "quick," "lively," "agile," and in a figurative sense, "intelligent," "quick-witted"; here it is a wish used as a formula of thanking; háp'- pay, "father," a frequently used honorific used for "monsieur." 9. kę- skéču; the repetition of the first syllable of the word has the value of a superlative: "very, very close"; litrát is the Spanish word retrato, portrait.

[115] 11. The informant, about 60 years old, hopes very much to die after his wife, who is, however, less than 40 years old. I am not absolutely sure of the transcription of tíkš' na- tačíkni; it is a future form of dead, literally, "who is stretched out."

● [191] In this whole dialogue one will notice the rather different phonetics of the two informants. Thus čis- čay, "to talk," sometimes becomes čí- čay; Carlos Kispe often leaves off endings in čay- ; he even often leaves off final syllables or letters.

/187/

*539
115

XI. Farewells
(Dialogue dictated by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 169 /in the foreign text/)

Translation

1. Dost thou not find it difficult to go away? 2. With much reluctance I shall go to my house. 3. Dost thou want to stay or dost thou want to leave? 4. I wish to go away. 5. Stay longer; it is better to stay now. 6. While thou travelest toward thy house, thou mightst meet a storm. 7. Eat thy meal; afterward thou shalt leave. Thy wife will be able to see thee from afar.

Remarks

We heard this short dialogue at Tihuanaco between our two informants, Carlos Kıspe, who was staying with us, and old Manuel Inta, in a hurry to return home. Carlos Kispe repeated
● [191] it to us. The usual mistakes of this informant are to be again found here: the use of wáli, an Aymara word meaning "much"; transformation of the ending čay into ča; frequent elisions.

*539
193 1. kún, an interrogative particle which is placed before the verb; compare kúmi- pèk' (5). Note the future forms -kičay, used in this whole dialogue, and tú lún táni, literally, "to take trouble." 2. kinák', a particle which is placed after the object, indicating direction with motion. 3. The Uru have no conditional or dubitative form; they present the two proposals without any conjunction. 4. káli, "from here"; a particle which is placed after the verb, indicating departure from the place where one is. 6. káma, a particle placed after the verb; it is common to Keŝwa and to Aymara, meaning "whilst." 7. -stáni, a particle placed after the verb, meaning "after." /188/ 8. t' kúwa, a contraction; the correct form

4:Vellard--16 D,E-4,5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24
[16th - 17th Centuries]

/40 cont./

175 (Manuscriptos peruanos en las bibliotecas del extranjero /Peruvian Manuscripts in Foreign Libraries/, published by Ruben Vargas Ugarte, 1935. Vol. I, pp. 270-71.)

175 648 Report on the Province of the Pacajes

...and when the Incas came and conquered this Province of the Pacaxes they caused the Uro Indians to leave the vicinity of the water, and made them live with the Aymaras and taught them to live on and cultivate the land, and ordered them to pay tribute of fish and to make straw hampers. Since they were very crude people, they did not order them, as they usually did, to worship the sun and serve it; and through the contact they have had with the highland Indians they have come to speak the Aymara language and have almost given up their own language, which was Puquina..../Translated from the Spanish./

[177] [197]

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Madrid, 1881-1897, Vol. II, p. 55.)

000 /The bibliography on pp. 40-41 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

THE URU-CHIPAYA

By Weston La Barre

THE URU

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Uru* (*Uro, Huno, Ochomazo, Ochozuma, Uchumi, Kjotsuni, Bukina, Pukina, Puquina, Urocolla, Uroquilla, Yuracare* (not to be confused with eastern Bolivian *Yuracare*), *Kiuchacatati* or "Big-livered People," and *Chancumankkeri* or "Water-greens Eaters," the last two opprobrious *Aymara* nicknames, inhabit the region of Lake Titicaca and some of the watercourses of the inter-Andean Plateau (map 1, *No. 6;* map 4). "Uro" or "uru" seems to have been used commonly in the 17th century to mean "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. It is now the most common name of these people. They call their language *Puquina.*

The *Uru* language has no connection with either *Quechua* or *Aymara.* It is probably the same, however, as the *Puquina* of the 17th century (Oré, 1607), although it is not the same as the *Puquina-Uro* of De la Grasserie (1894). The *Puquina* spoken by the Desaguadero *Uru* is closely related to the *Chipaya* of Lake Poopó, and Métraux (1936 a) therefore established an *Uro-Chipaya* family. Rivet's classification of *Uru* as *Arawakan* has not been widely accepted by linguists. We consider *Uro-Chipaya* to be an independent linguistic family.

Uru was called a "lengua general" of Perú by 16th-century writers (the "Relaciones geográficas de Indias" in 1582 calls it "one of the three general languages of the kingdom"), although its known distribution at a later date was confined to a few people scattered on the islands of Lake Titicaca, in the Río Desaguadero swamps, and near Lake Poopó. Vázquez de Espinosa (1942) found *Puquina* spoken in Sucre and *Uru* settlements in the Cochabamba Valley. *Uru* evidently once had a much wider distribution than in recent times.

The Highland *Uru* all now speak both *Aymara* and *Uru,* and a few know a little Spanish.

The *Uru* of the coast of Tarapacá and Tacna are similar culturally to the *Chango* and are sometimes even called *Chango.* They are said to be descendants of the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca sent as colonists (mitimaes) in *Inca* times. But, as all now speak Spanish and no trace

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5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

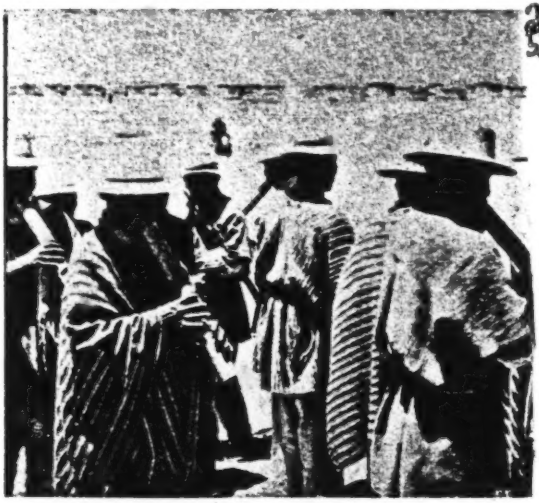
Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes



Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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Iru Itu

in-law of some eighty-odd years. While they talked [126] the purest of pure Uru we could make a sound-recording.

[363] A badly bombed area of London is in good repair compared with the Uru streets. Finally having climbed over crumbling walls and fallen into deep holes, we arrived at the house. Seated against the wall in the sun was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen. The mayor who spoke fluent Spa- [191] nish said she was well over a hundred. Had she [165] been less deaf and more comprehensible, I am sure we should have discovered that she had waved to General Sucre during the wars of the Liberation. Seated on the low wall was the daughter, a young seventy. The mayor explained what we wanted. The centenarian mumbled, but Roca's efforts with the [126] recorder were unsuccessful. We left her to provide local colour and material for photographs of the most amazing wrinkles. The son-in-law seemed completely inert, so turning to the daughter the mayor asked her to talk. Realizing that a unique occasion was offered her probably after a lifetime of oppression, she settled herself firmly on a solid piece of wall, and the floodgates of Uru eloquence opened. She launched forth into what was apparently her life-history, accompanied by the most extraordinary mime. Mother, who was past seeing, hearing and [276] still less, caring, continued to mutter, the husband, when the recital became particularly spirited, would stop chewing his *coca,* lift his head and open his mouth, but no sound issued forth. Apparently the mechanism had definitely run down, and he relapsed again into a state of ruminating coma. Encouraged by the general enthusiasm, our star became more and more expansive. By now most of the inhabitants had arrived on the scene, and judging by the expression on the faces of the other ladies, she had by unanimous consent taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate. She held the audience spellbound for one and a quarter hours, when either her vocal cords relaxed or she had come momenta-

[g. 309 - B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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2. The Uru-Chipayan stock is unrelated to either Quechua or Aymará, so far as is determinable from the heretofore solely lexical evidence; the phonemic systems of Aymará and Uru, for what this evidence is worth, seem quite wholly distinct.

3. There is an as yet unexplained misunderstanding concerning Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquina-Uro." The basis for this last judgment is, in part, the numerical systems:[9]

English	*Quechua*	*Aymará*	*Puquina*	*Uru*
One	huc	maya	pesc	či
Two	iscay	paya	so	Bisk
Three	quimsa	kimsa	capa	ček
Four	tahua	pusi	sper	Ba'Bi'
Five	pichka	pesqa	tacpa	ta'snuku
Six	soccta	soχta	chichun	taχčuku
Seven	canchis	paqalqo	stu	Doko
Eight	pusacc	kimsaqalqo	quina	onko
Nine	iscon	ǰatunka	checa	san'Gu
Ten	chunca	tunka	scata	kalo

Polo's numerals for the Uru, quoted in Chamberlain, even less resemble Ore's Puquina (shi; piske; chep; pácpic, páctic; pacnucu; pacchui; tohoco; cohonco; sankau; kalo) than do my recordings, and neither Puquina nor Uru resembles Aymará or Quechua.

There remains, however, the vexing problem of the identity of the Uru and Puquina of Brinton, Ehrenreich, Uhle, Hervas, and Adelung-Vater. Métraux, following Rivet and De la Grasserie, has brought impressive evidence of their identity. He writes: "The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language *bukina*, *pukina* to distinguish it from Aymará. This fact had already been brought to my attention at La Paz; it was later confirmed for me by all my informants." Chamberlain, however, thoroughly convinced by Polo's vocabularies, argued the absolute distinctness of Puquina and Uru, and has followed Eric Boman in stating that they are separate stocks

[9] Quechua quoted unchanged from Brinton, *American Races*, p. 223; Aymará from my own field notes; Puquina from Geronimo de Ore, *Rituale*, in Brinton *op. cit.*; and Uru from my own *hanq'o-haq'e* notes. Since I am not wholly familiar with Uru, the rendering aims more for phonetic accuracy than phonemic economy. The vocabulary, moreover, embodies the considerable language difficulties of having passed from Uru through Aymara and Spanish (the two languages of my interpreter at Ancoaqui) to the present English. Other references in this paragraph are to Alfred Métraux, *Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya de Carangas*, (JSAP 27, 1935), pp. 111–128, 325–415; (JSAP 28, 1936), pp. 155–207, 337–394; *idem*, *Contribution à l'ethnographie et à la linguistique des Indiens Uro d'Ancoaqui* (Bolivia) (JSAP 28) pp. 75–110; *idem*, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67–102. Polo, *op. cit.* in Chamberlain (American Anthropoligist 12: 417–24, 1910), pp. 412–413.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[18] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

Tribal Relations. In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkilu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

Physical Anthropology. Uru males outnumber the females, and for some time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[18] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90–110.

192

/A French-Uru vocabulary list may be found in the foreign text of this source, category 116, pp. 90-110./

[For an extended French-Uru (Chipaya dialect) word list, and fuller Uru texts, see 2: Métraux, this file, category 116, foreign text, pp. 188-239.]

/89 cont./

French-Uro Vocabulary

/104 The phonetic system used in this article is the same as the one that /90/ Dr. Paul Rivet uses in his article on the Uro language (1): č corresponds to the Spanish "ch"; š to the French

1. See note 1, p. 1.

"ch"; ǰ is an affricate which would be transcribed as "dj" in French; x is the Spanish "j," and l' the "ll" or liquid l of the same language. The combined sign kˣ is a half-occlusive, the cutting-off of which produces a sound close to the Spanish "j." A mark under the vowels indicates that they are very open. ẉ is a semi-vowel which is close to w.

193 The grammar of the Uro of Ancoaqui does not seem to
197 differ from that of the dialect of the Čipaya. One finds the same verbal endings, the same suffixes, etc.

192 The words preceded by one asterisk are those which are derived from Aymara, those marked with two asterisks derive from Spanish, and with three, from Kičua /Quechua/. /The word list, pp. 90-110, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

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621 616 [77] Aymara and Kičua /Quechua/ communities recalls the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two [222] [292] practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [273] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-making. [123] Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [195] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about 621 616 614 their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informant literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

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/326 cont./

them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism. But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Sometimes even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

There would be little required for certain festivals, such as those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous esslesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez, "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

/326 cont./

mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even Kičua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last detail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence. The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century. They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence. On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Aymara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

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addressed soely to her person. The homage rendered her is associated with the festivals celebrated in honor of demons, sacred stones (samiri), and San Jerónimo.

It is for the Pača-mama that candies are put in the hollow at the foot of the effigy of the demon "to sweeten her," and for her also plants thrust into a lump of tallow are buried and animals molded in tallow offered, no doubt, to the demons.

The mal'ku. The Aymara word mal'ku, which in Bertonio's dictionary (1) is translated "chief," "señor de Vassallos /lord of vassals/," has a more extended meaning today and expresses a notion of a religious order. In the Aymara texts which constitute the oral ritual of the Čipaya, the qualifier or title of mal'ku is bestowed upon the Earth-mother, the Lauca River, certain mountain peaks, and the church tower. This same word is joined to diverse proper names borne by some curious monuments that the Čipaya hold in great veneration. These are cones of earth from 1.20 to 1.70 meters high, nine of which stand around the village within a radius of five to 15 kilometers. They are constructed like the Čipaya houses of champas, i.e. clods cut out of the sod and placed in such a way as to form a compact mass which is covered with a whitish coating (Pl. XI, A /see p. 132/). All these monuments have a small cellar at their base carefully closed with a plug of earth; the Indians bury the offerings they make to the demon of the place there. On one of the cones a niche oriented toward the east replaced /329/ the cellar. These monuments are sometimes supported by an oval platform about one meter high. Beside the cone, which occupies the central part of the platform,

1. Bertonio (F. Ludovico)
Vocabulario de la lengua aymará
/Vocabulary of The Aymara
Language/ (Reissued by J. Platzmann).
Second part. Leipzig, 1879. p. 220.

M
776 /334 cont./ The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

U
778
784 The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play
[791] a foremost role in the religious life of the Čipaya. The majority
U of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When
791 in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku,
[825] he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

U
778 The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /335/ of the pagan religion of the Čipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the sands of the puna. The pit is housed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a yareta.

U
778
231 The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The Čipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the
U fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent
778 to konopa, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes
192 or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the
I prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).
778
231

1. On the konopa, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Latcham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 55-62, may be consulted.

/347 cont./

*796 prehistoric necklaces, in each cupule. He did the same with a piece of iron pyrite. His helper put small pieces of gold and silver leaf, small quantities of pink and blue mineral powder, incense, cinnamon bark, white and black maize flour, etc. in each cupule.

*796 539 The Officiant then planted a cross and his sacred stick facing east and knelt before them. He then began to recite, with eyes half-closed, in a loud and penetrating voice a series of prayers, of which I was able to record the following:

Tata	Santiago,	araxpaǩa	Santiago,	kimsatunxsoxtani
Father	Santiago,	sky	Santiago,	36

platu	resibite	tarapital'a,	ukˣaro	Santo San Felipe,	
dishes	receive	thou wilt receive,	next	Saint Saint Philip	
ukˣaro	Santo	San	Geronimo,	Santo Yunguyo(1)	resibe
next	Saint	Saint	Jerome,	Saint Yunguyo	receive

[103]

1. Yunguyo is the name of a group of huts where Espíritu Mamani, who recited this prayer to me, lived.

tarapital'a	aka insensio,	resibe	tarapital'a	
thou wilt receive	this incense,	receive	thou wilt receive	
todos abogados	araxpaǩa,	suma karpa,	waino (2)	karpa,
all intercessors,	sky,	good rain,		rain,

[193]
[192]

2. This word, which always precedes a significant word — "rain," "weather," or "year," has always been translated for me by "good"; I have felt some doubts, however, about the precision of my transcription. Its pronunciation

*794
639
[93]
[92]

/347 cont./

has seemed to me sometimes wainu, sometimes l'anu. In the first case one could relate it to the Kičua waina and conjecture that through a strange semantic evolution the word "young" came to mean "good." It is also possible that l'ano is the Uro word for "good," which has today been replaced by the Aymara suma.

apanital'a	l'ano(2)	karpa	araxpačа	hasiru,	kočeru
send to me	good	rain	sky	shadow	lagoons of water

2. /Refers to preceding note./

niviru,	araxpačа	makinero,	araxpačа	barkiru
snow	sky	engineer	sky	boatman

/348/ "Santiago, (our) father, Santiago of the sky, receive these 36 dishes, next Saint Philip, next Saint Jerome, next Saint Yunguyo, receive them as also this incense. You all who are our intercessors in the sky, send us good rains, shadows of the sky (clouds), lagoons of water and snow, you who are the engineers, the boatmen of the sky."

Taki	kimsa	pakxal'u	uyuwiri	Wirxina,
All	three	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin,

kača	pakxal'a	uyuwiri	Wirxina,
large	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin,

kulumayu	uyuwiri	Wirxina,	čita	mama	uyuwiri.
pigs	foster-mother	Virgin,	sheep	mother	foster-mother.

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592 The number of spirits which rule over a household may be
342 even more considerable. In a prayer of Aymara origin which I
*778 recorded among the Čipaya, in the course of a sacrifice made to the demons of the house, the shed and the kitchen are invoked at the same time as the court.

342 Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which re-
[97] cur uniformly throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara.
[982] There is no Čipaya hut on which one does not see to the left of the door upon entering the blackish spot of blood with which it was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears
[574] traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the costs of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided
342 him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up
982 many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirits,
539 that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

Ačokˣal'a	kˣoya	kamantaika	suma	haš̌k	wata
Straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

awantil'a (1) kˣoya-ki.
endure house this.

1. From the Spanish aguantar, "to endure."

[192] /383/ A beautiful example of the frightful jargon, a mixture of Čipaya, Aymara, and Kiču̇a /Quechua/ words, which the Indians use in their conversations with the divinities.

*778 The titi-mal'ku is honored each time that an Indian returns
782 home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the
[221] number of titi-mal'ku in Chipaya is limited, I would not have

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/176 cont./

415 Besides these vessels of archaic form which have not been
[190] shaped with the help of a potter's wheel, the Čipaya use locally
[439] produced receptacles, the technique of which is more advanced and influenced by European civilization. These vessels are produced in quantity in various regions of the altiplano and bear trademarks.

The Čipaya take good care of their ceramics, each piece of which represents a pecuniary sacrifice for them; hence many pots for daily use are wrapped in a protective sheath of undressed leather (Fig. 6, C /see p. 165/).

[192] The names (maska, lūš, čua yuru, oč, yakina) that the Čipaya give the different pieces of pottery they use are always
[194] Aymara. One can deduce from this that the Uro did not know this industry or that they have been dependent on the Aymara for a long time in this respect.

283 Spinning. The raw sheep's wool (uš-čuma) or llama wool (xwal-čuma) is rolled around the left arm and spun by means of a spindle (t^{h}eri) (Fig. 4, H /see p. 157/). The spindle stick is not surmounted by any enlargement. The weight /whorl/ (waiñu) is now of turned wood, but I was still able to obtain two specimen crudely carved with a knife.

[284] To spin, a bit of wool is pulled out and attached to the spindle by a /177/ slipknot. The movement communicated to the spindle is made by holding the thumb against the index and middle finger of the left hand, from right to left. When the spindle has begun to turn, the male or female spinner rapidly brings the right hand toward the left, following the thread (kauni) being formed. This movement is to even the thread. Once the hands are together, he draws out the wool and repeats the twisting movement. The spindle is suspended at the end of the thread, or, when the spinner is seated, it turns in a bowl (Pl. V, B /see p. 214/). When a certain length of thread has been obtained it is unrolled from the top part of the spindle and rolled on below. A new loop is made and the spindle is placed in action again in the way indicated. The threads obtained by this method are generally very thin. For weaving

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/185 cont./

534 In La Musique des Incas /The Music of the Incas/,
[113] R. d'Harcourt reproduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

While examining the contents of one of the huts that the
[237] Čipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 8, G /see p. 173/). The block inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to here are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkúl'u, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pinkul'u, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The
[177] [839] Čipaya pinkul'u are identical and without doubt come from some Bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The tola flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these perfected instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

[192] The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-Čipaya dialect, täks, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used for /186/ secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

533 While there are very few Čipaya who know how to play the
535 quena, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The dancers accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may also play a little melody from time to time while seated.

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/338 cont./ Uro, as much in Chipaya as
192 in Ancoaqui, has been absorbed by Aymara. I have indicated in my
197 dictionary the words or roots of Aymara origin with one asterisk,
those of Spanish provenance with two, and Kičua /Quechua/ roots
with three. If one counts up all the words of foreign origin, one will
see that they constitute an impressive percentage in comparison with
the purely Uro words. The latter, moreover, such as they may be,
[193] always have an Aymara doublet to which an Uro ending is simply
added. According to the individual, the number of Aymara roots
which recur in their speech varies: the young people who have
traveled are naturally more inclined than the old to stuff Uro phrases
with Aymara words and terms. They know the corresponding Uro
word but forget to use it; little by little they will leave them aside
191 and the latter will disappear. The infiltration of Aymara is already
197 so acknowledged that even children eight to ten years old speak it
fluently. Čipaya who, for one reason or another, have been absent
from their villages for several years, are subsequently reluctant to
use their old language; even the women, who hardly ever leave their
village, all express themselves in Aymara. This influence of Ay-
mara on Uro dates from a long time ago. Naturally, the battle be-
tween the two languages will end with the elimination of that of the
197 weaker and more backward people. In the Čipaya dialect words as
192 common as "brother" and "sister" have already disappeared before
their Aymara equivalents. This example alone says much on the
[193] state of decomposition of Uro. This disintegration has not only
affected the vocabulary but also the grammar: the negations, ad-
verbs, adverbial locutions are purely Aymara.

One will be struck on casting an eye on this vocabulary by the large number of Spanish words adopted by the Uro-Čipaya. I myself was surprised to ascertain this penetration of Spanish in the language of a people who live so isolated and find themselves in direct contact with no city or even village where Spanish is spoken. I would have attributed this phenomenon to the sojourns and trips which the Čipaya made a few years ago to Chile. If one examines the Spanish elements that Uro contains, however, one cannot consider them as recent

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197 borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by
192 the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One /339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speaking Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

124 The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete
191 disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which
197 float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version. This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my
[128] speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten his expressions.

126 The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with a few phrases which effectively summarized their monotonous
115 activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering, obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

/341 cont./

194 ỹ = English "j," dj in French.

t^{s} = an affricate generally transcribed ts.

w = "w" in English ("water").

l' = a liquid "l" as in Spanish. It is possible that I may have sometimes mixed it up with y.

p^{h} = a p, followed by a light breath. /342/

k^{x} = (I do not think I am in error) a medio-guttural affricate, a very frequent sound in Čipaya.

Grammar

193 The few rules of grammar which can be deduced from the texts I collected will appear in the reading itself of this dictionary. I must point out, however, the existence of a sort of suffixed article, ki, frequently added to substantives: kerka: armadillo; kerkaki: the armadillo; k^{x}oya: house; k^{x}oyaki: the house, etc.

Gender exists in Čipaya; it manifests itself in some words, in the first place in the demonstrative adjective ti for the masculine and ta for the feminine, and in the ordinal adjective "a" tsi, tsa.

The masculine gender is indicated in certain cases by the presence of an a: usa (male child, boy); us (female child, little girl); sewa: widower; seu: widow, etc.

Vocabulary

Preliminary remarks

128 192 I have indicated the root for each verb, which I tried to disengage from the different forms which were given me by my informants. In doubtful cases I have left the burden of decision to the reader. The verbs for which I had only one example have been written down such as they are.

/342 cont./

128
192 As I have already had the occasion to say, words of foreign origin are marked with an asterisk: * for Aymara, ** for Spanish, and *** for Kiču̯a.

Words common to both Aymara and Kiču̯a have been considered as borrowings from the former language. Words of hybrid composition have been separated by a hyphen mark. Asterisks indicate the provenance of the foreign element.

When words with different roots correspond to a single idea, they are enumerated one after another if the number of instances is limited, and separated in paragraphs if they are numerous.

Every word the translation of which is doubtful has been followed by a question mark. /The word list, pp. 342-387, the texts, pp. 387-393, and the bibliography, pp. 393-394, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/170 cont./

*539 731 178 433 511 23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

*539 731 178 161 433 This account, dictated by an old Uru about 90 years old, Manuel Inta, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1940 to 1946. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara populations. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Urus, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working [167] in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Urus have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Amaracized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

*539 192 193 [101] wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui,, on the small lake. ὸx'ǩa, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymaras. Note the particle čᵘ intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: Káya -čᵘčay, tánáču- čay, lúx-káču -čay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ki intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending čay indicates the future. The verb Káči- čay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." *539 192 tumíni, a tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1.. kustúmbro, "custom"; 5. isú-čay, esto or eso, "that"; 17. ni- únu, "this alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

/171 cont./

*539 192 193 1. píni means "many"; with hána it may be rendered by "no more"; učúmi, exclusive personal pronoun /172/ for the first person plural. 2. šalák, probably the Spanish chacra, "cultivated field"; the Uru do not have their own word to designate fields. 4. The ending čay added to a root gives it [136] the verbal form. 6. xui, interrogative particle. 7. suche, small kind of sheatfish from the Titicaca region; it is the [824] Trichomycterus dispar. 8. totora, Scirpus totora, the reeds of Lake Titicaca used by the Uru to build their balsas, cover their houses, and for other uses. 12. ke-, particle of repeti- [101] tion. 14. tòxša, literally "other persons," designates all men other than the Uru; nak' for náka, plural form of pronouns.

*539 396 II. Manufacture of Balsas from Totoras
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 154 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. Let us go, as is our custom, to find totoras to make a [283] balsa. 2. We are accustomed to go far to make the straw ropes /necessities/. 3. Three days are needed to dry (the straw ropes). 4. The straw ropes are well dried now. 5. Now all these totoras are well dried. 6. Let us make the balsa. 7. A man cuts the totora. 8. The totora is tied (in bunches). 9. Three have to be made (bunches of totora): the heart (the middle spindle) and the two side spindles of the balsa. 10. We tie (the spindles); now we are going to squeeze them together very tightly, at first it takes two men to squeeze it together. 11. We have the custom of sprinkling (the totora) with water so that it does not dry. 12. Now we are going to tighten; to tighten we are accustomed to use a hook. 13. We beat (the totora) with /173/ a rock (in order to compress it).

/176 cont./

*539 223 sell it. 46. We must return with this one; let's return. 47. There are no more. 48. We go along in vain. 49. We have looked everywhere; there are no more. 50. We are going to carry everything to the house.

Remarks

*539 226 223 This text is divided into three parts. In a short introduction (1-9) the narrator explains the fishing customs of the Uru, and then he describes a day of fishing and hunting aquatic birds in the swamps of the Desaguadero: the departure (10-14), the work of the catcher, who hits the water with a boat hook to direct the frightened fish toward the nets (15-16); fishing for suche (Trichomycterus dispar), a silurus /sheatfish/, which is the largest fish in the lake, reaching 30/35 cm., captured by means of a long three-meter spear ending in multiple points (17-27); and lastly, hunting for coots (Fulica gigantea and Fulica americana) forced into flight and then killed with the boat hooks (30-34) or captured with bolas with wooden balls (35-42). The captured coots are killed by a bite at the head (44). Then comes the return (45-50). This account is very lively.

*539 ●192 193 There are no special words for fishing or hunting; only the verb tána-čay, literally, "to take," is used.

From the point of view of grammar the text furnishes interesting verbal forms, in particular, the forms indicating the usual -čučay, as in the previous texts; the form -čáčay (46), implying the idea of obligation; the double use of the root (8) to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb. Moreover, the frequency of the euphonic letters s and l: 2, 5, 8, etc., should be emphasized.

This text contains two Hispanicisms: the first is very curious (8); in order to better render the idea of solitude, alone, absolutely alone, the narrator has repeated the word "one," /177/ but by pairing the Uru word tína, "alone," with the

/177 cont./

*539 192 193 Spanish word uno /"one"/. In 9 the Spanish word voluntad (will) is deformed into pulúntá, as v does not exist in Uru, but it keeps the Spanish tonic accent.

IV. Nocturnal Fishing
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 161 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 226 1. We are accustomed to fish at night. 2. We are accustomed to fish in darkness. 3. But how can one see at night? 4. One can easily see the fish moving about. 5. We cover ourselves with the sail to keep from being cold.

Remarks

[132] The Uru often go fishing at night in their fishing enclosures, and in order not to suffer from the intense cold and the icy wind, they shelter themselves under the totora sails of their craft.

*539 192 193 1. The form maká- xe, "by night," "in the darkness," is analogous to tom- xe, "today," "on this day," and to num- xe, "by day." 3. kún, an interrogative particle, "how," is accompanied by the pure root of the verb. 4. kíre, "fish," is often pronounced kíri. 5. sráp'- pa indicates finality and may be added either to a verb root or to a substantive form or adjective, as is the case here.

/179 cont./

*539 115 191 The whole of this text, the phonetics as well as the vocabulary and syntax, is less correct than the accounts of old Manuel Inta, who belongs to the generation prior (he is nearly 90 years old) to that of the new narrator (Carlos Kispe), who is about 50 years old.

*539 191 192 1. puKáta is an Aymara word, a language which the informant knows rather well; húxk'-čáč' for huxk'-ačáčay, "we can depart." The narrator sometimes says čurk, and sometimes čork or čark, literally, "large," "strong"; this form indicates the superlative here. 3. The Uru have no special word for the mast; they simply call it "the wood" of the sail. 8. The correct form would be šaxka-čúčay. 9. The narrator moreover has a tendency to transform the final -čay into -ča (6) or to elide it into ač' (1); he always omits it with substantives and adjectives. 12. The informant says Kás-si instead of the correct form k^{w}á-si, "water." He often confuses e and i, sometimes saying čúke and sometimes čúki.

VI. The Fishing Enclosure
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 163 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 226 1. This is a fishing enclosure. 2. This enclosure is made to catch fish. 3. We are accustomed to closing the entrance (of the enclosure) with a net. 4. We lift the net quickly with this stick. 5. On this river there is another net. 6. There are enclosures for each of us, very far away from each other. 7. Thus each of us can fish.

/182 cont./

*539 161 829 the Aymara used by the Uru, who consider themselves as constituting a pre-human species (not a race) apart. There are two human species, the Uru, a primitive species representing the first, pre-human creations, and the Aymara, who belong, as do all the other present-day people, to the last creation.

*539 192 [648] 15. Note a Hispanicism, kumunitá, to designate the native community of Jesus de Machaca, upon which the Uru are now dependent; it is an idea which is foreign to their own sociology.

16-17. The narrator, tired by his interpretive efforts, has no more to say and wants to rest. Note the polite form háp'- pay, [576] father," corresponding to "monsieur."

*539 821

VIII. Xoxi-cay, the Thunder
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 166 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. It will still thunder very strongly; the storm is coming. 2. The roof of the house will let the water through; it is not good at all. 3. Look again to see if the storm is going away. 4. It is thundering again. 5. The thunder can only kill a person of another race. 6. Never, since the most ancient times, has the thunder killed one of us. 7. The thunder has made me very afraid.

Remarks

This text makes allusion to a very deeply rooted belief among the Uru: they cannot be struck by lightning, so feared [829] by all the populations of the altiplano. According to them lightning only strikes the people "of another race": Aymaras, half-breeds, or Europeans. Also the Uru do not have any

[pg 20 omitted in pagination.]

*539 /182 cont./ also the Uru do not have any
82 apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/
[118] at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments
[191] are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations.
[152] However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kispe, is very frightened
[829] of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure
Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood.
[848] Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was father-
less, "hána hep' šeš- čay," "no father is," "an illegitimate
son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did
not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be
[761] assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder,
[829] drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which
[848] the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable
proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

*539 From the point of view of vocabulary this text shows the
191 same irregularities as the preceding text by the same informant
● 192 (V) /see p. 15/ frequent elisions of final vowels: ča instead of
čay; the repeated use (1-7) of wáli, "much," an Aymara form
not found in the texts nor in the numerous phrases gathered
from the other informant. 2. wáli- píní, association of an
Aymara word and an Uru word with the same meaning to rein-
force the idea; we find an analogous case in ti- hún (5), the
Uru-Spanish association already noted. 2. hána Kála či čúña,
"not good good is," association of two words of almost identical
meaning to reinforce the idea: "this is not good at all." 3. The
particle -kála after the verb "to go" has the exact meaning
of ex in Latin, literally exit. 4. The correct form would be
war- tis. 6. háske indicates a very distant fact, an idea still
more strengthened by the suffix -ta, sign of the past: "a very
long time ago."

/185/

*539 101 114 Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the *539 192 name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant [1975] also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which [193] is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkíčay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ču followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

*539 124

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: [276] The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give [273] thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking). [126] 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

/186/

Remarks

*539 124 This little, very lifelike scene shows the usual difficulties in any ethnological investigation; the informants tire quickly, and the investigator is harassed by requests. Our two informants however were excellent.

*539 ●192 193 1. The suffix náka indicates the plural; takú means "word," "speech," "language." 2. s- kõ- čay is used for kõ- čay, the s is euphonic; compare s- mír- háčay in 9. 4. A typical example of an adjective assuming a verbal form: wáka means "all"; by adding kíčay, the past suffix, the word "all she has been," is formed. 5. awáritiš is the Spanish word, aguardiente, eau-de-vie /brandy/. 7. líka-čay, "I shall drink," formula of politeness before drinking. 8. húwa means "quick," "lively," "agile," and in a figurative sense, "intelligent," "quick-witted"; here it is a wish used as a formula of thanking; háp'- pay, "father," a frequently used honorific used for "monsieur." 9. kẹ- skéču; the repetition of the first syllable of the word has the value of a superlative: "very, very close"; litrát is the Spanish word retrato, portrait.

[115] 11. The informant, about 60 years old, hopes very much to die after his wife, who is, however, less than 40 years old. I am not absolutely sure of the transcription of tíkš' na- tačíkni; it is a future form of dead, literally, "who is stretched out."

[191] In this whole dialogue one will notice the rather different phonetics of the two informants. Thus čis- čay, "to talk," sometimes becomes či- čay; Carlos Kispe often leaves off endings in čay- ; he even often leaves off final syllables or letters.

/188 cont./
*539 193 would be tukú- nua, "woman," "spouse." Note the placing of the particle áskę, "far," between the root and the ending of the verb.

*539 121 It was interesting to publish these texts, which make possible some useful comparisons with Orés Pukina text, which will be the subject of our next note, and with Métraux's three Chipaya texts.

*539 190 [194] Considerable phonetic differences exist between Uru and Chipaya. For example, the ending čai, so characteristic of Uru but which already is tending to become ča or to be dropped, becomes ja in Chipaya. Chipaya pronunciation is much harder, with a greater frequency of gutterals, no doubt as a [192] result of Aymara influence. The Chipaya vocabulary contains a much higher proportion of Aymara, Keŝwa, and even Spanish words, and this does not originate solely from the nature of the texts gathered by Métraux: the trip of a Chipaya to Chile, and life in the barracks; one finds the same character in his second text, describing life in the fields. Outside this variable proportion of foreign words, differences in vocabulary are slight.

[193] The syntax of the two groups is identical, but nevertheless much less varied in Chipaya.

All this underlines the close linguistic affinities of these [184] two groups. It is the same language, practically extinct, spoken by two small, completely separated populations; it is better preserved among the Uru and more altered among the Chipaya, and already displays considerable variations from one generation to another within the same group.

*539 184 The differences are much more marked in the very content, rather than form, of the texts. The Uru mainly describe their work as fishermen and, to some extent, their customs. Métraux was able only with difficulty to obtain from the Chipaya a few phrases on their work /189/ in the fields and on animal husbandry, and his texts are mainly accounts of

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 [191] All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[16] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

171 199 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

144 [164] [178] *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [55] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi [62] (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 142 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[16] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90–110.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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native names for so exiguous a number of scientific varieties. These occur in the species: *O. Cuvieri, O. Pentlandi, O. Humboldti, O. Jussieui, O. Bairdii, O. Orbonnii, O. frontosus, and O. Neveui.* Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suči, mauri;* Uru *čisi*) these species are present: *T. dispar Tschudi,* and *T. rivulatus.* Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify clearly with the scientific classifications are: (Aymará) *qesi-čauła, qesintuu, kuri-mauri, umantú, ƙarači;* (Uru) *teri, čis, čaki, okʷulu, čalkiri,* and *wakʷluli* —whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and female of the same species.

Fish are preserved and prepared in several ways. The smaller kinds (*ispi, sačała, učkerčula*), salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. The larger varieties (*suči, mauri, čisi*) are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire, and thus smoke-dried are preserved for periods of scarcity, according to Posnansky. But what appears to be the same process, described by Palavecino, is evidently a method of *cooking:*

> These ovens, which the Uru call *vaxaña*, consist in a hole dug in the soil, whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 cm. The rounded edge is raised at the surface of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uru light a fire in it and introduce more or less flat stones. When the stones are incandescent, they take them out, all except those on the bottom. They lay on these a layer of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a layer of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is closed with stones, and covered with reeds. The fish is thus cooked by steaming.

Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South America.

Hunting is almost as important to the Uru as fishing, neither of which is basic in Chipaya economy. The river marshes abound with birds of many kinds: waterhens (*wesla, čokχa*), ducks (*soχna*), geese (*waɬata*), loons (*paƙo*), herons (*ačiči*), various diving birds and gulls; a large unidentified black bird they call *čiwanku* or *čičinksa.* Other unidentified birds are: *čelita, kačuwaina* (*waina* is Aymará for "youth, young man"), *ašowa, čorani.* Of these aquatic birds, only the "bobo" (*paƙo*) is not hunted or eaten, because of its rank, oily flesh. Most frequently hunted is a kind of red duck called *p'anasoχna.*

The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Posnansky says men hunting alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or twisting the neck. The Uru are able users of slingshots woven or braided of varicolored llama-wools; and they also use *bolas,* made with two large

/89 cont./

French-Uro Vocabulary

/104 The phonetic system used in this article is the same as the one that /90/ Dr. Paul Rivet uses in his article on the Uro language (1): č corresponds to the Spanish "ch"; š to the French

1. See note 1, p. 1.

"ch"; ǰ is an affricate which would be transcribed as "dj" in French; x is the Spanish "j," and l' the "ll" or liquid l of the same language. The combined sign k^{x} is a half-occlusive, the cutting-off of which produces a sound close to the Spanish "j." A mark under the vowels indicates that they are very open. U is a semi-vowel which is close to w.

193 197 The grammar of the Uro of Ancoaqui does not seem to differ from that of the dialect of the Čipaya. One finds the same verbal endings, the same suffixes, etc.

192 The words preceded by one asterisk are those which are derived from Aymara, those marked with two asterisks derive from Spanish, and with three, from Kičua /Quechua/. /The word list, pp. 90-110, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/347 cont./

*796 prehistoric necklaces, in each cupulé. He did the same with a piece of iron pyrite. His helper put small pieces of gold and silver leaf, small quantities of pink and blue mineral powder, incense, cinnamon bark, white and black maize flour, etc. in each cupule.

*796 539 The Officiant then planted a cross and his sacred stick facing east and knelt before them. He then began to recite, with eyes half-closed, in a loud and penetrating voice a series of prayers, of which I was able to record the following:

Tata	Santiago,	araxpaǩa	Santiago,	kimsatunxsoxtani			
Father	Santiago,	sky	Santiago,	36			
platu	resibite	tarapital'a,		ukˣaro	Santo	San	Felipe,
dishes	receive	thou wilt receive,		next	Saint	Saint	Philip
ukˣaro	Santo	San	Geronimo,	Santo	Yunguyo(1)	resibe	
next	Saint	Saint	Jerome,	Saint	Yunguyo	receive	

[103]

1. Yunguyo is the name of a group of huts where Espíritu Mamani, who recited this prayer to me, lived.

tarapital'a	aka	insensio,	resibe	tarapital'a	
thou wilt receive	this	incense,	receive	thou wilt receive	
todos	abogados	araxpaǩa,	suma	karpa,	waino (2) karpa,
all	intercessors,	sky,	good	rain,	rain,

● [193] [192]

2. This word, which always precedes a significant word — "rain," "weather," or "year," has always been translated for me by "good"; I have felt some doubts, however, about the precision of my transcription. Its pronunciation

/347 cont./

has seemed to me sometimes wainu, sometimes l'anu. In the first case one could relate it to the Kičua waina and conjecture that through a strange semantic evolution the word "young" came to mean "good." It is also possible that l'ano is the Uro word for "good," which has today been replaced by the Aymara suma.

apanital'a	l'ano(2)	karpa	araxpač̆a	hasiru,	koč̆eru
send to me	good	rain	sky	shadow	lagoons of water

2. /Refers to preceding note./

niviru,	araxpač̆a	makinero,	araxpač̆a	barkiru
snow	sky	engineer	sky	boatman

/348/ "Santiago, (our) father, Santiago of the sky, receive these 36 dishes, next Saint Philip, next Saint Jerome, next Saint Yunguyo, receive them as also this incense. You all who are our intercessors in the sky, send us good rains, shadows of the sky (clouds), lagoons of water and snow, you who are the engineers, the boatmen of the sky."

Taki	kimsa	pak̆al'u	uyuwiri	Wirxina,
All	three	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin,

kač̆a	pak̆al'a	uyuwiri	Wirxina,
large	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin,

kulumayu	uyuwiri	Wirxina,	č̆ita	mama	uyuwiri.
pigs	foster-mother	Virgin,	sheep	mother	foster-mother.

Carangas - Chipaya

/338 cont./ Uro, as much in Chipaya as

192 in Ancoaqui, has been absorbed by Aymara. I have indicated in my
197 dictionary the words or roots of Aymara origin with one asterisk, those of Spanish provenance with two, and Kičua /Quechua/ roots with three. If one counts up all the words of foreign origin, one will see that they constitute an impressive percentage in comparison with the purely Uro words. The latter, moreover, such as they may be, [193] always have an Aymara doublet to which an Uro ending is simply added. According to the individual, the number of Aymara roots which recur in their speech varies: the young people who have traveled are naturally more inclined than the old to stuff Uro phrases with Aymara words and terms. They know the corresponding Uro word but forget to use it; little by little they will leave them aside
191 and the latter will disappear. The infiltration of Aymara is already
197 so acknowledged that even children eight to ten years old speak it fluently. Čipaya who, for one reason or another, have been absent from their villages for several years, are subsequently reluctant to use their old language; even the women, who hardly ever leave their village, all express themselves in Aymara. This influence of Aymara on Uro dates from a long time ago. Naturally, the battle between the two languages will end with the elimination of that of the
197 weaker and more backward people. In the Čipaya dialect words as
192 common as "brother" and "sister" have already disappeared before their Aymara equivalents. This example alone says much on the [193] state of decomposition of Uro. This disintegration has not only affected the vocabulary but also the grammar: the negations, adverbs, adverbial locutions are purely Aymara.

One will be struck on casting an eye on this vocabulary by the large number of Spanish words adopted by the Uro-Čipaya. I myself was surprised to ascertain this penetration of Spanish in the language of a people who live so isolated and find themselves in direct contact with no city or even village where Spanish is spoken. I would have attributed this phenomenon to the sojourns and trips which the Čipaya made a few years ago to Chile. If one examines the Spanish elements that Uro contains, however, one cannot consider them as recent

/341 cont./

194 ǰ = English "j," dj in French.

t^{s} = an affricate generally transcribed ts.

w = "w" in English ("water").

l' = a liquid "l" as in Spanish. It is possible that I may have sometimes mixed it up with y.

p^{h} = a p, followed by a light breath. /342/

k^{x} = (I do not think I am in error) a medio-guttural affricate, a very frequent sound in Čipaya.

Grammar

193 The few rules of grammar which can be deduced from the texts I collected will appear in the reading itself of this dictionary. I must point out, however, the existence of a sort of suffixed article, ki, frequently added to substantives: kerka: armadillo; kerkaki: the armadillo; k^{x}oya: house; k^{x}oyaki: the house, etc.

Gender exists in Čipaya; it manifests itself in some words, in the first place in the demonstrative adjective ti for the masculine and ta for the feminine, and in the ordinal adjective "a" tsi, tsa.

The masculine gender is indicated in certain cases by the presence of an a: usa (male child, boy); us (female child, little girl); sewa: widower; seu: widow, etc.

Vocabulary

Preliminary remarks

128 192 I have indicated the root for each verb, which I tried to disengage from the different forms which were given me by my informants. In doubtful cases I have left the burden of decision to the reader. The verbs for which I had only one example have been written down such as they are.

/170 cont./

*539 731 178 433 511 23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

*539 731 178 161 433 This account, dictated by an old Uru about 90 years old, Manuel Inta, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1940 to 1946. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara populations. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Urus, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working [167] in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Urus have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Amaracized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

*539 192 193 [101] wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui, on the small lake. ὸx'ǰa, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymaras. Note the particle čᵘ intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: Káya -čúčay, tánáču- čay, lúx-káču -čay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ki intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending čay indicates the future. The verb Káči- čay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." tumíni, a

*539 192 tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1. kustúmbro, "custom"; 5. isú-čay, esto or eso, "that"; 17. ni- únu, "this alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

/171 cont./

*539 192 193 1. píni means "many"; with hána it may be rendered by "no more"; učúmi, exclusive personal pronoun /172/ for the first person plural. 2. čalák, probably the Spanish chacra, "cultivated field"; the Uru do not have their own word to designate fields. 4. The ending čay added to a root gives it [136] the verbal form. 6. xui, interrogative particle. 7. suche, small kind of sheatfish from the Titicaca region; it is the [824] Trichomycterus dispar. 8. totora, Scirpus totora, the reeds of Lake Titicaca used by the Uru to build their balsas, cover their houses, and for other uses. 12. ke-, particle of repeti- [101] tion. 14. tòxša, literally "other persons," designates all men other than the Uru; nak' for náka, plural form of pronouns.

*539 396

II. Manufacture of Balsas from Totoras
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 154 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. Let us go, as is our custom, to find totoras to make a [283] balsa. 2.. We are accustomed to go far to make the straw ropes /necessities/. 3. Three days are needed to dry (the straw ropes). 4. The straw ropes are well dried now. 5. Now all these totoras are well dried. 6. Let us make the balsa. 7. A man cuts the totora. 8. The totora is tied (in bunches). 9. Three have to be made (bunches of totora): the heart (the middle spindle) and the two side spindles of the balsa. 10. We tie (the spindles); now we are going to squeeze them together very tightly, at first it takes two men to squeeze it together. 11. We have the custom of sprinkling (the totora) with water so that it does not dry. 12. Now we are going to tighten; to tighten we are accustomed to use a hook. 13. We beat (the totora) with /173/ a rock (in order to compress it).

/174 cont./

*539 396 on each side of the balsa (10, 12, 17) in order to make the two large side cylinders equal in weight, bulk, and compression. This is the delicate part of the manufacture, on which the stability and quality of the craft depend. The Uru use wooden hooks for this job (12). At the same time they compress the totora with a stone hammer (13), adding or removing totora as necessary; they water it from time to time to prevent it from drying. When the work is finished the middle cylinder, the heart of the balsa, completely hidden between the side [461] cylinders, is invisible. Depending on the size, the construction *539 501 of a balsa takes an average of three to six days. The life of a balsa is short; after having been wet they become heavy and rot inside; they are good for six months to one year in general.

The balsas used on the Desaguadero and on the low parts of the lake in the neighboring lagoons which are not very deep (Arapa, Unumayo) do not have sails (23), or only a very small sail, in contrast to the balsas on the large lake which they propel by sail. The Uru steer them with the help of a boat hook ending in three teeth, which they push against the muddy [191] bottom (24). These boat hooks are identical to those of the Guatos of upper Paraguay, who belong to the Nu-Arwak /Nu-Aruak/ linguistic group.

*539 193 From the point of view of grammar, note the frequent use of the repetitive particle -ɤ̌u-, indicating that the action expressed by the verb is habitual. Also note the repetitions of words or roots to reinforce the idea expressed (3-12, etc.)

The verb ɤ̌iɤ̌l' čay expresses the idea of carrying off, of lifting up, of raising (22-23); compare it with 4-5 of text III.

/176 cont./

*539 223 sell it. 46. We must return with this one; let's return. 47. There are no more. 48. We go along in vain. 49. We have looked everywhere; there are no more. 50. We are going to carry everything to the house.

Remarks

*539 226 223 This text is divided into three parts. In a short introduction (1-9) the narrator explains the fishing customs of the Uru, and then he describes a day of fishing and hunting aquatic birds in the swamps of the Desaguadero: the departure (10-14), the work of the catcher, who hits the water with a boat hook to direct the frightened fish toward the nets (15-16); fishing for suche (Trichomycterus dispar), a silurus /sheatfish/, which is the largest fish in the lake, reaching 30/35 cm., captured by means of a long three-meter spear ending in multiple points (17-27); and lastly, hunting for coots (Fulica gigantea and Fulica americana) forced into flight and then killed with the boat hooks (30-34) or captured with bolas with wooden balls (35-42). The captured coots are killed by a bite at the head (44). Then comes the return (45-50). This account is very lively.

*539 192 193 There are no special words for fishing or hunting; only the verb tána- čay, literally, "to take," is used.

From the point of view of grammar the text furnishes interesting verbal forms, in particular, the forms indicating the usual -čučay, as in the previous texts; the form -čáčay (46), implying the idea of obligation; the double use of the root (8) to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb. Moreover, the frequency of the euphonic letters s and l: 2, 5, 8, etc., should be emphasized.

This text contains two Hispanicisms: the first is very curious (8); in order to better render the idea of solitude, alone, absolutely alone, the narrator has repeated the word "one," /177/ but by pairing the Uru word tína, "alone," with the

/177 cont./

*539 192 193 Spanish word uno /"one"/. In 9 the Spanish word voluntad (will) is deformed into pulúntá, as v does not exist in Uru, but it keeps the Spanish tonic accent.

IV. Nocturnal Fishing
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 161 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 206 1. We are accustomed to fish at night. 2. We are accustomed to fish in darkness. 3. But how can one see at night? 4. One can easily see the fish moving about. 5. We cover ourselves with the sail to keep from being cold.

Remarks

[132] The Uru often go fishing at night in their fishing enclosures, and in order not to suffer from the intense cold and the icy wind, they shelter themselves under the totora sails of their craft.

*539 192 193 1. The form maká- xe, "by night," "in the darkness," is analogous to tom- xe, "today," "on this day," and to num- xe, "by day." 3. kún, an interrogative particle, "how," is accompanied by the pure root of the verb. 4. kíre, "fish," is often pronounced kíri. 5. sráp'- pa indicates finality and may be added either to a verb root or to a substantivé form or adjective, as is the case here.

/180/

Remarks

*539 226 The Uru build dams of totoras in a V-form on the Desaguadero, the point oriented toward the direction of the current. A narrow passage contrived at the point is closed at the time of fishing by means of a large circular net, the káku, installed on a balsa. Fishers standing on one or several balsas go downstream, beating the water with long poles furnished with a totora ball, in order to frighten the fish which, descending the river course, enter the enclosure and fall into the net [423] placed at the point. Each Uru family has its fishing enclosure, very far away from those of its neighbors (6-7). The distribution of the location of these enclosures as well as the use of the totora fields which are used to make balsas was ruled by Uru customary law.

*539 ●193 1. ti- ki or simply -ki, a particle to designate the object about which one is speaking: this enclosure here; this river here (5). 6. ɟíla- ɟíla, literally "one," means "one for each"; the repetition of the adverb háske háske has the value of a superlative; "far, far, very far"; Aymara and Kešwa form the superlative in an identical manner: eg.: Kala- Kala, "rock rock," in Aymara: "many rocks."

VII. The Village of the Uru at Iru-Itu
Comments on photographs by Manuel Inta

(See p. 164 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 [346] 1. Is this your chapel? 2. It is our chapel. 3. These are our houses. 4. The chapel is seen from behind. 5. The chapel is good that way (seen from the front). 6. The totora [824] is kept upright in a heap. /181/ 7. It is kept in a heap so that it will not rot.

/181 cont./

*539 [501] it will not rot. 8. This is a balsa from the big lake. 9. Its prow is raised. 10. That one is a big balsa. 11. That one is a small balsa. 12. There are no other balsas. 13. This is a house of the other people (the Aymara). 14. This is a house of unburnt bricks (adobes). 15. This is a house of the Aymara community (lit., "of the other people"). 16. What more shall I tell thee? That is all. 17. Now I want to rest, oh father.

Remarks

*539 124 This text reproduces the comments of old Manuel Inta, looking at a series of photographs of his native village, Iru-Itu, and of the region. The photographs of Iru-Itu were recognized without difficulty; those of less familiar sites provoked various reflections before being well identified (13-15).

*539 ●193 1. xwí, interrogative particle; kapílá, this is the Spanish word capilla, "chapel." 4. We have not found any passive form among the Uru; to express the idea "has been seen from the back," the informant used the active voice: cèrk'- ku ɪ- / 1 2 nís- čay, literally one he has seen; ku indicates the recent / 3 2 3 1 past. It must be noted that this cast of mind was spontaneous, no question having been put to him; ɪ used in the text is an elision for i, "one," and has suffered a contraction with the previous vowel. 9. hoča expresses the idea of "point," being able to indicate as well as the raised prow of the balsa, a mountain summit, the nose, or the verb "to point" in the sense of being in a pointed form. 9-10-11. The narrator describes the three principal types of balsas of the Uru: with a raised, pointed prow for navigation on Titicaca (big lake); the big fishing balsas of the Desaguadero for three or four people, and the small balsas for one or two people. 13-15. tòxša, "others," or tòxša náka, /182/ "other people," the usual way to designate

*539 [501]

[101] [829]

/184/

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IX. Funeral Customs
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 167 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

[995]
[982] 1. We others, we have the custom of making a meal in honor of the soul. 2. We offer libations to the souls. 3. At night we have the custom of digging (the grave). 4. Then we have the custom of coming to burn (the clothes of the dead person). 5. We have the custom of burning the clothes of the soul. 6. Let us go burn these clothes. 7. Let us light the fire. 8. We burn only the clothes.

Remarks

In this short account the informant summarizes several funeral practices of the Uru. At first it is the evening of the funeral, during which relatives and friends eat in honor of the dead person (1) to whom libations of alcohol, chicha, and coca are offered (2). After the burial, without a coffin, in a simple ditch dug during the night (3), and which will not subsequently be marked by anything, the clothes of the dead person are burned.

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764
191 These practices are very different from those of the other natives of the Cordillera, speakers of Aymara or Keŝwa, who gather several days after the burial to wash the dead man's clothes and divide them up. The customs of the Uru recall those of numerous Amazonian groups.

The complete abandonment of the grave after burial must also be noted; it contrasts with the care which other populations of the Cordillera give to graves.

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● 93 1. uc̆úmi; this is the personal pronoun of the first person plural, with the exclusive meaning "we others, the Urus."

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 23]

/185/

*539 101 114 Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the *539 192 name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant [175] also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which [193] is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkičay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ču followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

*539 124

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: [274] The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give [273] thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking). [126] 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

/186/

Remarks

*539 124 This little, very lifelike scene shows the usual difficulties in any ethnological investigation; the informants tire quickly, and the investigator is harassed by requests. Our two informants however were excellent.

*539 192 193 1. The suffix náka indicates the plural; takú means "word," "speech," "language." 2. s- kõ- čay is used for kõ- čay, the s is euphonic; compare s- mír- háčay in 9. 4. A typical example of an adjective assuming a verbal form: wáka means "all"; by adding kíčay, the past suffix, the word "all she has been," is formed. 5. awáritiš is the Spanish word, aguardiente, eau-de-vie /brandy/. 7. ɬíka-čay, "I shall drink," formula of politeness before drinking. 8. húwa means "quick," "lively," "agile," and in a figurative sense, "intelligent," "quick-witted"; here it is a wish used as a formula of thanking; háp'- pay, "father," a frequently used honorific used for "monsieur." 9. kę- skéču; the repetition of the first syllable of the word has the value of a superlative: "very, very close"; litrát is the Spanish word retrato, portrait.

[115] 11. The informant, about 60 years old, hopes very much to die after his wife, who is, however, less than 40 years old. I am not absolutely sure of the transcription of tíkš' na- tačíkni; it is a future form of dead, literally, "who is stretched out."

[191] In this whole dialogue one will notice the rather different phonetics of the two informants. Thus čis- čay, "to talk," sometimes becomes či- čay; Carlos Kispe often leaves off endings in čay- ; he even often leaves off final syllables or letters.

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XI. Farewells
(Dialogue dictated by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 169 /in the foreign text/)

Translation

1. Dost thou not find it difficult to go away? 2. With much reluctance I shall go to my house. 3. Dost thou want to stay or dost thou want to leave? 4. I wish to go away. 5. Stay longer; it is better to stay now. 6. While thou travelest toward thy house, thou mightst meet a storm. 7. Eat thy meal; afterward thou shalt leave. Thy wife will be able to see thee from afar.

Remarks

We heard this short dialogue at Tihuanaco between our two informants, Carlos Kispe, who was staying with us, and old Manuel Inta, in a hurry to return home. Carlos Kispe repeated [191] it to us. The usual mistakes of this informant are to be again found here: the use of wáli, an Aymara word meaning "much"; transformation of the ending čay into ča; frequent elisions.

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1. kún, an interrogative particle which is placed before the verb; compare kúmi- pèk' (5). Note the future forms -kičay, used in this whole dialogue, and tú lún táni, literally, "to take trouble." 2. kinák', a particle which is placed after the object, indicating direction with motion. 3. The Uru have no conditional or dubitative form; they present the two proposals without any conjunction. 4. káli, "from here"; a particle which is placed after the verb, indicating departure from the place where one is. 6. káma, a particle placed after the verb; it is common to Keŝwa and to Aymara, meaning "whilst." 7. -stáni, a particle placed after the verb, meaning "after." /188/ 8. t' kúwa, a contraction; the correct form

/188 cont./
*539 193 would be tukú- nua, "woman," "spouse." Note the placing of the particle áskę, "far " between the root and the ending of the verb.

*539 121 It was interesting to publish these texts, which make possible some useful comparisons with Orés Pukina text, which will be the subject of our next note, and with Métraux's three Chipaya texts.

*539 190 [194] Considerable phonetic differences exist between Uru and Chipaya. For example, the ending čai, so characteristic of Uru but which already is tending to become ča or to be dropped, becomes ja in Chipaya. Chipaya pronunciation is much harder, with a greater frequency of gutterals, no doubt as a [192] result of Aymara influence. The Chipaya vocabulary contains a much higher proportion of Aymara, Keŝwa, and even Spanish words, and this does not originate solely from the nature of the texts gathered by Métraux: the trip of a Chipaya to Chile, and life in the barracks; one finds the same character in his second text, describing life in the fields. Outside this variable proportion of foreign words, differences in vocabulary are slight.

[193] The syntax of the two groups is identical, but nevertheless much less varied in Chipaya.

All this underlines the close linguistic affinities of these [184] two groups. It is the same language, practically extinct, spoken by two small, completely separated populations; it is better preserved among the Uru and more altered among the Chipaya, and already displays considerable variations from one generation to another within the same group.

*539 184 The differences are much more marked in the very content, rather than form, of the texts. The Uru mainly describe their work as fishermen and, to some extent, their customs. Métraux was able only with difficulty to obtain from the Chipaya a few phrases on their work /189/ in the fields and on animal husbandry, and his texts are mainly accounts of

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sympathetic Bertonio lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Vn nacion de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento," Paredes calls them "brotado . . . despreciables, de poco entendimiento, ásperos y zahereños." The Belgian traveller Walle says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression; it betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Posnansky writes:

> El Uru no tiene placeres, desconoce ahora el juego. La riza jamás asoma a los labios de su cara inmóvil, sin la menor mímica, tostado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus niños son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes; acurracados y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Urus es el de un pueblo amordazado.

Métraux preferred their congeners, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

> The Uru have a character and a genius as sombre as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this illwill is added the unhealthy rapacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the *altiplano* Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field-work with the Aymára, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hate-filled group; in my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . rather more vivacious and handsome than the Aymára"![14]

History. Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymára. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states that those on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in holes in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymára, Inca, and Spanish.

Language. I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The utter independ-

[14] J. de Acosta, *Historia de las Indias* (1591), p. 62. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 4. Bertonio, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 380. Paul Walle, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall). Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Métraux (JSAP 27), p. 89; (28), p. 207.

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ence of this latter, however, is evident to anyone familiar with the Aymará. Inasmuch as the almost unique grammatical sketch of Uru has appeared in a somewhat obscure and inaccessible publication,[15] a summary of the language of this little-known group may be of value to scholars and linguists.

The sounds b, v, d, f, ll, rr and z do not seem to occur in the language of the Uros. The adjective always precedes the noun, and has no mark of gender. The infinitive of the verb has several different terminations, apparently according to the words from which, when secondary, it is derived. Three tenses, present, past, and future, are distinguished by prefixed or suffixed particles, but the material at hand is not sufficient to enable one to settle the whole matter of conjugation, etc. In compound nouns Polo says (p. 480), "the components are arranged in the order which their signification expresses, *e.g. chekere-koche* (shoe), from *chekere* (what is covered), and *koch.* (foot)." The number of Uran words, whose etymology is known is, however, too small to settle this point completely.

The nymerical system of the Uros deserves a few words. There are separate words for 1, 2, 3; then 4, 5, 6, are, respectively, *pácpic*, *paknucu*, *pacchui*, in which a common first element *pac* appears; 7, 8, 9, *tohoco*, *cohonco*, *samaco* (also *sankau*) seem to have a common terminal *-co; kalo*, 10, is unrelated to the other numerals; 11, 12, 13, etc., are *kalosi*, *kalo-piske; kalo-chep*, etc.; 100 is *kalo-kalo* (also *pac*); and 1000 could be expressed by *kalo-pac.*

Among the principal suffixes in the Uran language are the following:

-ai; in names of male relatives, etc. (*apai*, fathers; *suhuai*, son; *chichulai*, brother, etc.)

-chi; in certain names of female relatives, etc. (*achichi*, grandmother; *machi*, daughter; *ushakpischi*, girl).

-ni; in certain adjectives (*chakni*, green; *chikni*, old).

-si; a frequent termination in nouns (*coasi*, water; *muksi*, cigar; *chacsi*, coca; *lucsi*, spoon; *tucsi*, stomach; *potsi*, axe; *chequisi*, lasso; *chici*, moon; *masi*, stone; *pacsi*, bridge.

Among the suffixes of the infinitives are: *-ai*, *-ana*, *-ani*, *-ara*, *-chi*, *-i*, *-ini*, *-k*, *-n*, *-qui*, *-si*, *-u*, *-ui*, etc. There is a negative or privative particle *ana-*, used as a prefix (*e.g. ana- chuni*, "ugly," *i.e.* "not beautiful.") This particle is also used some times with nouns (*e.g. ana-karchicki*, handless.) Incorporation (or at least collocation) of the pronoun in the verb occurs, as, *e.g. lulicunkipec*, "dost thou desire to eat"? This word is derived from *luli*, "to eat"; *cun*, "thou"; and *kipec*, "to desire." The Uran language belongs to the class of American tongues which do not possess grammatical

[15] Polo, in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima*, 10, 1901, pp. 445–482, from which Chamberlain's, and the present sketch, have largely been taken. Métraux' excellent work is predominantly on the Chipaya of Carangas; Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquinan" is not undisputedly identifiable with Uru; and Alonzo de Barcena's *Lexica et Precepta in Quinque Indorum Linguis* (Lima ?1590), which is said to have contained a sketch of the language, is not known to exist in even a single copy.

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193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 [191] All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[18] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

171 179 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkiļu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

144 [160] [178] *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [55] [62] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 142 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[18] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90–110.

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Phonetics

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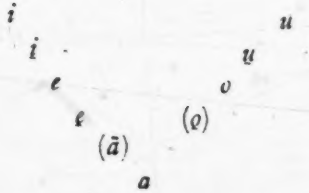
It is my duty to acknowledge at the head of this dictionary that for lack of a musical ear, I am not always sure of the accuracy of my phonetic transcriptions. I have done my best and I am convinced that on the whole my notations are correct. I fear, however, that I have created some confusion in the quality of the vowels, and it is probable that certain fine points or shadings of pronunciation have escaped me. The difficulties I experienced in gathering and reproducing Čipaya and Uro sounds made me neglect the question of accent. I insist on pointing out this serious gap myself in my linguistic documentation.

194 The vowels which I believe to have recognized in Čipaya can be classified in the following manner:



a, e, i, o, u are "grosso modo" identical to the corresponding sounds in Spanish.

i is a phoneme whose quality is midway between a very open i and a closed e

ɛ is a more open e than the French è in "père." It is almost a very closed front a.

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194 [128] [114] I think that I have ascertained in some cases the existence of an o (o) whose articulation would be close to a gutteral (back) a. Not being sure of this sound, and having ascertained it only in a few very rare cases, I have not indicated it in my transcriptions.

u is a phoneme midway between an open u and a closed o.

The dipthongs are the following: au, eu, ua, (wa), ue (we).

The sign ˇ put under the first or second vowel indicates that the latter is asyllabic and is only a semivowel. When the second part of the diphtong precedes another vowel, it is replaced by the corresponding fricative.

Table of Consonants

	Occlusives		Affricates		Constringents		Liquids		
Aspirated	h								
Guttural (medio gut.)	k	g	k		x				
Palatal			č	ǰ	š	ž		l'	ñ
Dental	t (tʰ)		ts		s	(z)	r	l	n
Labial	p (pʰ)					w			

The sound transcribed by h is strongly aspirated; it tends toward x.

g, k, l, m, n, ñ, l, p, r, s, t are identical with the corresponding sounds in Spanish or French.

č = "ch" in Spanish.

š = "ch" in French.

ž = French "j" in "jeter."

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194 ǰ = English "j," dj in French.

t^{s} = an affricate generally transcribed ts.

w = "w" in English ("water").

l' = a liquid "l" as in Spanish. It is possible that I may have sometimes mixed it up with y.

p^{h} = a p, followed by a light breath. /342/

k^{x} = (I do not think I am in error) a medio-guttural affricate, a very frequent sound in Čipaya.

Grammar

193 The few rules of grammar which can be deduced from the texts I collected will appear in the reading itself of this dictionary. I must point out, however, the existence of a sort of suffixed article, ki, frequently added to substantives: kerka: armadillo; kerkaki: the armadillo; k^{x}oya: house; k^{x}oyaki: the house, etc.

Gender exists in Cipaya; it manifests itself in some words, in the first place in the demonstrative adjective ti for the masculine and ta for the feminine, and in the ordinal adjective "a" tsi, tsa.

The masculine gender is indicated in certain cases by the presence of an a: usa (male child, boy); us (female child, little girl); sewa: widower; seu: widow, etc.

Vocabulary

Preliminary remarks

128 192 I have indicated the root for each verb, which I tried to disengage from the different forms which were given me by my informants. In doubtful cases I have left the burden of decision to the reader. The verbs for which I had only one example have been written down such as they are.

/188 cont./
*539 193 would be tukú- nua, "woman," "spouse." Note the placing of the particle áskę, "far," between the root and the ending of the verb.

*539 121 It was interesting to publish these texts, which make possible some useful comparisons with Orés Pukina text, which will be the subject of our next note, and with Métraux's three Chipaya texts.

*539 190 [194] Considerable phonetic differences exist between Uru and Chipaya. For example, the ending čai, so characteristic of Uru but which already is tending to become ča or to be dropped, becomes ja in Chipaya. Chipaya pronunciation is much harder, with a greater frequency of gutterals, no doubt as a [192] result of Aymara influence. The Chipaya vocabulary contains a much higher proportion of Aymara, Keŝwa, and even Spanish words, and this does not originate solely from the nature of the texts gathered by Métraux: the trip of a Chipaya to Chile, and life in the barracks; one finds the same character in his second text, describing life in the fields. Outside this variable proportion of foreign words, differences in vocabulary are slight.

[193] The syntax of the two groups is identical, but nevertheless much less varied in Chipaya.

All this underlines the close linguistic affinities of these [184] two groups. It is the same language, practically extinct, spoken by two small, completely separated populations; it is better preserved among the Uru and more altered among the Chipaya, and already displays considerable variations from one generation to another within the same group.

*539 184 The differences are much more marked in the very content, rather than form, of the texts. The Uru mainly describe their work as fishermen and, to some extent, their customs. Métraux was able only with difficulty to obtain from the Chipaya a few phrases on their work /189/ in the fields and on animal husbandry, and his texts are mainly accounts of

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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sympathetic Bertonio lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Vn nacion de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento," Paredes calls them "brotado . . . despreciables, de poco entendimiento, ásperos y zahereños." The Belgian traveller Walle says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression; it betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Posnansky writes:

> El Uru no tiene placeres, desconoce ahora el juego. La riza jamás asoma a los labios de su cara inmóvil, sin la menor mímica, tostado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus niños son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes; acurracados y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Urus es el de un pueblo amordazado.

Métraux preferred their congeners, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

> The Uru have a character and a genius as sombre as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this illwill is added the unhealthy rapacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the *altiplano* Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field-work with the Aymára, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hate-filled group; in my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . rather more vivacious and handsome than the Aymára"![14]

History. Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymára. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states that those on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in holes in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymára, Inca, and Spanish.

Language. I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The utter independ-

[14] J. de Acosta, *Historia de las Indias* (1591), p. 62. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 4. Bertonio, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 380. Paul Walle, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall). Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Métraux (JSAP 27), p. 89; (28), p. 207.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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ence of this latter, however, is evident to anyone familiar with the Aymará. Inasmuch as the almost unique grammatical sketch of Uru has appeared in a somewhat obscure and inaccessible publication,[15] a summary of the language of this little-known group may be of value to scholars and linguists.

The sounds b, v, d, f, ll, rr and z do not seem to occur in the language of the Uros. The adjective always precedes the noun, and has no mark of gender. The infinitive of the verb has several different terminations, apparently according to the words from which, when secondary, it is derived. Three tenses, present, past, and future, are distinguished by prefixed or suffixed particles, but the material at hand is not sufficient to enable one to settle the whole matter of conjugation, etc. In compound nouns Polo says (p. 480), "the components are arranged in the order which their signification expresses, *e.g. chekere-koche* (shoe), from *chekere* (what is covered), and *koch.* (foot)." The number of Uran words, whose etymology is known is, however, too small to settle this point completely.

The nymerical system of the Uros deserves a few words. There are separate words for 1, 2, 3; then 4, 5, 6, are, respectively, *pácpic*, *paknucu*, *pacchui*, in which a common first element *pac* appears; 7, 8, 9, *tohoco*, *cohonco*, *samaco* (also *sankau*) seem to have a common terminal *-co; kalo*, 10, is unrelated to the other numerals; 11, 12, 13, etc., are *kalosi*, *kalo-piske; kalo-chep*, etc.; 100 is *kalo-kalo* (also *pac*); and 1000 could be expressed by *kalo-pac.*

Among the principal suffixes in the Uran language are the following:

-ai; in names of male relatives, etc. (*apai*, fathers; *suhuai*, son; *chichulai*, brother, etc.)

-chi; in certain names of female relatives, etc. (*achichi*, grandmother; *machi*, daughter; *ushakpischi*, girl).

-ni; in certain adjectives (*chakni*, green; *chikni*, old).

-si; a frequent termination in nouns (*coasi*, water; *muksi*, cigar; *chacsi*, coca; *lucsi*, spoon; *tucsi*, stomach; *potsi*, axe; *chequisi*, lasso; *chici*, moon; *masi*, stone; *pacsi*, bridge.

Among the suffixes of the infinitives are: *-ai*, *-ana*, *-ani*, *-ara*, *-chi*, *-i*, *-ini*, *-k*, *-n*, *-qui*, *-si*, *-u*, *-ui*, etc. There is a negative or privative particle *ana-*, used as a prefix (*e.g. ana- chuni*, "ugly," *i.e.* "not beautiful.") This particle is also used some times with nouns (*e.g. ana-karchichi*, handless.) Incorporation (or at least collocation) of the pronoun in the verb occurs, as, *e.g. lulicunkipec*, "dost thou desire to eat"? This word is derived from *luli*, "to eat"; *cun*, "thou"; and *kipec*, "to desire." The Uran language belongs to the class of American tongues which do not possess grammatical

[15] Polo, in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima*, 10, 1901, pp. 445–482, from which Chamberlain's, and the present sketch, have largely been taken. Métraux' excellent work is predominantly on the Chipaya of Carangas; Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquinan" is not undisputedly identifiable with Uru; and Alonzo de Barcena's *Lexica et Precepta in Quinque Indorum Linguis* (Lima ?1590), which is said to have contained a sketch of the language, is not known to exist in even a single copy.

/147 cont./

this group are the handsome monograph of Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, Métraux's vocabulary, and, at a less important level, the various publications of Posnansky containing numerous words more or less well noted down and translated.

The conditions under which most of the documents on the Iru-Itu group were obtained largely explain the imprecision of the meaning of numerous words and the often very different notation on which Créqui-Montfort and Rivet rightly insist. There is no doubt, however, that many of the words have a very broad meaning and that their pronunciation varies within rather large limits, especially with informants belonging to different generations, or influenced to varying extents by Aymara. One even notes considerable variations in the course of a conversation with one person.

During my long contact with the Uru, I collected an important vocabulary of more than 1,000 words, as well as numerous phrases making it possible to analyze the structure of the language.

The extent of this vocabulary and of the collection of phrases makes it impossible to publish them now. I have therefore been forced to make a selection of accounts and conversations obtained from my informants. These texts /148/ relate to the daily life of the Uru. Beyond their interest in this respect, they illustrate most of the ordinary grammatical forms. Study of them also permits a comparison with the only known Pukina text, that of Oré, which is much more extended than it had been possible to do with the documents at our disposal up to now. This comparison, which gives evidence of very close grammatical and lexicographic affinities, will be the subject of a special note in the second number of this journal.

Two informants were utilized in the course of our long linguistic investigation. They belonged to two different generations and displayed considerable variations, not only in phonetics but also in vocabulary and syntax. Both spoke Aymara, the younger one fluently, and the older rather badly;

/149 cont./

115 large part, and this to the great dismay of the respectable
[147] guardian of the ruins of Tiahuanaco who had accompanied him to La Paz and whose watchfulness he tricked in order to enter
[91] his village alone. A very limited knowledge of Aymara, none of Spanish or Keŝwa /Quechua/. An excellent informant.

Carlos Kispe, from 40 to 50 years old, one of the youngest
[44] men in the group. He displayed characteristics in his physical appearance which led one to suspect a certain degree of Aymara crossbreeding (see the 2nd note, on Physical Anthropology
[898] /p. 30/). Besides he was an illegitimate son, born of an un-
[91] known father. Much more enterprising than Manuel Inta, he spoke Aymara fluently, but neither Spanish nor Keŝwa. He had frequent contacts with the neighboring Aymara populations and, faced with the persistant drought, was thinking of leaving
[91] Iru-Itu to go live as a fisher at Guaki. He also proved to be an excellent informant, but his syntax was less pure and less varied than that of Manuel Inta and his vocabulary poorer and more mixed with Aymara; he did not use, or even did not know, a certain number of words used by his companion.

195 It is interesting to underline these differences in /150/
184 language between individuals of the same village, belonging to two different generations. They allow us to follow the rapid evolution of languages entrusted to oral tradition alone without any monument to establish them.

115 Outside these two principal informants, we utilized other inhabitants of the village, either for the general investigation or for word comparisons.

128 For each text we shall indicate the informant who pro-
191 vided it. These texts were gone over several times with the informant in order to obtain as exact a transcription as possible. Their translation was always checked in Aymara. Even so, in the course of the same text, considerable variations in pronunciation will be observed, which do not appear to follow any definite rule. They indicate a certain phonetic instability, more marked, of course, between different observers.

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621 616 [171] Aymara and Kičua /Quechua/ communities recalls the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two [200] [192] practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [173] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-[123] making. Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [195] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about 621 616 614 their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

/89 cont./

155 648 crueler successors, the enfranchised half-breeds of Bolivia. One simple example can illustrate better than any humanitarian tirade the treatment to which, even up to our day, these Indians are submitted: the two Bolivian soldiers who accompanied me and who had interrupted their hunt for Indians who had revolted, threatened my poor informants with public whipping and burning of their huts for the smallest trifle. Those are the most current, and the gentlest, measures employed by Bolivian officers with regard to the natives.

197 177 Linguistics. The Uro hardly speak their ancient language any more, and even among themselves Aymara is readily used. However, the Uro dialect of Ancoaqui seems to have been less contaminated by Spanish and Aymara than that of the Uro of Chipaya. At any rate, at Ancoaqui I had the good fortune to find several Uro roots which have already disappeared at Chipaya. This fact might appear peculiar when one reflects that the Uro of Ancoaqui have always had much closer contact with the Aymara and with the Spanish than their brothers at Carangas. Their material culture has been more deeply modified than that of the Čipaya, whose physiognomy is clearly archaic. How then can one explain why their language should have remained purer than the dialect of the Čipaya? I am inclined to believe that this anomaly is due to the fact that the Uro of Ancoaqui have been located closer to the great Uro centers of Lake Titicaca, and that since they were formerly more numerous than the Čipaya, they have succeeded better in preserving their own language. A linguistic detail which happens to confirm the thesis supported by Dr. Rivet on the identity of the Pukina and of the Uro remains to be mentioned. The lexicographic concordances pointed out by Dr. Rivet made this assimilation almost certain. The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language bukina, pukina in order to distinguish it from Aymara. The fact had already been indicated to me at La Paz; it has since then been confirmed by all my informants.

197 114

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French-Uro Vocabulary

104 The phonetic system used in this article is the same as the one that /90/ Dr. Paul Rivet uses in his article on the Uro language (1): ĉ corresponds to the Spanish "ch"; ĵ to the French

1. See note 1. p. 1.

"ch"; ǰ is an affricate which would be transcribed as "dj" in French; x is the Spanish "j." and ľ the "ll" or liquid l of the same language. The combined sign ɸ is a half-occlusive, the cutting-off of which produces a sound close to the Spanish "j." A mark under the vowels indicates that they are very open. ŭ is a semi-vowel which is close to w.

193 197 The grammar of the Uro of Ancoaqui does not seem to differ from that of the dialect of the Cipaya. One finds the same verbal ending, the same affixes, etc.

192 The words preceded by one asterisk are those which are derived from Aymara, those marked with two asterisks derive from Spanish, and with three, from Kičua /Quechua/. /The word list, pp. 90-110, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/116 cont./

651 659 that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

163 The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

163 642 649 [658]

162 [439] One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Iscara seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

[439]

[497] The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

/117 cont./

197 had to manifest itself through the intermediary of Aymara. The Uro dialect of the Čipaya is thus an ailing language in the process of disappearing in the future that I believe to have saved from oblivion, if not in its entirety, at least to a great extent.

133 137 The territory. The physical envionment is that of the puna (Pl. VI, A /see p. 30 /) artificially altered by man. If one arrives in Chipaya coming from the north, one traverses for almost a day an uninterrupted succession of sand dunes, to which some tufts of long, hard gramineous plants (icu, Stipa ichu (Jarava) or the black, twisted stalks of tolas (Baccharis Lepidophyllum and other Compositae) cling. Once the dune area has been crossed the terrain becomes completely flat, and the rarer tolares alternate with the mossy swellings of yareta (Azorella). In places the vegetation disappears completely, but the most sterile parts are adorned with some Alpine flowers, which make imperceptible spots of color against the greyness of the ground. The Indians are [301] not disdainful of them. I remember having seen them gather [824] bunches of them during a festival to stick in their hair or to decorate [134] the images of saints. The aridity of this sandy soil manifests itself with an intensity which becomes more and more acute the closer one comes to Chipaya territory. The boundary is marked by the complete disappearance of the plants mentioned above and by the appearance of stunted grass, thinly sown, which hardly [311] reaches a few centimeters in height. These wretched pastures are the product of human industry. The Čipaya obtain them thanks to 312 a system of irrigation that would do honor to their spirit of enterprise were it not the necessary condition of their existence in this environment. Using canals, some of which are almost two meters deep and three meters across, they have diverted a part of the waters of the Lauca River and conducted it by secondary branches across the entire extent of their territory. During the rainy season and the period of great floods, they provoke inundations by raising a few dams here and there. The water fertilizes the sands of the

/331 cont./

Further on (p. 115) the description of a sacrifice made by a Čipaya Indian in honor of a titi-mal'ku, i.e. the wildcat protector of his house will be given. In a hut which served as a storage place in Chipaya, I saw a stuffed hawk, mamani, which was likewise pointed out to me as the mal'ku of the family which owned the hut.

Certain characters in Aymara folklore also bear the epithet mal'ku. Thus the Wasa mal'ku, mysterious protector of wild animals. These examples allow us at present to form a fairly clear idea of the evolution undergone by the word mal'ku and of its present meaning. In the beginning this term denoted pre-eminence, whether it was purely secular and due to social rank or derived from the sacred nature of the object or person thus qualified. The substitution of approximate Spanish equivalents for the ancient native names designating the different degrees of authority has caused the use of the word mal'ku in the sense of chief to disappear. It is only preserved in the language to denote excellence, that which is worthy of respect, and consequently the supernatural and sacred. This evolution has been carried through to its most extreme limit, and today mal'ku can be translated in certain instances by "demon." In some Čipaya prayers the magician calls indiscriminately upon "all the mal'ku"; he invites the "mal'ku" to come eat the pieces of meat which are tossed to them in the air.

/332/ The bibliographical research which I have undertaken has brought me only rare examples of the word mal'ku being attributed to supernatural beings or being invested with the meaning "sacred." The present natives of the Huarochirí region (1) worship

1. Tello (Julio C.) and Mirando (Prospero). "Wallallao. Ceremonias Gentílicas realizadas en la Región Cisandina del Perú Central /Wallallao. Pagan Ceremonies carried out in the Cisandean Region of Central Peru/." Inca, Lima, Vol. I, No. 2, 1923, pp. 475-549, 510, 532, 545.

2:Métraux--216 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24 Carangas-Chipaya

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The Uro Language

(Chipaya Dialect) (2)

2. Gathered by the author during January-February 1931.

Introduction

My trip to Chipaya had as its basic goal saving the Uro language. Nothing was closer to my heart during my entire stay than collecting as complete documentation as possible on this dying language. My zeal was sustained by the conviction that I was certainly the last ethnographer who would have the chance to gather the last sounds of an undoubtedly very old speech. I must admit that the results did not come up to my efforts and that I am far from having obtained the documents which I hoped to collect. Nevertheless, if my dictionary and texts give only a partial ideal of Uro-Chipaya, this is because in 1931 it was already too late to collect the elements of this language which would have permitted an exhaustive study of it. If the fatidic twelfth hour of which the German ethnographers love to speak has not already sounded for the Uro language, I can assure you that its days are numbered. Its disappearance is a matter of only a few years. Nothing is more disappointing than being present at the death of a language. Every instant one is confronted by gaps, by holes filled by foreign elements which give the language the appearance of a patched cloth. One would like to reconstruct the missing pieces, one hunts for words and expressions, but this pursuit is for the most part in vain: the word has disappeared from the consciousness of all the individuals composing the group. However painful an investigation conducted under these /338/ conditions may be, it does not lessen the possibility of making some interesting observations on the way in which one language is substituted for another. Uro, as much in Chipaya as

Carangas - Chipaya

/338 cont./ Uro, as much in Chipaya as

192 in Ancoaqui, has been absorbed by Aymara. I have indicated in my
197 dictionary the words or roots of Aymara origin with one asterisk, those of Spanish provenance with two, and Kičua /Quechua/ roots with three. If one counts up all the words of foreign origin, one will see that they constitute an impressive percentage in comparison with the purely Uro words. The latter, moreover, such as they may be,
[193] always have an Aymara doublet to which an Uro ending is simply added. According to the individual, the number of Aymara roots which recur in their speech varies: the young people who have traveled are naturally more inclined than the old to stuff Uro phrases with Aymara words and terms. They know the corresponding Uro word but forget to use it; little by little they will leave them aside
191 and the latter will disappear. The infiltration of Aymara is already
197 so acknowledged that even children eight to ten years old speak it fluently. Čipaya who, for one reason or another, have been absent from their villages for several years, are subsequently reluctant to use their old language; even the women, who hardly ever leave their village, all express themselves in Aymara. This influence of Aymara on Uro dates from a long time ago. Naturally, the battle between the two languages will end with the elimination of that of the
197 weaker and more backward people. In the Čipaya dialect words as
192 common as "brother" and "sister" have already disappeared before their Aymara equivalents. This example alone says much on the
[193] state of decomposition of Uro. This disintegration has not only affected the vocabulary but also the grammar: the negations, adverbs, adverbial locutions are purely Aymara.

One will be struck on casting an eye on this vocabulary by the large number of Spanish words adopted by the Uro-Čipaya. I myself was surprised to ascertain this penetration of Spanish in the language of a people who live so isolated and find themselves in direct contact with no city or even village where Spanish is spoken. I would have attributed this phenomenon to the sojourns and trips which the Čipaya made a few years ago to Chile. If one examines the Spanish elements that Uro contains, however, one cannot consider them as recent

/338 cont./

197 borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by
192 the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One /339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speaking Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

124 The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete
191 disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which
197 float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version. This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my [12] speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten his expressions.

126 The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with a few phrases which effectively summarized their monotonous
115 activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering, obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

/148 cont./

115 the former had had much more frequent contacts with the
191 neighboring populations.

114 Here I should note that Métraux's assertion in his 1937
191 work on the almost general usage of Aymara by the Uru of Iru-Itu, who "practically do not speak their old language any more," was clearly exaggerated. In 1938, alongside individuals who spoke Aymara fluently, numerous men knew only a few words
[197] of it, and most of the women did not know it at all. The only ordinary language in the village was Uru, but it is natural that in the course of a short stay with Aymara informants, a traveler would mainly have had contacts with natives who knew this language, which gives a false impression of the group as a whole.

114 Moreover, it is inexact to state that the Uru call their
197 language Bukina or Pukina. This information was also given to me in 1938, during my first trip, by a Uru who spoke Aymara and even a few words of Spanish, and I published it in a small work on the Uru ("Les Indiens Uru du Desaguadero /The Uru Indians of the Desaguadero/," Boletim do Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1939, XIV-XVII, 303-319). During my second stay I had an explanation /149/ of this declaration made by several Uru. All asserted to me that they did not know who the Pukina were and did not know of any people with this name, but a "mister" had said to them that this was the name of their language. It is not difficult to recognize in this connection Posnansky's intervention, of which it would be easy to cite other examples of the same kind.

115 My informants were the following:

Manuel Inta, apparently a pure-blooded Uru, a great-
[197] grandfather, who was almost 90 years old at the time of our investigation judging from the events at which he had been present in his youth. A robust man, he was still capable of making the trip on foot from La Paz to Tiahuanaco, 90 kilometers, in two days in order to save the price of his passage by train or bus, which had nevertheless been paid for him in

/188 cont./
*539 193 would be tukú- nua, "woman," "spouse." Note the placing of the particle áskę, "far," between the root and the ending of the verb.

*539 121 It was interesting to publish these texts, which make possible some useful comparisons with Orés Pukina text, which will be the subject of our next note, and with Métraux's three Chipaya texts.

*539 189 [190] Considerable phonetic differences exist between Uru and Chipaya. For example, the ending čai, so characteristic of Uru but which already is tending to become ča or to be dropped, becomes ja in Chipaya. Chipaya pronunciation is much harder, with a greater frequency of gutterals, no doubt as a [192] result of Aymara influence. The Chipaya vocabulary contains a much higher proportion of Aymara, Keŝwa, and even Spanish words, and this does not originate solely from the nature of the texts gathered by Métraux: the trip of a Chipaya to Chile, and life in the barracks; one finds the same character in his second text, describing life in the fields. Outside this variable proportion of foreign words, differences in vocabulary are slight.

[193] The syntax of the two groups is identical, but nevertheless much less varied in Chipaya.

All this underlines the close linguistic affinities of these [184] two groups. It is the same language, practically extinct, spoken by two small, completely separated populations; it is better preserved among the Uru and more altered among the Chipaya, and already displays considerable variations from one generation to another within the same group.

*539 184 The differences are much more marked in the very content, rather than form, of the texts. The Uru mainly describe their work as fishermen and, to some extent, their customs. Métraux was able only with difficulty to obtain from the Chipaya a few phrases on their work /189/ in the fields and on animal husbandry, and his texts are mainly accounts of

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/35 cont./

175 (Juan Alfonso Carrizo, Cancionero popular de Jujuy /Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy/, p. XV, Tucuman, 1935.)

/36/ Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada /Moral Chronicle/ of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

[162] [181] In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor Lorenço de Aldana gave us...; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uro Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscene and dark-skinned /renegrida/ they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. The chief [103] pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Volume I, p. 353.)

[162] [199] [181] This pueblo (of Challacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians who were being catechized by our Order.... These are crude Uro Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned /renegrida/, without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all [206] prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish in the lake of Paria...those who live on land /do so/ in [342] sepultures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails...the [137] Uro Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here [291] they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold [199] land) than some mats of these cattails.... Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion. [103] [199] There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a Priory with a subsidiary church of Uro Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away.... There is another pueblo four leagues

[16th-17th Centuries]

/37 cont./

195 Nearly all of this first book of Chapter XVII is devoted to
961 the great rebellion of these Indians, led by mestizos or Spanish
123 bandits, like their last chief, a certain... "Don Pedro Laine,
648 a fierce and bold man, the son of the Auditor /Contador/ Ansa, who is regarded by them as a great sorcerer.../cited in Spanish/."

(Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustin en el Perú /Moral Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru/. Lima, 1653. Vol. II, Chap. XVII, First Book.)

195 Diligencias e informaciones hechas para sacar de la isla del Choro y del Paraje de Villivilli en el Lago Poopo a los indios sus habitantes, considerados como infieles y pernicioso /Measures and inquiries carried out to remove from the island of Choro and the region of Villivilli in Lake Poopo their Indian inhabitants, regarded as being infidels and destructive./

[131] Report made by General Don Francisco García Picado, Corregidor and Lord Chief Justice of Oruro, at the request of the Duke de la Palata, Viceroy of Peru, on the existence of savage Indians on Paria Lake.

[199] Among the witnesses whose testimony was gathered by the commissioners /Commissaires/ we find..."the Teaching [635] Father Fray Nicolas de Loayza, a religious of the Order of Our Father Saint Augustine...of Chacacollo, the principal [149] pueblo of the district of the corregidor of the province /38/ of Paria, and of its native Indians called Urus, and of some outsiders who live in said pueblo and the neighboring areas under its authority...a person who has known them for 35 [197] years and has more than sufficient experience...teaching them the Christian doctrine in three languages: the general one, Aymara, and their own mother tongue, which they call Uru.../cited in Spanish/."

(Document partly published in the Revista del Instituto de Sociología Boliviana in Sucre, by Gunnar Mendoza L. under

[16th-17th Centuries]

/38 cont./

175 native livestock, and in addition they share in more maize
[161] and wheat than those of other parts, because of /39/ having
[131] on their left the province of Larecaja, abundant in both....
511] /Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción colonial /Colonial Account/. Biblioteca Argentina, XIII-XIV, Buenos Aires, 1916, I, 227.)

Constituciones sinodales del Obispado del Cuzco, expedidas el 29 de Setiembre de 1591, por el Illmo Sr. D. Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of Cuzco, issued on 29 September 1951 by the Illustrious Don Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo/.

175 ...Because in many pueblos of this our Diocese as a rule
799 all Indian women, or most of them and some of the Indian
[199] men, do not understand the Quechua language, but rather Aymara or Puquina, and for this reason do not know the mysteries of our Faith, and do not confess their whole life, not even at the hour of death, in order to remedy this we order that all parish priests among the Indians, in accordance with the mandate of the third Council, should hear confessions in the language peculiar to their parish, /whether/ Quechua, Aymara, or Puquina, and because this is so different in each pueblo where said language is spoken, within a year of their being appointed to said parishes, they should prepare with the help of Indians who know Spanish /ladinos/ a short Confession and Catechism wherewith to confess and instruct these persons, which they must do under penalty of 20 pesos the first time and twice as much the second, being warned that they will even be deprived of their parishes, if they are negligent in this respect..../ Translated from the Spanish./

Statement of the Bishop of Cuzco, D. Antonio de la Raya, charging the Jesuits on 12 March 1549 to give examinations to clergymen applying for Indian parishes:

[16th -17th Centuries]

/39 cont./

...Because in like manner it is necessary that the said Aymara and Puquina languages should be taught in this city, since they are spoken in many parts of this diocese and there are great deficiencies in the administration of the holy sacraments because the priests do not know them..../Translated from the Spanish./

Constituciones Sinodales del Obispado de Arequipa hechas y ordenadas por el Illmo. y Rvdo. Senor D. Pedro de Villagomez, Obispo de la Santa Iglesia de Arequipa, en el primero Synodo que se celébró en dicho Obispado que fue por el ano de 1638 /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of Arequipa, issued and ordained by the Illustrious and Reverend D. Pedro de Villagomez, Bishop of the Holy Church of Arequipa, in the first Synod held in said Diocese, which took place in the year 1638/.

/40/ ...The Catechism must be taught in the Puquina language. Heedful that in some parishes of the Diocese the Puquina language is spoken, therefore, in conformance with the disposition of the law and of the Provincial Council, and having made inquiries as to who is most familiar with this language, we entrust the translation and interpretation of the Catechism which the said Council ordered to be published in the said first two languages (Quechua and Aymara), to Dr. D. Alvaro Mogrovexo, curate of the curacy /doctrina/ of the Zarumo, and to Dr. Miguel de Arana, curate of the Habaya and Locumba curacy, so that they may translate it into the Puquina language..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Book I. f. 17, Chap. V.)

...in the Catechism of the Lima Council no prayers were included for the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, and so that the Indians may learn them, they are ordered to be included here, in the two languages, and to be translated also into Puquina, that is to say, one for the elevation of the Host and one for that of the Chalice..../Translated from the Spanish./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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THE URU-CHIPAYA

By Weston La Barre

THE URU

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Uru* (*Uro, Huno, Ochomazo, Ochozuma, Uchumi, Kjotsuni, Bukina, Pukina, Puquina, Urocolla, Uroquilla, Yuracare* (not to be confused with eastern Bolivian *Yuracare*), *Kiuchacatati* or "Big-livered People," and *Chancumankkeri* or "Water-greens Eaters," the last two opprobrious *Aymara* nicknames, inhabit the region of Lake Titicaca and some of the watercourses of the inter-Andean Plateau (map 1, *No. 6;* map 4). "Uro" or "uru" seems to have been used commonly in the 17th century to mean "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. It is now the most common name of these people. They call their language *Puquina.* 101

The *Uru* language has no connection with either *Quechua* or *Aymara.* It is probably the same, however, as the *Puquina* of the 17th century (Oré, 1607), although it is not the same as the *Puquina-Uro* of De la Grasserie (1894). The *Puquina* spoken by the Desaguadero *Uru* is closely related to the *Chipaya* of Lake Poopó, and Métraux (1936 a) therefore established an *Uro-Chipaya* family. Rivet's classification of *Uru* as *Arawakan* has not been widely accepted by linguists. We consider *Uro-Chipaya* to be an independent linguistic family. 197

Uru was called a "lengua general" of Perú by 16th-century writers (the "Relaciones geográficas de Indias" in 1582 calls it "one of the three general languages of the kingdom"), although its known distribution at a later date was confined to a few people scattered on the islands of Lake Titicaca, in the Río Desaguadero swamps, and near Lake Poopó. Vázquez de Espinosa (1942) found *Puquina* spoken in Sucre and *Uru* settlements in the Cochabamba Valley. *Uru* evidently once had a much wider distribution than in recent times. 197 175

The Highland *Uru* all now speak both *Aymara* and *Uru,* and a few know a little Spanish. 191

The *Uru* of the coast of Tarapacá and Tacna are similar culturally to the *Changa* and are sometimes even called *Changa.* They are said to be descendants of the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca sent as colonists (mitimaes) in *Inca* times. But, as all now speak Spanish and no trace 101 [197]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chearaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Carvilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

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the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

Tulane Caribbean 3-3 (no desk) 1960 SP3A Ute SP3A
Chipaya

IT WOULD STILL BE A.D. 1500 in a remote section of Oruro Department of Bolivia today. Here is the retreat of the Chipaya Indians, the living people who can give us an idea of rural life in a distant corner of the great Inca Empire. The few hundred individuals of Santa Ana de Chipaya are the remainders of a once numerous people whose territory extended to the northern shores of Lake Titicaca. Their language, Uru-Chipaya, was called "one of the three main languages of the kingdom" by the sixteenth-century chroniclers of Peru, which included what is now Bolivia. Over the centuries the more powerful Quechuas and Aymaras have seized their lands, forcing them back into a region where life is particularly difficult. But they have made remarkable use of their harsh, ungenerous environment. In their isolation, they have retained their pre-Columbian customs more completely than any other Andean group.

And they are isolated. The modern world did not even know of their existence until it was reported by the famous Peruvian War Club toward the end of the nine-

[A 19-C]

S/Spin T-6 (ca.1954) 1955
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Professor Vellard from the University of San Marcos, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.

Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they extended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as *Lake Poopo* and were the founders of Oruro, which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru', meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers, Don Pedro Mercado de Peñaloza, in a report dated 1586 on the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, whom they were fishermen. He holds them in low esteem, remarking that they have no talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO

By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *totora* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—viz., scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.[1]

Location. According to Polo, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Akaulla mayo*, some 20 km. from Ancoaqui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoaqui*, on the left[2] bank of the Desaguadero, 25 km. from Lake Titicaca *Irwito*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31'40"),

[1] *The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in* English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uru-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South American ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

[2] Métraux, *Contribution au folk-lore uruito* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 26, p. 75) is in minor error in locating this *communidad* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

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is summer when the sun is shining, the temperature in this relatively dry region invariably falls quite low in the cold nights, necessitating a sleeping-bag and heavy blankets. Winters are bitterly cold: this period lasts from June to November, the "dry season." Morning mists are common, and electrical storms are frequent in summer, as is hail, but the winter snows are comparatively light.

Linguistic Identification. The Uru have been the source of a long and intricate scholarly debate, which is by no means adequately settled yet. In 1607 the missionary Geronimo de Ore published in Naples a famous, but rare book, his *Rituale seu Manuale Peruvanum*. This contains about thirty pages in the "Puquina" tongue, with translations into Aymará, Quechua, Spanish, and Latin. The only specimen of this language in modern works was the Paternoster from Ore printed by Hervas, until Brinton published extracts from Ore's Puquina rendering, and the numerals from one to ten. On the basis of the Paternoster alone, Hervas believed that the Puquinan was an entirely separate stock. Adelung-Vater, however, copying Hervas' quoted Paternoster, came to the opposite conclusion, inclining to believe that it was related to Aymará. This opinion was fully adopted by Sir Clements Markham, who declared Puquinan "a very rude dialect of the Lupaca" (a sub-tribe of the Aymára). He was followed in this by von Tschudi.[1]

These authorities, to be sure, had only the Hervas Paternoster from Ore's *Rituale*. It is evident that neither Hervas, Adelung-Vater, Markham, nor von Tschudi had ever seen Ore's original work, since all of them believed that the Lord's Prayer was the only "Puquina" extant in print—whereas thirty pages are to be found in the *Rituale* with translations. However, whether or not Puquina be finally equated with Uru, one thing seems certain: neither one is basically related to the Aymará stock, regardless of extensive borrowings from both Aymará and Quechua. Comparison of the *Puquina numerals in Brinton indicate that they are quite independent of* both Aymará and Quechua. Brinton himself, with complete appropriateness remarks:

> It remains puzzling to me why the Puquina, which seems to have been spoken only by a few wretched villagers about Lake Titicaca, should have been classed by writers in the sixteenth century as one of the *lenguas generales* of Peru. Not only does Ore refer to it by this term, but in one of the official *Relaciones Geográficas*

[1] Daniel G. Brinton, *Note on the Puquina Language of Peru* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 20, 1880) pp. 242–248; Adelung, Vater, et al., *Mithridates*, Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1806–17), pp. 2, 360–380; Clements R. Markham, *On the Geographical Position of the Tribes which Formed the Empire of the Incas* (Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 41: 201–248, 1871), p. 805; J. J. von Tschudi, *Organismus der Ketschua Sprache* (Leipzig, 1884), v. 70.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

[*de Indios*, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1582, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the kingdom." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace.

Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Ore with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raoul de la Grasserie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquinas, known also by the name of Urus, Uros, Hanos and Ochomanos, etc." Ehrenreich also lists the "Uro or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Grasserie:

In the midst of the Kolya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raoul de la Grasserie seems to belong to a different people.

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uros of Iruito [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruito ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uro of Raoul de la Grasserie is totally different from my Uro."*

More recently Métraux has done linguistic work with both the Chipaya of Lake Poopo (Carangas) and the Uru of Ancoaqui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chipaya, of the group he calls "Uro-Chipaya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Métraux with my own and Polo's make it clear that:

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chipaya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

* Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York 1891), pp. 229-230. Raoul de la Grasserie, *Langues Américaines: Langue Puquina, Textes Puquinas Contenus dans le Rituels ou Manuels Peruviens de Cérémonies du Ore* (publié à Naples en 1607 avec texte espagnol en regard, traduction analytique interlinéaire, vocabulaire et essai de grammaire, Leipzig, 1890), p. 67. (De la Grasserie used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Buenos, according to Chamberlain, used a British Museum copy of Ore.) Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Ethnographischen Ergebnisse der Reise des H.H. Falkenhagen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Tonwaffen* (Archiv für Anthropologie N.F. 3: 89-73, 1905), p. 65. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896, cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uros: A Tiny South American Linguistic Stock* (American Anthropologist 12: 407-420, 1910), p. 416, from which this citation is taken. See also M. Uhle, *Ruinen in Bolivia und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlung 23, 1896), pp. 357-365, also, *Edipo des Epocas der Uros in Bolivia* (Globus 69, 1896), p. 69.

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3. The Uru-Chipayan stock is unrelated to either Quechua or Aymará, so far as is determinable from the lexicolore solely lexical evidence; the phonemic systems of Aymará and Uru, for what this evidence is worth, seem quite wholly distinct.

3. There is as yet unexplained misunderstanding concerning Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquina-Uru." The basis for this last judgment is, in part, the numerical systems:*

English	Quechua	Aymará	Puquina	Uru
One	huc	maya	pese	ñi
Two	iscay	paya	so	Bisk
Three	quimsa	kimsa	capa	ñik
Four	tahua	pusi	apar	Ba'Bi'
Five	pichka	pesqa	tarpa	ta'tsuka
Six	soxta	suxta	chichua	tsa'tuka
Seven	canchis	pasqalqo	ota	Duko
Eight	pusacc	kimsaqalqo	quina	suko
Nine	iscon	jatunka	chocaj	tsa'Go
Ten	chunca	tunka	wata	kalo

Polo's numerals for the Uru, quoted in Chamberlain, even less resemble Ore's Puquina (ishi; pinko; chep; pacpic, pactic; pactsuco; pacchui; tahuco; cohuaco; sankao; kaisi) than do my recordings, and neither Puquina nor Uru resembles Aymará or Quechua.

There remains, however, the vexing problem of the identity of the Uru and Puquina of Brinton, Ehrenreich, Uhle, Herves, and Adelung-Vater. Métraux, following Rivet and De la Grasserie, has brought impressive evidence of their identity. He writes: "The Uru gave me decisive proof. They call their language *kubina, pukina* to distinguish it from Aymará. This fact had already been brought to my attention at La Paz; it was later confirmed for me by all my informants." Chamberlain, however, thoroughly convinced by Polo's vocabulary against the absolute distinctness of Puquina and Uru, and has followed Erir Boman in stating that they are separate stocks

* Quechua quoted unchanged from Brinton, *American Race*, p. 221; Aymará from my own field notes; Puquina from Geronimo de Ore, *Rituale*, in Brinton *op. cit.*; and Uru from my own field notes. Since I am not wholly familiar with Uru, the rendering aims more for phonetic accuracy than phonemic economy. The vocabulary, moreover, embodies the considerable language differences of having passed from Uru through Aymará and Spanish (the two languages of my interpreter at Arcaquasi) to the present English. Other references in this paragraph are to Alfred Métraux, *Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya de Carangas*, [JSAP 27, 1935], pp. 103-128, 323-403; [JSAP 28, 1936], pp. 159-207, 337-394; idem, *Contribution à l'ethnographie et à la linguistique des Indiens Uro d'Arcaquasi* (Bolivie) [JSAP 29] pp. 73-135; idem, *Contribution aux folk-lore andin* [JSAP 30, 1938], pp. 47-102. Polo, *op. cit.* in Chamberlain *American Anthropologist* 12: 477-93, 1910, pp. 483-483.

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(but further complicating the matter by bringing in the dispute about the possible relationship of Atacameñan and Uran, which relationship he finally denies).[98] The problem, of course, awaits the attention of the linguistic specialist who shall have complete access to all the documents in the case. Garcilaso de la Vega, it is true, in his *Historia General de las Indias* listed "the Puquinas, Collas, Urus, Yuncas, and other Indian nations." But the Colla and Yunca were subdivisions of the Aymará-speaking stock, which weakens Chamberlain's citation of this as proof of the distinctness of the Uru and the Puquina. *Prima facie* evidence suggests that they are the same; meanwhile, where are we to find any considerable group in the Lake Titicaca region to have spoken the non-Aymará, non-Quechua "lengua general" of "Puquina" *except* the linguistically moribund and heavily Aymarized Uru-Chipaya?[99]

Name. The present-day Uru of the Rio Desaguadero have been given various names by chroniclers and ethnologists. De la Grasserie gives the synonyms *Ures*, *Uros*, *Hures*, and *Ochomores*, as well as the controversial "Puquinas"; Calancha, however, gives the name as *Ochocumas*, and Brinton *Ochomores*. Pomonsky says the name of the Uru for themselves is *Uchumi*, and their language *Uchumitaka*; they also call themselves *Kjatuni*, but never "Uros" or "Puquinas." Métraux, however, found the Ancoaqui Uru

[98] Métraux (JSAP 27, 1936), p. 89. Eric Boman, *Les Antiquités de la Région Andine de la République Argentine* (Paris 1903–1908), pp. 67–73. Boman (p. 72) identifies the Desaguadero Uru with the Changos, also called "Uros," of the Pacific coast farther south, making them the pre-Quechua, pre-Aymará, pre-Yuncan aborigines of the Peru-Bolivia region. Chamberlain thinks they must have been Inca "colonists," as too Brinton (*American Race*, 221) who notes that Oliva (quoted in A. Bastian, *Culturländer des Alten Amerikas* (1878 Berlin, vol. 2), p. 302) *reported* some of them were found on the coast near Lambayeque. Since "Chancu" was p. 98) *reported* some of them were found on the coast near Lambayeque. Since "Chancu" was *one* of the Aymará nicknames for the Desaguadero Uru, this coastal group of "Changos" may indeed be Uru. Wissler, *The American Indian*, 2nd ed. pp. 312–313, lists and maps a northern "Puquinan" *stock* and a southern "Uran" *stock*; but on the linguistic map of South America (Fig. 82) he places "Puquinan" north of Lake Titicaca, and "Uru" in northern Chile, apparently following Boman on this point.

[99] The possible Arawakan affiliation of the Uru-Chipaya is another matter. Rivet and Crequi-Montfort have discussed this problem at length. Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 482–483, suggests connections of the Chipaya with the Chané and the Arawakanized Chiriguano, on the basis of cosmogonic characters in myths; but he further suggests the possibility that both the Chané and the Chiriguano got their mythical figures from the Aymará-Quechua general Andean folklore, as well as from the Uru-Chipaya. This second direction of diffusion appears to me more plausible: the myths Métraux (JSAP 20, 1936), pp. 97–102, collected from the Uru-Chipaya are nearly all tales identical with those of the neighboring Aymara. It is my opinion, however, that neither Nordenskiöld's nor Métraux' myth material is sufficiently specific in reference to bear any such burden of proof; some of them show Asiatic, Siberian, Shoshone, and Navaho parallels, *i.e.*, the data are pan-American, indeed, proto- and pre-American.

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ture of the bundle. The whole is thrust vertically into the earth. The end of the bundle emerges a few centimeters above the surface of the water. They repeat the operation until a sufficiently compact weir is raised to hold the fish. The barrier has the form of an angle which opens in the direction of the current. The two wings are straight or curved slightly inward. They end in an opening about a meter wide whose edges, more resistant than the rest of the weir, are made of two bundles 20cm. in diameter. Unlike the others, these bundles have transverse ligatures a few centimeters above the surface. Facing this passage there is generally an islet of *totora* which protects the weir from the wind and to which the fisherman can attach his *balsa*. Here he places the net. He watches the fish that are engaged between the two barriers and thus conducted toward the net which closes the weir.

The Uru also make their *totora* sails to their boats into tent-like shelters over themselves when fishing. To drive the fish into their weirs, they attach bunches of reeds to a pole and agitate the water up and down.

Cord nets attached to a frame are also used in Uru fishing. The frame of this type of net (called *kakpara*) is a tripod lashed at the divergent ends of the feet to a stick bent into a ring: these conical nets are quite large and about all one man can handle. Métraux further mentions a smaller rectangular-framed scoop net with a pole handle: "The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or sitting until he sees interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net carefully, then pulls it out of the water with a rapid motion." The Uru also have large bottom-nets or drag-nets, which neither Métraux nor the author were able to see in use as they serve for fishing only in very deep water. These are trailed behind several *balsas*, their bottoms weighted with perforated stones, and require a number of persons to handle them.

In fishing for a species of *Trichomycterus* (*T. pictus*, Aymará *sučí*), the Uru of the Desaguadero also use a spear, called *piri*, which has eight or so diverging spikes at its end on which the fish is impaled in shallow water.[11] Although fish are reasonably plentiful in Lake Titicaca and the Rio Desaguadero, Agassiz early noted the poverty in variety of the fauna: the genus *Orestias* of the family *Ciprinodontidae*, and the genus *Trichomycterus* of the family *Siluridae* comprise all the known species. The *Orestias* (=Aymará *sačaña*, *ispi*=? Uru *učkerčula*) are minuscule fish, viviparous, and of marked sexual dimorphism, which may account for the number and variety of

[11] Posnansky (pp. 77-78) believes that this term indicates affinities with Amazonian Arawaks, among whom the root *pir-* means "fish," as in the fish names: *pira-waka*, *pira-matabo*, *pira-arara*, *pira-pitinga* ("painted fish"), *pira-urucú* ("red fish" of great size, which is dried like *charqui*), *pira-kino*, *pira-cema* ("schools of fish"), *piraña* (the terrible sharp-toothed fish of tropical rivers which attacks even humans), *pira-wasú* ("big fish"), *piracatinga* ("stinking fish"), *matupiri*, etc.

Caranga -
Chipaya

/111 cont./

Forward

12
[101]
[119] In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had
123 singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/
124 to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/ as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting inquiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me. Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered.
91 Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have had pitiful informants in them.

121 A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would barely, I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they had celebrated before me practically the entire cycle of their main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would
[183] have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, unfold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual
• 198 religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 5]

8:Pein T-5 (ca.1954) 1955

SP24 Utu SP24
T-u IPw

two men work simultaneously

tightening the braids with little wooden hooks, taking care that the two parallel cylinders have exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a third man wets the cylinders, so that the reed remains slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fisherman holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsas measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a punt-pole when circulating among the rushes. The life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the cactus lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the previous day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards, and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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slant. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymára. Walle (page 155) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Posnansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient Amerindian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *ch'uñu*-consuming Aymára (*ch'uñu* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fishermen, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymára and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymára-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymára, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymára; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymára is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymára nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymára; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymára, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tututia*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[17] the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the

[17] In Neveu-Lemaire, *Los Lagos*, p. LXI.

/345 cont./

re-established itself little by little, and during the entire day the Indians remained in their hut, as apathetic as I had found them in the morning.

The festival of San Geronimo (January 7)

Very early in the morning an Indian ran through the saya tuanta, beating on a drum and stopping before each hut to wake the inhabitants and call them to the festival which was about to begin. Not knowing the significance of this household-rousing, I attributed little importance to it and thus missed the initial ceremonies. I could ascertain, however, that two piglets had been sacrificed on the threshold of the chapel of the saya: the cross which stands in front of the door, the outside walls, and the altar had been splattered with fresh blood. Inside two tables had been set up on which coca leaves had been spread out. Some Indians squatted in the chapel chewing coca leaves and drinking alcohol, preceding each mouthful with a prayer and libation. Espíritu Mamani subsequently recited the text of the prayer to me, uttered, no doubt, at the moment when the blood of the pigs is sprinkled:

Araxpaĉ'a	auki,	suma	tiempo	apanital'a.	waimu
Sky	lord,	good	weather	send me.	good

mara,	suma	mara,	araxpaĉ-patruna.		todos
weather,	good	weather,	sky	master.	all

wawataki.	Lo mismo	Virxin-taika	sumapeuyuwaxista,	
children for.	Likewise	Virgin-earth	thou feedest me,	

katokanta	(taki)	wawanakataki,	todos	mondor,
thou wilt receive	(all?)	children of,	all	the world,

wawanakataki	uk^{a}aro	todos	mondos	pak^{a}alis	aka
children of	then	all	the world	animals	these

Cuzanga-
Chipaya

/352 cont./

*796 The saints and ma'ku were requested with more insistence to grant the Čipaya a good year, without dry spells or frost, in the course of which the flocks would multiply. At a given moment all left to gather little mountain flowers with which the men decorated their hats and the women their braids. They also spread bouquets on the small tablecloths covered with coca. "The flowers bring luck," they replied to the question I put to them on this subject.

Shortly before sunset all those present knelt in a line before the chapel, whereupon the Officiant took the box containing Santiago /James/ and put it on the head of each of the faithful. He left it there during an entire prayer, doing the same for all, and did not proceed to the next person until the hoofs of Santiago's horse had been respectfully kissed. On the way back they stopped in front of every chapel as before to kneel, this time to the east. Several times I noted that before getting up again, the men, and more especially the women, touched the ground with the hand and then brought it to the mouth.

Espíritu Mamani put a pinch of copal or incense on the east side of the niche with which each oratory is provided.

When the group arrived at the village it headed first toward the chapel of the uya tuuta and on their knees went around the cross placed near the threshold. They then reached the church, where they performed the same ceremony, accompanied with prayers and chants. The Officiant, who had armed himself with censers, put them under the noses of the faithful as if to make them inhale the fragrant smoke which was released from it.

On the next day the uya was awakened by the beating of a drum as on the day before. All the inhabitants hastened to reach the surroundings of the alferez' house to take part in the feast that the latter, aided by his relatives, had prepared. The women are squatting in front of blankets on which various types of bash had been spread out. The men carried off their rations in the flaps of their poncho or their cape. When the feast was finished the

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Cavenga:-
Chipaya

/369 cont./

A notable detail is that during the whole day a little *thola* burned a few meters from the gathering.

The end of the ceremony was announced by the beating of a drum in a special rhythm.

Second day. In the afternoon the *alferesa*, her son, and an Officiant met in front of their *cayt'a*'s chapel. Not having been alerted, I arrived at the place only at the moment when the latter had finished preparing the mixture destined to be offered as a libation. I have every reason to believe that the ingredients added to the water or to the *chicha* in the 36 small cupules were the same as in the previous festivals. As usual the Officiant had planned a sacred stick (*samaa-para*) garnished with a cross in front of him facing east. He offered up the customary libations on his knees. The contents of two phials were poured before the cross that stands about ten meters from the chapel door. The Officiant had put some coca leaves in two cupules probably containing alcohol, before pouring them as a libation in front of his stick. The *yatiri*, his helper, and two of those present knelt before the carpet and kissed the ground, then the Officiant, getting up, sprinkled the four corners of a little oratory situated near the chapel with *chicha*. A long prayer was then said, in which Christian names were mingled with those of the *mal'ku*, and the Officiant headed toward the chapel after having touched the oratory with his stick and kissing it devoutly. The *alferesa* and her son went to pray on the steps of the chapel, and all began the usual drinking, congratulating and greeting each other.

The *alferesa* had covered a small table with coca, where all came to help themselves /369/ in turn. Those who took this coca first touched the table with the hand and kissed it as a sign of respect.

The assembly, very sparse in the beginning, became more numerous, upon which the market of the *alasita* took place. The Indians, both men and women, bought from each other small

/345 cont./

622 re-established itself little by little, and during the entire day the Indians remained in their hut, as apathetic as I had found them in the morning.

The festival of San Geronimo (January 7)

Very early in the morning an Indian ran through the saya tuanta, beating on a drum and stopping before each hut to wake the inhabitants and call them to the festival which was about to begin. Not knowing the significance of this household-rousing, I attributed little importance to it and thus missed the initial ceremonies. I could ascertain, however, that two piglets had been sacrificed on the threshold of the chapel of the saya: the cross which stands in front of the door, the outside walls, and the altar had been splattered with fresh blood. Inside two tables had been set up on which coca leaves had been spread out. Some Indians squatted in the chapel chewing coca leaves and drinking alcohol, preceding each mouthful with a prayer and libation. Espíritu Mamani subsequently recited the text of the prayer to me, uttered, no doubt, at the moment when the blood of the pigs is sprinkled:

Araxpaˇa	auki,	suma	tiempo	apanital'a,	wainu
Sky	lord,	good	weather	send me,	good

mara,	suma	mara,	araxpaˇ-patruna,		todos
weather,	good	weather,	sky	master,	all

wawataki,	lo mismo	Virxin-taika	sumapeuyuwasista,	
children for,	Likewise	Virgin-earth	thou feedest me,	

katokanta	(taki)	wawanakataki,	todos	mondos,
thou wilt receive	(all?)	children of,	all	the world,

wawanakataki	ukˇaro	todos	mondos	paikˇalis	aka
children of	then	all	the world	animals	these

2:66fraco--13 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Ura SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/117 cont./

312 puna, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places
[illegible] lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants,
[illegible] which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as bears. The
139 Cipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names
of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities.
As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this
assertion. It nonetheless reveals a certain care for precision among
the Cipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the
scantiness of this flora which a little wormwood comes to grow in the
[illegible] midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya
[illegible] has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate
[illegible] land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the
refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings
plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques,
the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give
birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in
which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds
draw into strange formations and assume a lunar elsewhere un-
known. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when
half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the
night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

[illegible] Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya
would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses
which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the exis-
tence of the Cipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River,
which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount
of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the char-
acteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months,
threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation
of the "cannas," the fields which feed upon it. This is the most
[illegible] crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe
[illegible] are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals
of the Cipaya take place at this time and that all have the

Cayuga-
Chippewa

/118 cont./

objective of requesting the demons and saints to send them prosperity along with the rain. The beginning of the year 1931 was marked by a long period of dryness (1) and I witnessed the anguish

> 1. During the months of January and February I made a certain number of meteorological observations which were unfortunately incomplete because of my frequent moves. For January the average maximum temperature was 18° to 20° /centigrade/ and that of the minimum temperature 0°. In February we had an average maximum temperature of 13° and a minimum temperature of 3°. In January I noted a high of 24° and a low of 1°. For February the high was 22° and the low -1°. February was rainier than January although the end of the latter month was marked by some violent storms and hail.

of the Ojibwa; this misery manifested itself perhaps in the gaiety and seriousness with which they carried out the festivals which I shall describe later.

The winter is a trying time for the Ojibwa. They spoke to me in eloquent language of its rigors--dried and tattered garments, thin and starving animals, icy winds which pierced to the /119/ bone. This winter season passes without festivals, at least without pagan festivals, and this cessation of religious life is good evidence of the close correlation that exists between the pagan ceremonies of the Ojibwa and their problems of subsistence.

Carangas--
Cipaya

/[illegible]/

The number of spirits who rule over a household may be [illegible] more considerable. It is a prayer of Aymara origin which I recorded among the Cipaya, in the course of a sacrifice made to the ancients of the house, the door and the kitchen are invoked at the same time as the court.

Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which resemble uniformly throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara. There is no Cipaya hut on which one does not see to the left of the door open covering the blackish spot of blood with which it was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the costs of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirits, that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	suma	hak	wata
straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

[illegible] (1)	[illegible]-ka.
endure	house this.

1. From the Spanish aguantar, "to endure."

/[illegible]/ A beautiful example of the frightful jargon, a mixture of Cipaya, Aymara, and Kolua /Quechua/ words, which the Indians use in their conversations with the divinities.

The [illegible]-machu is honored each time that an Indian returns home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the number of [illegible]-machu in Cipaya is limited, I would not have

/148 cont./

of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. E. 9 /see p. 150/). Today they use long-handled hoes (azuna, takina) of European make. The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Cipaya with an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The quinua which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequently of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several houses down the towns.

1. The Cipaya while traveling dig up a tuberosite (ulla) which they say is the root of the tola, and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tuberosite (oxalis-pura) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

Trade. The Cipaya make cheese, which constitute their chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk. They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, quinua, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region of the Salinas, from Carrimendoza. The Cipaya sincerely believe that in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

Arkansas--D.E-A.S (no date) 1010-1960 SP54 Uno SP54

[16th Century]

[15] /It can/ be seen, without calculation, and which they call quinze /fifteen/ or cenque; all of these Indians are fond of and eat the pod of same...../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del origen y genealogia real de los Reyes Incas del Peru /History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru/, 1680, Constantino Bayle edition, Madrid, 1940, p. 234.)

[16] /It/...The Chan were Indians that the Inca sent for when he army was short, and they were compelled to follow the flags, not knowing even how to hold a bow; they went into battle almost without weapons and they and some of the Peruvians were killed like flies; because they had no military training, they let themselves be killed like animals. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibidem, p. 184.)

Cerrillos de la Vega

[6] ...and the Pequina, Canta, Ura, and Tuara Indians, and other various that we could not drill, and owing to their crudeness, even speak their own language poorly...../Translated from the Spanish./

(Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales /First part of the Royal Commentaries/..., VII, Chap. 4.)

Chan (Fr. Father Acosta)

[8] ...(Inca's Inca) ordered that...certain people, or the Chan were, who are ignorant and rustics, should each one of them gather one reed tube full of lice each month, so that no one should be idle...../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de los Incas Reyes /History of the Kingdom and Provinces of Peru, of the Inca Kings/..., 1588. 1894 edition, Lima.)

Canaries (Ecuador)

[9] The Cax Indians are a people who live on lakes, such as the lake of Chaparra and that of Paria, and in other parts.

/82 cont./

226 He lies in wait for the fish which are caught between the two dikes and are thus led toward the net which closes the barrier" (Palavecino).

The Uro like to fish at night: "It is a curious spectacle to see them on moonlit nights embark on their balsas in the direction of their barriers. At their destination they form a sort of conical tent with the totora sails, which shelters them from the wind, and they give themselves over to fishing" (Palavecino).

[411] When the Uro navigate on the Desaguadero, they always carry along with them a spear (p'iri), whose point bristles with iron spikes. With this weapon they harpoon the suche (Tricomicterus), a fish to which they are very partial, in the mud where the water is not very deep.

223 Hunting. Hunting plays only a very secondary role in the Uro economy. In all, for game they have nothing beside the water birds which abound in the marshes of the Desaguadero. They strike them with bolas, of which two weights are cylinders of wood; the third is an oval stone, which they hold in the hand while they whirl this weapon over the head (Fig. 25, 3 /see p. 15/).

They also have recourse to extremely long nets in capturing these birds whose flight skims the water. These are stretched in a semicircle /83/ in the middle of the fields of totora and attached to faggots of rushes and to stakes. A part of the net is submerged to prevent the diving birds from passing beneath the surface of the water. The hunters on their balsas make noise to chase the birds toward the obstacle where the latter find themselves caught. Those which succeed in escaping are killed with bolas.

The cold of the Titicaca is such that in the mornings the birds are torpid. The Indians, hidden behind bundles of totora, draw near without being seen; they catch them by their claws and finish them off with their teeth or by twisting their necks.

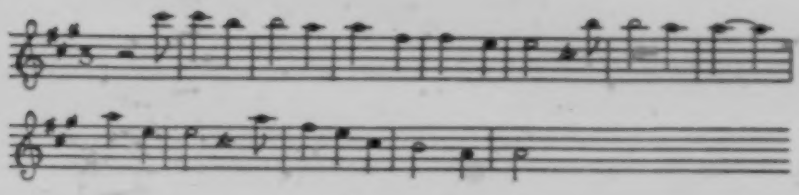
241 Agriculture. The Uro today practice agriculture, just as the inhabitants on the shores of the Titicaca do. I do not know to what extent the produce of their fields contributes toward guaranteeing their existence. They cultivate, of course, potatoes and quinua.

Carangas — Chigaya

/379 cont./

529 292 301 As I said above religious or magical rites have only an insignificant place in this festival: the important survivals of paganism are displayed in the trappings of the participants (Pl. XIV, D /see p. 135/). The majority had put on around their bodies festive slings, whose fringes fashioned a motley costume for them. Some had encircled their heads with a kind of artificial hair made from horse hair (Pl. XVI, C /see p. 137/) or with crowns of flamingo feathers. The most original headdresses which I noticed were a few crowns made of flamingo eggs threaded together (Fig. 36, A /see p. 109/). A large part of the young people had water birds on their [373] backs, attached by the straw bola which had killed them (Fig. 35, [354] B). The alferez's and alferezas had loaded on their backs the sheaves of straw behind which they had presided at the festivals of the various mal'ku and samiri. The latter were decorated with garlands of fruit, cheeses, and bread. Those who had not had the honor of being alferez were no less decorated with ornaments symbolizing prosperity and abundance.

529 533 Tunes of the Carnival Dances



2:Métraux--151 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas -
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

/164 cont./

U 113 263

1. Posnansky (Ing. Arthur), Los Chipayas de Carangas /The Čipaya of Carangas/. La Paz, Bolivia, 1918, p. 6; La lengua "Chipaya" (Carangas, Bolivia) /The "Čipaya" Language (Carangas, Bolivia)/. La Paz, 1915, p. 2; "Nuevas investigaciones en Carangas (Bolivia) /New Investigations in Carangas (Bolivia)/." Congrès international des Américanistes. Record of the XXI Session, Part II, held at Göteborg in 1924. Göteborg, 1925, p. 91.

U 224 the principal food of the Čipaya. In reality, during my entire stay I never saw a Čipaya catch one; and when I asked them to get a few specimens for me, they demanded an exorbitant price from me, claiming the difficulty of this hunt. Toxo are rare in the territory properly called Chipaya; they are found only at a certain distance A 224 from the grassy zone behind the dunes. It is there that the Aymara come /165/ to capture them. Their method, as far as I can understand it from the explanations which have been given to me, is the following: they try to dislodge the toxo from the underground corridors where it stays by opening them with a blow from a shovel; then when it comes out they pursue it and beat it to death. In the plains undermined by the toxo, one can see the earth completely worked over by the hunters.

U 224 The Čipaya easily get hold of vicuñas by setting their dogs, U 911 swift and bloodthirsty beasts, on them. They themselves succeed in 215 knocking down these animals with bolas, or throwing stones. This same weapon permits them to bring down water birds.

U 226 The fish to be found in the small ponds of the Chipaya plain are too miniscule for the word fishing to be used in connection with them. It is more as a pastime than for food that the Čipaya amuse

A [i.e., The Toxo -- Analyst]

Cayanga—
Čipaya

/168 cont./

203 411 191 In hunting water birds the Čipaya use a straw rope ending with a knot the size of a fist (Fig. 4. C /see p. 157/). This weapon corresponds exactly to the bola perdida of the ancient Patagonians, with the difference that among the latter the terminal ball was of stone. Aside from this the principle of these two weapons is the same. This is the first time that the bola perdida has been found elsewhere than at the southern end of South America. Its presence among the Čipaya is one more argument in favor of the archaic character of this culture trait.

203 411 The Uro Indians of the Desaguadero hunt the water birds which swarm in the totorales with bolas, two weights of which are wooden, and the third a small pyriform stone. The rope of this projectile is rolled up in very tough black thread. If the weapon does not reach its goal it floats on the water, and the Indians have only to pick it up with their hands. /169/ /Figure 4 appears here./

/170/ Clothing

291 Men's wear. The essential piece of men's wear is a square shirt (iza) made of thick, stiff woolen cloth. It is a kind of sack with openings for the head and arms (Fig. 5. G /see p. 163/). As a result of its width the upper part of this shirt falls on the shoulders practically down to the elbow. The iza was formerly the only garment of the Čipaya, as it still is for young boys up to the age of ten. At a doubtlessly recent date, the Čipaya adopted the pants that they wear under their tunic. By making the latter bunch at the waist on a cord which takes the place of a belt for them, they have transformed it into a blouse, while keeping its original length which was enough to cover them down to mid-leg. The iza is the best product [339] of Čipaya textile art. The decoration of this article of clothing [386] invariably consists of a blue border and small brown and white strips separated by black lines. None of these dyes is aniline.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 158]

Stvelland--12 D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Dre SF24

/175/

III. Fishing
(Account by Manuel Inza)

(See p. 137 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. I left my house. 2. I went toward the lake. 3. I have been to catch fish. 4. I took a boat hook. 5. I took a large net. 6. We are accustomed to fish with this net. 7. We are accustomed to go fishing at night as well as very early in the morning or evening. 8. We are accustomed to go with another person or even alone. 9. We are free to go fishing or not to go. 10. I got into the balsa. 11. We are accustomed to propel it with the boat hook. 12. We maneuver the boat hook by hand. 13. We are accustomed to put on our tunics now because of the mist. 14. We have taken way a net. 15. Thou, chase the fish with thy boat hook. 16. Me. I lift up the net. 17. There is a souche; a souche is swimming by. 18. We are going to catch it. 19. It is very close. 20. Stick it (with thy spear). 21. Hast thou caught it? 22. I have caught it. 23. We are accustomed to putting (the fish) in the balsa. 24. A souche has fallen into the water. 25. I have taken it out of the water. 26. Let us go elsewhere. 27. All the fish have left. 28. Let us go hunt for coots. 29. Let us rest; I am tired. 30. We are accustomed to hunting coots. 31. We are accustomed to follow them in flight. 32. We are accustomed to hitting them with the boat hook. 33. It has dived. 34. It is coming out of the water. 35. I shall catch the coot with my boicadores /boiɑ:/. 36. It did not touch it. 37. Another will come and thou wilt catch it. 38. Yes. 39. It has come back. 40. We will set out again with the balsa. 41. Let us go fast, or else it will escape (outdo) us. 42. We have caught it. 43. We have caught its /176/ young ones. 44. Bite the coot at its head (to kill it). 45. Let us go

/176 cont./

*539 sell it. 46. We must return with this one; let's return.
321 47. There are no more. 48. We go along in vain. 49. We
223 have looked everywhere; there are no more. 50. We are going to carry everything to the house.

Remarks

*539 This text is divided into three parts. In a short introduction
321 (1-9) the narrator explains the fishing customs of the Uru, and
223 then he describes a day of fishing and hunting aquatic birds in the swamps of the Desaguadero: the departure (10-14), the work of the catcher, who hits the water with a boat hook to direct the frightened fish toward the nets (15-16); fishing for suche (Trichomycterus dispar), a silurus /sheatfish/, which is the largest fish in the lake, reaching 30/35 cm., captured by means of a long three-meter spear ending in multiple points (17-27); and lastly, hunting for coots (Fulica gigantea and Fulica americana) forced into flight and then killed with the boat hooks (30-34) or captured with bolas with wooden balls (35-42). The captured coots are killed by a bite at the head (44). Then comes the return (45-50). This account is very lively.

*539 There are no special words for fishing or hunting; only the
192 verb tána- čay, literally, "to take," is used.
193 From the point of view of grammar the text furnishes interesting verbal forms, in particular, the forms indicating the usual -čučay, as in the previous texts; the form -čačay (46), implying the idea of obligation; the double use of the root (8) to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb. Moreover, the frequency of the euphonic letters s and l: 2, 5, 8, etc., should be emphasized.

This text contains two Hispanicisms: the first is very curious (8); in order to better render the idea of solitude, alone, absolutely alone, the narrator has repeated the word "one," /177/ but by pairing the Uru word tína, "alone," with the

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 115, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Rio Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock.

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter. Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (pana-soluna) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of varicolored llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden floats for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of disguises has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

native names for so exiguous a number of scientific varieties. These occur in the species: *O. Cuvieri*, *O. Pentlandi*, *O. Humboldti*, *O. Jurinei*, *O. Bairdii*, *O. Orbignii*, *O. frontosus*, *and O. Nattereri*. Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suli*, *mauri*; Uru *lisi*) these species are present: *T. dispar Tschudi*, and *T. rivulatus*. Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify clearly with the scientific classifications are: (Aymará) *qeri-tonka*, *qeristan*, *kuri-mauri*, *umasiá*, *Koruli*; (Uru) *keri*, *liz*, *loki*, *ch'ula*, *lulkiri*, and *wak'lali* —whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and female of the same species.

Fish are preserved and prepared in several ways. The smaller kinds (*isipi*, *salula*, *alkerlula*), salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. The larger varieties (*lali*, *mauri*, *lisi*) are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire, and thus smoke-dried are preserved for periods of scarcity, according to Posnansky. But what appears to be the same process, described by Palavecino, is evidently a method of *cooking*:

> These ovens, which the Uru call *nasaka*, consist in a hole dug in the soil, whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 cm. The rounded edge is raised at the surface of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uru light a fire in it and introduce more or less flat stones. When the stones are incandescent, they take them out, all except those on the bottom. They lay on these a layer of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a layer of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is closed with stones, and covered with reeds. The fish is thus cooked by steaming.

Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South America.

Hunting is almost as important to the Uru as fishing, neither of which is basic in Chipaya economy. The river marshes abound with birds of many kinds: waterhens (*uesla*, *lokya*), ducks (*soyna*), geese (*vulata*), loons (*palle*), herons (*alili*), various diving birds and gulls; a large unidentified black bird they call *lisuaku* or *lilisaka*. Other unidentified birds are: *lalata*, *kalawaina* (*waina* is Aymará for "youth, young man"), *alowa*, *lorani*. Of these aquatic birds, only the "bobo" (*palle*) is not hunted or eaten, because of its rank, oily flesh. Most frequently hunted is a kind of red duck called *p'aasoyna*.

The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Posnansky says men hunting alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or twisting the neck. The Uru are able users of slingshots woven or braided of varicolored llama-wools; and they also use *bolas*, made with two large

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24
Aymara

wooden balls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.[9] They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking, spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yokwa*), and kill with their *balsa* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*kuk*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *ch'arki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña*; *wañaja*, a word obviously related to Aymará *huaja*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold[10] small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lanced, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the vizcacha (*qhilai*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, reed-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails, and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymára neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

[9] An Uru bola from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

[10] The Aymára have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "bone-numbing" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *haluya* ("to split"), *wari* (vicuña), *q'oeya* ("makes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-woolled vicuña scream. The Aymára schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "cholo" interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") yell of this familiar phrase: *q'ala haluya wari q'oeya, wra wra!*

[illegible]--149 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Cataingo—
Cipaya

/162 cont./

neighboring Aymara villages to dispose of their small cheeses directly and specially to sell pig fat /163/ /Figure 2 appears here/ /164/ which, after cheese, is their most important export. They undoubtedly make wool, although I was not able to obtain any precise information on this matter. I only ascertained that pieces of cloth carried in a neighboring village were given to Cipaya women to be [illegible]. Formerly some Cipaya would go to hire themselves out as workers in the "salitreras" (exploitation of nitrates) of Tarapacá. They returned with some knowledge of Spanish and new tastes. This stay away from home had the result above all of opening their eyes to their poor condition and to make them discontented. Since the nitrate beds have been abandoned, nothing remains to draw the Cipaya outside their "bare plain."

The crisis of overproduction which rages over the whole world upset the economic life of the Cipaya. The low quotations [illegible] on the Stock Exchange, or the New York exchange, led to the closing of the mines, the departure of the laborers, and the sale of cheese at a loss. The Aymara no longer come to Chipaya to stock up on cheeses, and the latter accumulate in the round huts and there is no alcohol or coca for festivals. By virtue of the economic cohesion of all humanity the Cipaya themselves are also overproducing, and their present distress is the sister of the one which constricts the hearts of the great proprietors of wheat fields.

These particulars show us that in spite of their apparent isolation, these Indians maintain constant relations with the outside world, and that the fossilization of this tribe is not as total as one might conclude from their material culture.

Hunting. Hunting and fishing play only an insignificant role in the life of the Cipaya. In all, for game they have a few herds of vicuña which make their appearance in the neighborhood of the village, water birds which abound in the numerous lagoons which cut their pastures, and toxo, a kind of small rodent a little larger than a rat. Posnansky (1) asserts that the latter constitutes the principal food of the Cipaya.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 151]

2:Métraux--151 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas - Chipaya Aymara SF5

/164 cont./

1. Posnansky (Ing. Arthur).
Los Chipayas de Carangas /The Cipaya of Carangas/. La Paz, Bolivia, 1918. p. 6; La lengua "Chipaya" (Carangas, Bolivia) /The "Cipaya" Language (Carangas, Bolivia)/. La Paz, 1915. p. 2; "Nuevas investigaciones en Carangas (Bolivia) /New Investigations in Carangas (Bolivia)/." Congrès international des Américanistes. Record of the XXI Session, Part II, held at Göteborg in 1924. Göteborg, 1925. p. 91.

the principal food of the Cipaya. In reality, during my entire stay I never saw a Cipaya catch one; and when I asked them to get a few specimens for me, they demanded an exorbitant price from me, claiming the difficulty of this hunt. Toxo are rare in the territory properly called Chipaya; they are found only at a certain distance from the grassy zone behind the dunes. It is there that the Aymara come /165/ to capture them. Their method, as far as I can understand it from the explanations which have been given to me, is the following: they try to dislodge the toxo from the underground corridors where it stays by opening them with a blow from a shovel; then when it comes out they pursue it and beat it to death. In the plains undermined by the toxo, one can see the earth completely worked over by the hunters.

The Cipaya easily get hold of vicuñas by setting their dogs, swift and bloodthirsty beasts, on them. They themselves succeed in knocking down these animals with bolas, or throwing stones. This same weapon permits them to bring down water birds.

The fish to be found in the small ponds of the Chipaya plain are too miniscule for the word fishing to be used in connection with them. It is more as a pastime than for food that the Cipaya amuse

[i.e., The Toxo -- Analyst]

Smithsonian--152 E-5 (1930-1931) 1931, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Cavanga-
Ch'ipaya.

/165 cont./ [illegible] Ch'ipaya [illegible]
themselves trapping them with small reed baskets, which are sold
to them by the Indian peddlers who come from Andamarca or
Orinoca. These openwork baskets are, it appears, real fish traps
which the shore-dwellers on Poopó use. The Čipaya use them to
hold small objects (Fig. 3, 9 /see p. 155/).

Preparation of Food

It is more to relieve my conscience than in the hope of presenting new facts that I shall devote a few lines to Čipaya cooking. Their food and the preparation of their dishes are exactly those which have so often been described in connection with the Aymara and Quichua.

The quinua cuticle has, as is known, a bitter and disagreeable taste. To free the seeds from it they are grilled in a dish, then soaked in a stone vat (taksira) (Fig. 2, 1 /see p. 150/) which the Čipaya buy from the people at Huachacalla who make them (1).

1. The vats are sometimes of baked clay.

When the seeds have been softened, a woman takes a standing position in this vat and leaning against a wall, she husks them by turning the lower part of her body (Pl. V, A /see p. 214/). To see them execute this strange gymnastic is a picturesque spectacle. The seeds submitted to this treatment are then spread on a blanket and winnowed by hand.

The quinua is used to prepare a soup or, reduced to meal (akxal'ipe), a pap. Leaves (čafli) of this plant or of cañagua are cooked in water like spinach greens. Maize (tara) is eaten roasted (tsars-tara) or boiled the same as beans. The Čipaya eat /166/ potatoes (kxisa), as everywhere on the altiplano, in the form of čuño.

Cayapa
Cayapa

/166 cont./ when the pit of Chaupi is high enough it is firmly bound with a wood rope and left to dry for a certain number of days. These cheeses, white and tasteless, are consumed with salt which the Čipaya get from the great salt deposits which spread out about 30 kilometers from their village. /167/ /Figure 3 appears here./

/166/ Weapons

The small number of weapons that the Čipaya have is a direct consequence of the insignificance of hunting in their economy. As for war, it is an unknown phenomenon for them. Who would dream of coming to pick a fight with them for possession of the sand dunes or stunted pastures? The only occasions for giving free rein to their bellicose instincts are the festivals. The alcohol they absorb then accentuates the underhand rivalry of the ayas among themselves, and, awakening passions, leads them to often bloody fights. I do not know if any weapons other than sticks and fists enter into play in this case.

The sling (kuruwa) (Fig. 4. A /see p. 157/), which is the weapon par excellence of the Indians of the altiplano, has only a peaceable use in Chipaya: it is used to hurl lumps of earth at llamas or sheep to prevent them from straying from the flock or from the route being followed. It is possible that the Čipaya might have recourse to the sling when they have some quarrels with the people of the other aya, but I was never able to get particulars on this subject. Another circumstance contributes to making the sling of the Čipaya a harmless instrument: the lack of stones able to serve as projectiles.

The bolas of the Čipaya play a role close to that of the sling: they permit them to catch the sheep. The most common type is the ordinary bola. The stones instead of being caught in a leather sheath, as is the case with the archaeological specimens (Fig. 4. D-E), are furnished with a groove which prevents the rope from slipping (Fig. 4. I).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 156]

9 La Barre E-9 (1937-1938) 1966
BF24 Uru BF24

234 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may hunt the land mate of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

235 **Herding.**—The Uru have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the exact pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, using the succulent *gusi* stalks and roots. The Uru have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

24 **Farming.**—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 **Food preparation.**—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuño. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then treat it to make a nourishing powder (*pito*). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

273 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

274 Like all the altiplano peoples, the Uru chew coca.

117

HOUSES

342 Most Uru houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-towers, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bundles of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal reeds in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (*tola*), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (*yareta*), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller Uru shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Sajopara Uru build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Pazza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

9-La Barre S-9 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

and raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The Chipaya eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

[illegible]

About 1930 there were some 300 Chipaya in Carangas, which was physically divided into noncongruous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The Chipaya kinship system, like that of the Uru, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All Chipaya, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymara*-ized.

[illegible]

The religion of the Chipaya does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the Chipaya than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main Chipaya deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (malku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-malku, Kemperani-malku, Estewan-malku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Lauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-malku). The spirits are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-malku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or lizards, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important Chipaya deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the malkus and saints, but is associated with every Chipaya ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

9:La Barre E-6,5 (1938) 1961
SF24 Uru SF24

wooden hulls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.[9] They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking; spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yobena*), and kill with their *balsa* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*lwki*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *lwki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña*; *wholo*, a word obviously related to Aymará *hoqo*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold[10] small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lassoed, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the viscacha (*qhilai*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, roof-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails; and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymára neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

[9] An Uru *bola* from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

[10] The Aymára have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "bone-monkey" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *lakaya* ("to split"), *wari* (vicuña), *q'anya* ("makes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-wooled vicuña scream. The Aymára schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "cholo" interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") yell of this familiar phrase: *q'ala lakaya wari q'anaya, wra wra!*

/78 cont./

412 kneeling woman exerts on them is accompanied by gentle rocking, which facilitates the grinding.

372 /79/ The Uro have no combustible material other than dried [232] animal excrement and tola branches, which they go far to seek. [224] These things are precious, and the Uro, like the Cipaya and the Aymara, are sparing in their use.

231 Near the huts a type of earth niche is sometimes erected which is rather similar to the huts around the village of Chipaya; these are pigstys.

226 Fishing. The Uro, in our age as in pre-Colombian times, [262] draw their main subsistence from the lake. They are excellent [439] fishers. The fish they catch is partly consumed by themselves and partly sold to the Aymara and to the half-breeds of the capital. I did not have the opportunity to be present on a real fishing expedition, only at several demonstrations made at my request. They first taught me the way in which they use the landing net shown in Fig. 23, 1 /see p. 9/. The wooden frame which holds the stretched-out net is fastened to the end of a pole. The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or seated on his balsa until he sees an interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net delicately, then pulls it out of the water with a sudden motion.

227 There is another type of landing net which is much larger. It is composed of a circle from which wooden sticks joined at one end go out. This skeleton, conical in form, is covered with a net. Another net, as large as a hand, is stretched across the opening to make the escape of the fish even more difficult. This apparatus is often of considerable dimensions; some are more than three meters in diameter. They are always equipped with a handle by which they are held in the water and lifted up as soon as the fish have ventured in (Pl. III, B /see p. 23/).

The Uro Indians also possess bottom nets, which I regret not having seen employed. I have, however, acquired a perforated stone (Fig. 24, 2 /see p. 10/) which corresponds to our weights or ballast.

/79 cont./

226 ballast. According to the information I have gathered, these nets are used for fishing in deep water. They are dragged simultaneously by several balsas or used as dams. Many people are necessary to handle them.

As the nets accumulate algae and aquatic refuse of all kinds, the Uro carry little brooms with them, with which they clean the meshes once the net is out of the water. To disturb the water and chase the fish toward the nets or weirs, the Uro have sticks with balls of totora attached to their ends. They move them in a vertical direction.

To bring the fish into their nets the Uro, like many /80/ /Fig. 23 appears here/ /81/ /Fig. 24 appears here/ /82/ Indian tribes of America, construct barriers which they call kense. These dikes are formed of bundles of totora. Each is composed of five or six rushes laid out in the same direction and attached by the thinnest upper part. They transport these bundles on their balsas to the spot which seems to them the most propitious for fishing, and there they erect their barrier. To sink the bundles of totora [501] in the mud, they use the boat hook (l'okena) with which they propel their small boats. A bundle is placed against the boat hook, the point of the latter resting on the ligature of the bundle. The whole thing is thrust into the earth vertically. The end of the bundle protrudes several centimeters above the surface of the water. They repeat the operation until they have raised a dike which is sufficiently compact to retain the fish. The barrier has the shape of an angle which is open in the direction of the current. The two sides are straight or curve slightly inward. They end in an opening about one meter wide, whose edges, more resistant than the rest of the barrier, are composed of two bunches 20 centimeters in diameter. In contrast to the other bundles, the latter have a transverse ligature a few centimeters from the surface.

Facing this opening there is generally an islet of totora which protects the barrier against the wind and to which the fisherman can attach his balsa. There he stations himself with his net.

[text continues on p.11]

/82 cont./

226 He lies in wait for the fish which are caught between the two dikes and are thus led toward the net which closes the barrier" (Palavecino).

The Uro like to fish at night: "It is a curious spectacle to see them on moonlit nights embark on their balsas in the direction of their barriers. At their destination they form a sort of conical tent with the totora sails, which shelters them from the wind, and they give themselves over to fishing" (Palavecino).

[411] When the Uro navigate on the Desaguadero, they always carry along with them a spear (p'iti), whose point bristles with iron spikes. With this weapon they harpoon the suche (Tricomicterus), a fish to which they are very partial, in the mud where the water is not very deep.

223 Hunting. Hunting plays only a very secondary role in the Uro economy. In all, for game they have nothing beside the water birds which abound in the marshes of the Desaguadero. They strike them with bolas, of which two weights are cylinders of wood; the third is an oval stone, which they hold in the hand while they whirl this weapon over the head (Fig. 25, 9 /see p. 15/).

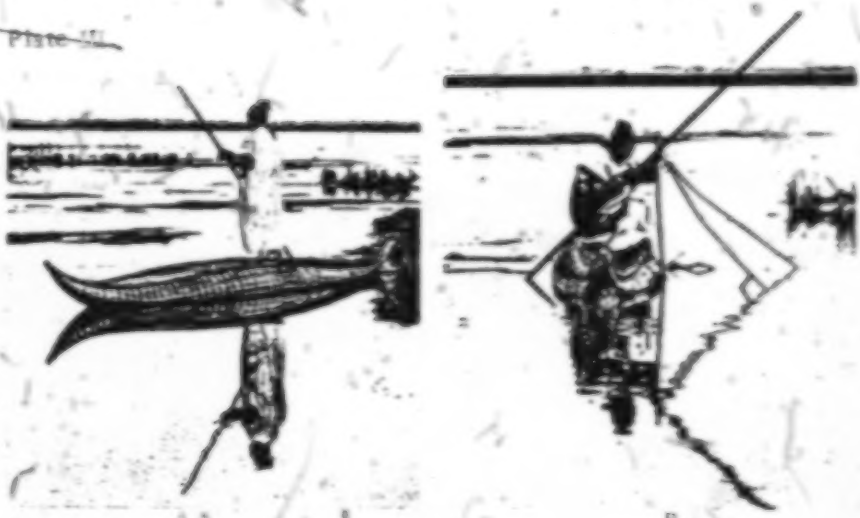
They also have recourse to extremely long nets in capturing these birds whose flight skims the water. These are stretched in a semicircle /83/ in the middle of the fields of totora and attached to faggots of rushes and to stakes. A part of the net is submerged to prevent the diving birds from passing beneath the surface of the water. The hunters on their balsas make noise to chase the birds toward the obstacle where the latter find themselves caught. Those which succeed in escaping are killed with bolas.

The cold of the Titicaca is such that in the mornings the birds are torpid. The Indians, hidden behind bundles of totora, draw near without being seen; they catch them by their claws and finish them off with their teeth or by twisting their necks.

241 Agriculture. The Uro today practice agriculture, just as the inhabitants on the shores of the Titicaca do. I do not know to what extent the produce of their fields contributes toward guaranteeing their existence. They cultivate, of course, potatoes and quinua.

1:Métraux--23 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uru SF24
Ancoaqui

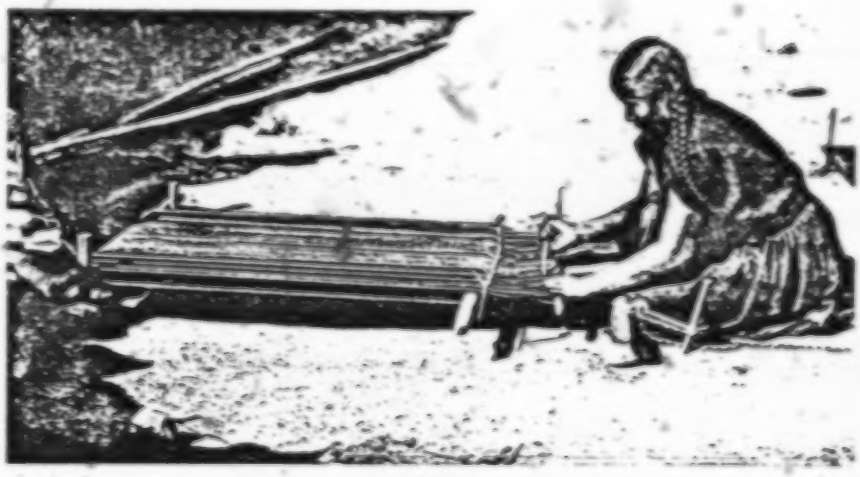
Plate III



A. B.

Indian fishing with landing nets.

C. Woman weaving.



[End Plate 2]

Carangas - Chipaya Aymara SF5

/164 cont./

1. Posnansky (Ing. Arthur), Los Chipayas de Carangas /The Čipaya of Carangas/, La Paz, Bolivia, 1918, p. 6; La lengua "Chipaya" (Carangas, Bolivia) /The "Čipaya" Language (Carangas, Bolivia)/. La Paz, 1915, p. 2; "Nuevas investigaciones en Carangas (Bolivia) /New Investigations in Carangas (Bolivia)/," Congrès international des Américanistes, Record of the XXI Session, Part II, held at Göteborg in 1924, Göteborg, 1925, p. 91.

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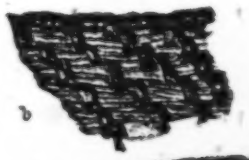
[i.e., The TOXO -- Analyst]

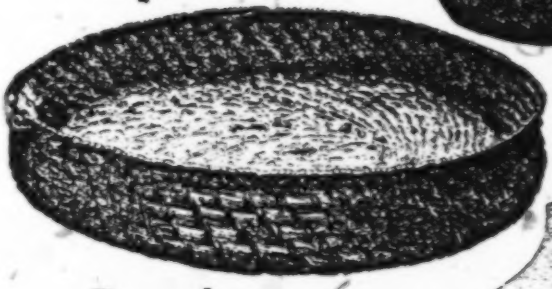
/167/

285
[415]



13-16 cm.

D



415

A

29cm

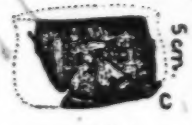
[424]

B

40 cm.

E

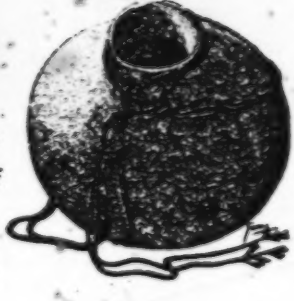
[284]



5cm.

C

F



/See captions on next page./

/167 cont./

Fig. 3. — Čipaya material culture. Basketry and pottery.

285 A: Basket with spiral basketwork used as a winnowing basket by the Čipaya; b: detail of the technique.

226 B: Fish-trap basket of the shore-dwellers of the Poopó marshes, used by the Čipaya to hold small objects.

415 C: Fragments of a broken bowl sewn together.

D: Cipaya bowl (čua).

E: Jug (luč) reminiscent of the old aryballus, bought in Chipaya but of Aymara manufacture.

F: Jug (luč) of old type (from a sketch).

/173 cont./

*539 [396] 14. We are going to place a rim of totoras. 15. He attaches the rim of the balsa. 16. He tightens the rim of the balsa. 17. We are going to finish. 18. (The totora) is still a bit loose; we are going to tighten it a bit more. 19. All is finished. 20. Now the balsa is ready. 21. Let us go fishing [501] with the new balsa. 22. We are not going to hoist a sail? 23. We are not accustomed to use a sail; there is too little water. 24. We always use a boat hook manipulated by hand. [226] 25. Here is the stone which is attached to the large net so that the fish can enter. 26. The fish is going to enter (the net); now we are going to lift (the net) up and put it in the balsa.

Remarks

This text is divided into two parts. The first, 1 to 20, describes the making of balsas from totoras. The second is a succinct description of fishing with a net in the swamps of the Desaguadero.

*539 396 [824] To build their balsas the Uru use the Scirpus totora, which used to grow in abundance in the swamps of the Desaguadero and at numerous points on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Two Indians work at the same time on the con- [114] struction of a balsa. First they lay out the bunches of totoras on the ground, from which they make three spindles the length of the balsa, two large side ones and a middle one which is shorter and thinner; this middle cylinder, the "heart of the balsa," used to stabilize the craft, has passed unnoticed by practically all the authors who have concerned themselves [171] with the Uru. Only the fishers on the lagoon of Arapa, to the north of Lake Titicaca, who speak Keŝwa, build balsas, small and rather narrow, formed with two cylinders.

[284] The totora of three cylinders is held in place with the aid of thin straw plaits (2-4), which hold the cylinders evenly between them. These straw ropes are tightened in a progressive and methodical fashion by two /174/ men, working alternately

/175/

III. Fishing
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 157 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 226 1. I left my house. 2. I went toward the lake. 3. I have been to catch fish. 4 I took a boat hook. 5. I took a large net. 6. We are accustomed to fish with this net. 7. We are accustomed to go fishing at night as well as very early in the morning or evening. 8. We are accustomed to go with another person or even alone. 9. We are free to go fishing or not to go. 10. I got into this balsa. 11. We are accustomed to propel it with the boat hook. 12. We maneuver the boat hook by hand. 13. We are accustomed to put on our tunics now because of the mist. 14. We have taken way a net. 15. Thou, chase the fish with thy boat hook. 16. Me, I lift up the net. 17. There is a souche; a souche is swimming by. 18. We are going to catch it. 19. It is very close. 20. Stick it (with thy spear). 21. Hast thou caught it? 22. I have caught it. 23. We are accustomed to putting (the fish) in the balsa. 24. A souche has fallen into the water. 25. I have taken it out of the water. 26. Let us go elsewhere. 27. All the fish have left. 28. Let us go hunt for coots. 29. Let us rest; I am tired. 30. We are accustomed to hunting coots. 31. We are accustomed to follow them in flight. 32. We are accustomed to hitting them with the boat hook. 33. It has dived. 34. It is coming out of the water. 35. I shall catch the coot with my boleadores /bolas/. 36. It did not touch it. 37. Another will come and thou wilt catch it. 38. Yes. 39. It has come back. 40. We will set out again with the balsa. 41. Let us go fast, or else it will escape (outdo) us. 42. We have caught it. 43. We have caught its /176/ young ones. 44. Bite the coot at its head (to kill it). 45. Let us go

*539 123

/176 cont./

sell it. 46. We must return with this one; let's return. 47. There are no more. 48. We go along in vain. 49. We have looked everywhere; there are no more. 50. We are going to carry everything to the house.

Remarks

This text is divided into three parts. In a short introduction (1-9) the narrator explains the fishing customs of the Uru, and then he describes a day of fishing and hunting aquatic birds in the swamps of the Desaguadero: the departure (10-14), the work of the catcher, who hits the water with a boat hook to direct the frightened fish toward the nets (15-16); fishing for suche (Trichomycterus dispar), a silurus /sheatfish/, which is the largest fish in the lake, reaching 30/35 cm., captured by means of a long three-meter spear ending in multiple points (17-27); and lastly, hunting for coots (Fulica gigantea and Fulica americana) forced into flight and then killed with the boat hooks (30-34) or captured with bolas with wooden balls (35-42). The captured coots are killed by a bite at the head (44). Then comes the return (46-50). This account is very lively.

There are no special words for fishing or hunting; only the verb tína- čay, literally, "to take," is used.

From the point of view of grammar the text furnishes interesting verbal forms, in particular, the forms indicating the usual -čučay, as in the previous texts; the form -čáčay (46), implying the idea of obligation; the double use of the root (8) to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb. Moreover, the frequency of the euphonic letters s and l: 2, 5, 8, etc., should be emphasized.

This text contains two Hispanicisms: the first is very curious (8); in order to better render the idea of solitude, alone, absolutely alone, the narrator has repeated the word "one," /177/ but by pairing the Uru word tína, "alone," with the

/177 cont./
*539 Spanish word uno /"one"/. In 9 the Spanish word voluntad
192 (will) is deformed into pulúntá, as v does not exist in Uru, but
193 it keeps the Spanish tonic accent.

IV. Nocturnal Fishing
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 161 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 1. We are accustomed to fish at night. 2. We are ac-
246 customed to fish in darkness. 3. But how can one see at night?
4. One can easily see the fish moving about. 5. We cover
ourselves with the sail to keep from being cold.

Remarks

[130] The Uru often go fishing at night in their fishing enclosures, and in order not to suffer from the intense cold and the icy wind, they shelter themselves under the totora sails of their craft.

*539 1. The form maká- xe, "by night," "in the darkness,"
192 is analogous to tom- xę, "today," "on this day," and to num-
193 xę, "by day." 3. kún, an interrogative particle, "how," is accompanied by the pure root of the verb. 4. kíre, "fish," is often pronounced kíri. 5. sráp'- pa indicates finality and may be added either to a verb root or to a substantive form or adjective, as is the case here.

/

/179 cont./

*539 115 191 The whole of this text, the phonetics as well as the vocabulary and syntax, is less correct than the accounts of old Manuel Inta, who belongs to the generation prior (he is nearly 90 years old) to that of the new narrator (Carlos Kispe), who is about 50 years old.

*539 191 192 1. puKáta is an Aymara word, a language which the informant knows rather well; húxk'-č̌ač̌' for huxk'-ač̌ač̌ay, "we can depart." The narrator sometimes says č̌urk, and sometimes č̌ork or č̌ark, literally, "large," "strong"; this form indicates the superlative here. 3. The Uru have no special word for the mast; they simply call it "the wood" of the sail. 8. The correct form would be č̌axka-č̌úč̌ay. 9. The narrator moreover has a tendency to transform the final -č̌ay into -č̌a (6) or to elide it into ač̌' (1); he always omits it with substantives and adjectives. 12. The informant says Kãs-si instead of the correct form k^{w}á-si, "water." He often confuses e and i, sometimes saying č̌úke and sometimes č̌úki.

VI. The Fishing Enclosure
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 163 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 336 1. This is a fishing enclosure. 2. This enclosure is made to catch fish. 3. We are accustomed to closing the entrance (of the enclosure) with a net. 4. We lift the net quickly with this stick. 5. On this river there is another net. 6. There are enclosures for each of us, very far away from each other. 7. Thus each of us can fish.

/180/

Remarks

*539 336 The Uru build dams of totoras in a V-form on the Desaguadero, the point oriented toward the direction of the current. A narrow passage contrived at the point is closed at the time of fishing by means of a large circular net, the háku, installed on a balsa. Fishers standing on one or several balsas go downstream, beating the water with long poles furnished with a totora ball, in order to frighten the fish which, descending the river course, enter the enclosure and fall into the net [823] placed at the point. Each Uru family has its fishing enclosure, very far away from those of its neighbors (ü-7). The distribution of the location of these enclosures as well as the use of the totora fields which are used to make balsas was ruled by Uru customary law.

*539 193 1. ti- ki or simply -ki, a particle to designate the object about which one is speaking: this enclosure here; this river here (5). 6. ɨla- ɨla, literally "one," means "one for each"; the repetition of the adverb háske háske has the value of a superlative; "far, far, very far"; Aymara and Kelwa form the superlative in an identical manner: eg.: Kala- Kala, "rock rock," in Aymara: "many rocks."

VII. The Village of the Uru at Iru-Itu
Comments on photographs by Manuel Inta

(See p. 164 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 [346] 1. Is this your chapel? 2. It is our chapel. 3. These are our houses. 4. The chapel is seen from behind. 5. The chapel is good that way (seen from the front). 6. The totora [824] is kept upright in a heap. /181/ 7. It is kept in a heap so that it will not rot.

4:Vellard--10 D,E-4,5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/35 cont./

175 (Juan Alfonso Carrizo. Cancionero popular de Jujuy /Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy/. p. XV. Tucuman. 1935.)

/36/ Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada /Moral Chronicle/ of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

[162] [181] In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor Lorenço de Aldana gave us...; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uro Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscene and dark-skinned /renegrida/ they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. The chief [103] pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Volume I, p. 353.)

[164] [179] [81] This pueblo (of Challacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians who were being catechized by our Order.... There are crude Uro Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned /renegrida/, without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all [206] prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish in the lake of Paria...those who live on land /do so/ in [342] sepultures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails...the [37] Uro Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here [291] they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold [199] land) than some mats of these cattails.... Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion. [103] [197] There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a Priory with a subsidiary church of Uro Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away.... There is another pueblo four leagues

9:La Barre E-S (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 115, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock.

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging leaves by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter. Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, soaked, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; then smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (*puna-suhna*) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of variegated llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden floats for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of disguises has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

5 La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

501
[924]

[391]
[39]
[505]

PLATE III.—**Uru fishing and gathering totora reeds.** Top: Man pursuing duck; a tripod fish net. Bottom: Towing bundles of reed with a balsa. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P 582-C]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Another house type, beyond the rectangular-thatched and round-matted forms, is that to be found in several examples on the plain just to the north of Ancoaqui. These have a rectangular ground-plan, and instead of being thatched with grass or *totora*-mats, have a pyramidal "dome" corbelled of the same turfs that the walls are made. One of these photographed was on a slight artificial elevation, and had a shallow "moat" around it, possibly to provide dryness and drainage during the long rainy season. Another has two doors, both east and south, suggesting that shepherds might watch their llamas from these tiny huts, which are too small for family habitation; one of them has a chimney-hole in the roof.

Posnansky[10] says the Uru of Sojopaca built temporary shelters, apparently of mud, "like beavers," and figures a carefully domed *putaka* on the islet of Simillaque, as well as a round, stone-roofed house on the Isle of Panza. Uru round houses at Ancoaqui have vertical walls, but some of those of the Chipaya (Posnansky, Figs. 39 and 56) are battened inward, like truncated domes. On islands in the Desaguadero swamps I noticed temporary shelters of *totora* shaped like an old-fashioned straw beehive with a point, erected to shelter the *balsa*-builders.

Food. The Uru have repeatedly been referred to as living chiefly fishermen, but fish are by no means exclusively their diet. Their linguistic congeners to the south, the Chipaya, are chiefly pastoral, and the Uru likewise have pigs, donkeys, some few chickens, sheep, and cows, but no llamas or alpacas. Of the cows Métraux writes:

> these on the border of the Desaguadero [have] become amphibian. They pass the whole day in the water browsing on aquatic plants. From a distance one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan marsh.

These half-wild creatures are so "pastured" because of the acute lack of land among the Uru, whose agriculture,[11] for the same reason, is thus greatly circumscribed. The Uru have dogs, which they call *paka*. Like the Aymara, and most *altiplano* Indians, the Uru keep domesticated guinea-pigs in their houses. Pigs wander about the village also, but are sometimes placed in

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Ethnography of South America seen from the Mojos of Bolivia (Comparative Ethnographic Studies 3, Gothenburg, 1924), p. 19; see also Bernabé Cobo, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 2: p. 62; Huaman Poma de Ayala, in Means, *Peru and Overseas*, p. 188, Fig. 86 (in Métraux *loc. cit.*).

[10] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 108 and Figures 104, 111.

[11] George McCutchen McBride, *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia* (American Geographic Society, Research Series 5, New York, 1921), p. 18, says the Uru "form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them."

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

earthen sides, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoraqui, though they occur in Aymara villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kaila*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pito*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *luta* (Uru *awai*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*vala*, *kwari*, or *kaima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymara.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *kkhi* or *kkhi*, or *cewichaksia* according to Palavecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make bricks of masticated maize also; *kkhi* is made from a plant called *kiwari* or *kiri*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymara but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camarocitos [lobsters] transparentes" (Uru *koykoyo*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew coca, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kwala*, of *totora* bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the *gaff* (*abrasi*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poked along (W. Leb.)] The bundle is placed against the *gaff*, the end of which rests on the lip-

9:La Barre E-4,3 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

tum of the handle. The whole is thrust vertically into the earth. The end of the handle emerges a few centimeters above the surface of the water. They repeat the operation until a sufficiently compact weir is raised to hold the fish. The barrier has the form of an angle which opens in the direction of the current. The two wings are straight or curved slightly inward. They end in an opening about a meter wide whose edges, more resistant than the rest of the weir, are made of two handles 20cm. in diameter. Unlike the others, these handles have transverse ligatures a few centimeters above the surface. Facing this passage there is generally an inlet of straw which protects the weir from the wind and to which the fisherman can attach his bales. Here he places the net. He watches the fish that are engaged between the two barriers and then conducted toward the net which closes the weir.

The Uru also make their straw nets to their boats into vast like shelters over themselves when fishing. To drive the fish into their weirs, they attach bunches of reeds to a pole and agitate the water up and down.

Cord nets attached to a frame are also used in Uru fishing. The frame of this type of net (called *katpawa*) is a tripod lashed at the divergent ends of the feet to a stick bent into a ring: these conical nets are quite large and about all one man can handle. Métraux further mentions a smaller rectangular-framed scoop net with a pole handle: "The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or sitting until he sees interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net carefully, then pulls it out of the water with a rapid motion." The Uru also have large bottom-sets or drag-nets, which neither Métraux nor the author were able to see in use as they serve for fishing only in very deep water. These are trailed behind several balsas, their bottoms weighted with perforated stones, and require a number of persons to handle them.

In fishing for a species of *Trichomycterus* (*T. pictus*, Aymará *mañi*), the Uru of the Desaguadero also use a spear, called *puri*, which has eight or so diverging spikes at its end on which the fish is impaled in shallow water.* Although fish are reasonably plentiful in Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero, Agassiz early noted the poverty in variety of the fauna: the genus *Orestias* of the family *Cyprinodontidae*, and the genus *Trichomycterus* of the family *Siluridae* comprise all the known species. The *Orestias* (= Aymará *ispi*, *isipi* = ? Uru *alkerlaia*) are minnow-like fish, viviparous, and of marked sexual dimorphism, which may account for the number and variety of

* Pomansky (pp. 77-78) believes that this term indicates affinities with Amazonian forests, among whose the root *pu-* means "fish," as in the fish names *pira-unha*, *pira-mutáia*, *pira-arara*, *pira-pitinga* ("painted fish"), *pira-aruná* ("red fish" of great size, which is dried like *charqui*), *pira-tinga*, *pira-uaiua* ("infernal of fish"), *piranha* (the terrible sharp-toothed fish of tropical rivers which attacks even humans), *pira-uassú* ("big fish"), *pirantinga* ("whitening fish"), *matupiri*, etc.

9:La Barre E-4,9 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

native names for as exiguously a number of scientific varieties. These occur in the species *O. Cuvieri*, *O. Frenkandi*, *O. Humboldti*, *O. Jacobaei*, *O. Boindii*, *O. Orbignei*, *O. frontosus*, and *O. Nattereri*. Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suli*, *tuyuri*, Uru *lisi*) three species are present: *T. dispar Tschudi*, and *T. rivulatus*. Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify closely with the scientific classifications are: (Aymara) *guri-lampa*, *pariwa*, *kari-kuyuri*, *umuwa*, *karuli*; (Uru) *iwi*, *lisi*, *lishi*, *ch'ulu*, *lishiri*, and *mukhuli* —whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and female of the same species.

Fish are preserved and prepared in several ways. The smaller kinds (*ispi*, *vulpia*, *silbevlaki*), salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. The larger varieties (*suli*, *tuyuri*, *lisi*) are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire, and thus semi-dried are preserved for periods of scarcity, according to Pomonsky. But what appears to be the same process, described by Palavecino, is evidently a method of cooking:

> These ovens, which the Uru call *wanchi*, consist in a hole dug in the soil, whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 cm. The rounded edge is raised at the surface of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uru light a fire in it and accordion more or less flat stones. When the stones are incandescent, they take them out, all except those on the bottom. They lay on these a layer of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a layer of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is closed with stones, and covered with reeds. The fish is thus cooked by steaming.

Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South America.

Hunting is almost as important to the Uru as fishing, neither of which is basic in Chipaya economy. The river mouths abound with birds of many kinds: waterhens (*wenia*, *lishpa*), ducks (*uyuru*), geese (*wakata*), loons (*pulla*), herons (*alili*), various diving birds and gulls; a large unidentified black bird they call *liwamba* or *lilimba*. Other unidentified birds are: *lalita*, *halawaina* (*waina* is Aymará for "youth, young man"), *ahuwa*, *lawani*. Of these aquatic birds, only the "*halu*" (*pulla*) is not hunted or eaten, because of its rank, oily flesh. Most frequently hunted is a kind of red duck called *p'omuyuru*.

The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Pomonsky says men hunting alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or twisting the neck. The Uru are able users of slingshots woven or braided of variegated llama-wools; and they also use *bolas*, made with two large

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24
Aymara SF5

wooden balls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.[22] They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking; spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yokena*), and kill with their *bolas* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*šiñi*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *čarki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña; sahaḷa*, a word obviously related to Aymará *haḷa*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold[23] small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lassoed, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the viscacha (*oḷičai*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, roof-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails; and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymára neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

[22] An Uru *bola* from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

[23] The Aymára have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "brass-monkey" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *ḳakaya* ("to split"), *wari* (vicuña), *q'asaya* ("makes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-wooled vicuña scream. The Aymára schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "cholo" interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") yell of this familiar phrase: *q'ala ḳakaya wari q'asaya, ura ura!*

/78 cont./
412 kneeling woman exerts on them is accompanied by gentle rocking, which facilitates the grinding.

372 /79/ The Uro have no combustible material other than dried
[232] animal excrement and tola branches, which they go far to seek.
[224] These things are precious, and the Uro, like the Cipaya and the Aymara, are sparing in their use.

231 Near the huts a type of earth niche is sometimes erected which is rather similar to the huts around the village of Chipaya; these are pigstys.

226 Fishing. The Uro, in our age as in pre-Colombian times,
[262] draw their main subsistence from the lake. They are excellent
[439] fishers. The fish they catch is partly consumed by themselves and partly sold to the Aymara and to the half-breeds of the capital. I did not have the opportunity to be present on a real fishing expedition, only at several demonstrations made at my request. They first taught me the way in which they use the landing net shown in Fig. 23, 1 /see p. 9/. The wooden frame which holds the stretched-out net is fastened to the end of a pole. The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or seated on his balsa until he sees an interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net delicately, then pulls it out of the water with a sudden motion.

227 There is another type of landing net which is much larger. It is composed of a circle from which wooden sticks joined at one end go out. This skeleton, conical in form, is covered with a net. Another net, as large as a hand, is stretched across the opening to make the escape of the fish even more difficult. This apparatus is often of considerable dimensions; some are more than three meters in diameter. They are always equipped with a handle by which they are held in the water and lifted up as soon as the fish have ventured in (Pl. III, B /see p. 23/).

The Uro Indians also possess bottom nets, which I regret not having seen employed. I have, however, acquired a perforated stone (Fig. 24, 2 /see p. 10/) which corresponds to our weights or ballast.

/80/

227

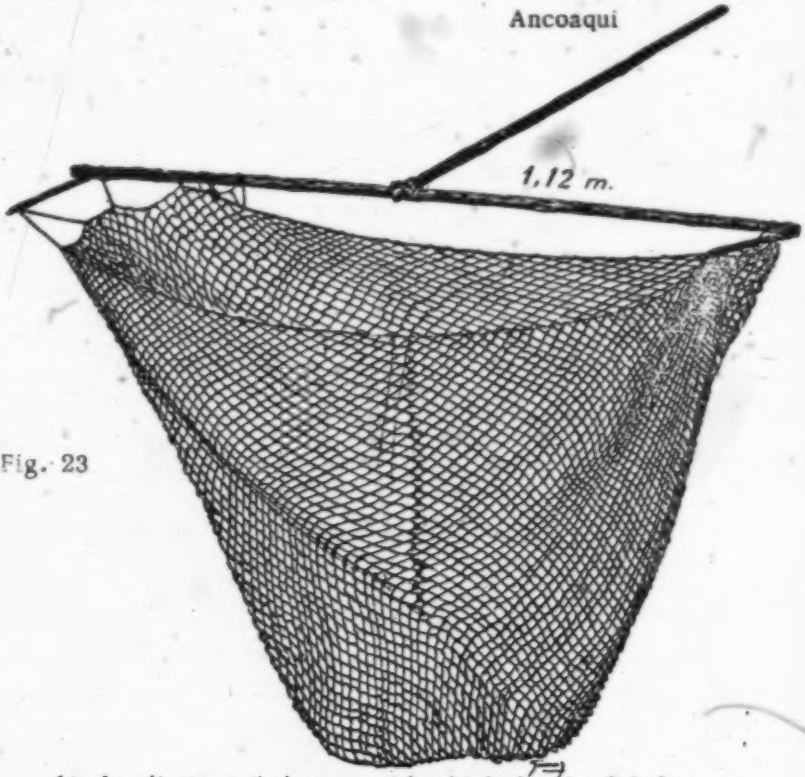
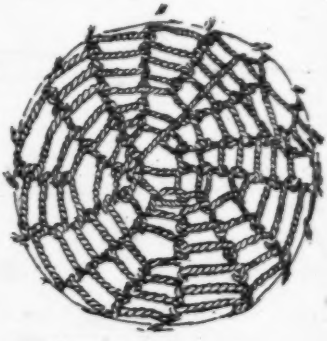


Fig. 23

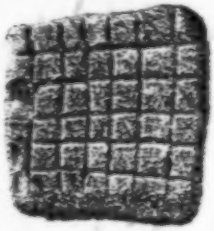
1: Landing net (kakuna), with which the Uro fish from above their boats

285

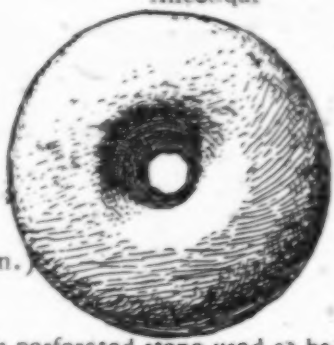


2, 3: a wicker basket of spiral design (width: 18 cm.; height: 14 cm.).

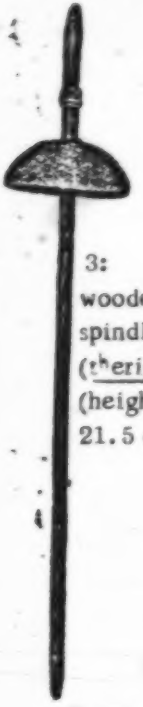
/81/



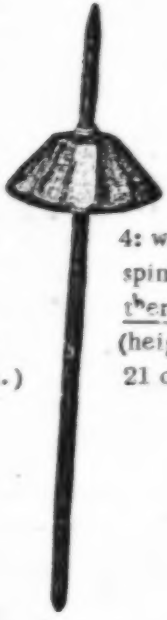
1: Stone polisher to soften leather (height: 7.5 cm. width: 7.2 cm; thickness: 3.5 cm.)



2: perforated stone used as ballast to sink bottom nets (diameter: 9.9 cm.) (GM. 31.44.44)

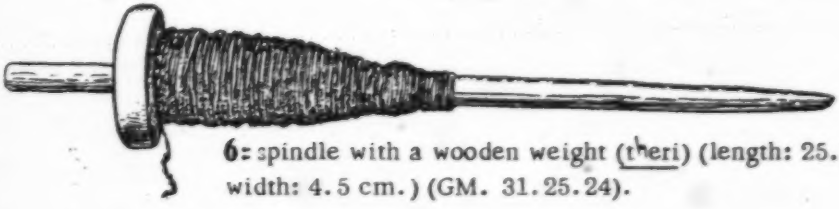


3: wooden spindle (t'eri) (height: 21.5 cm.)



4: wooden spindle t'eri (height: 21 cm.)

5: wooden hook which the Uro use for making their balsas (kaxlu, 'kaxi)



6: spindle with a wooden weight (t'eri) (length: 25.2 cm. width: 4.5 cm.) (GM. 31.25.24).

Fig. 24

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A. Male Uro Indian dressed in camiseta.

B. Uro woman.

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C. Little Uro girl.

D. Uro maiden.

[End Plate 4]

/179 cont./

283 Rope-making. Ropes (koč, koms) are made of llama wool or straw, the former twisted or braided. To make them, the Čipaya take a bundle of raw wool in the right hand and twist it by hand and gradually roll around a ring held in the left hand. The ropes and cords of wool (kxiya, tuanda) serve as belts for the men or are used to fasten loads on the backs of llamas.

Straw ropes are used practically exclusively in the construction of houses, where they tie the different pieces of the framework of the roof and fasten down the straw which covers it.

[462] These ropes are made by the women: they hammer each handful of straw on the back of their overturned grindstones with a round rock provided with depressions which facilitate handling it. The stalks once softened are moistened. The woman twists some of them to make a strand (pʰit-čekta). She does the same with another pinch, then applies a rotating motion between her palms to these two strands. So that the straw will not dry out during the process, she holds it sheltered under a blanket and herself dampens her hands frequently.

285 Basket-making. Basket-making is a local industry in Chipaya. /180/ Their circular baskets (pats patz) with a small perpendicular rim are all of one type although of different sizes (Fig. 3, A /see p. 155/). They are composed of small coils of straw turned upon themselves in a spiral and held together by leather ties (Fig. 3, A, B). This technique is the one that ethnographers in the English language call "coiled."

287 439 The small openwork baskets (čiñi šepa) are, it appears, fish traps which the Čipaya buy from the people of Orinoca or Andamarca (villages situated near the banks of the Poopó).

3:Vellard--6b D, E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

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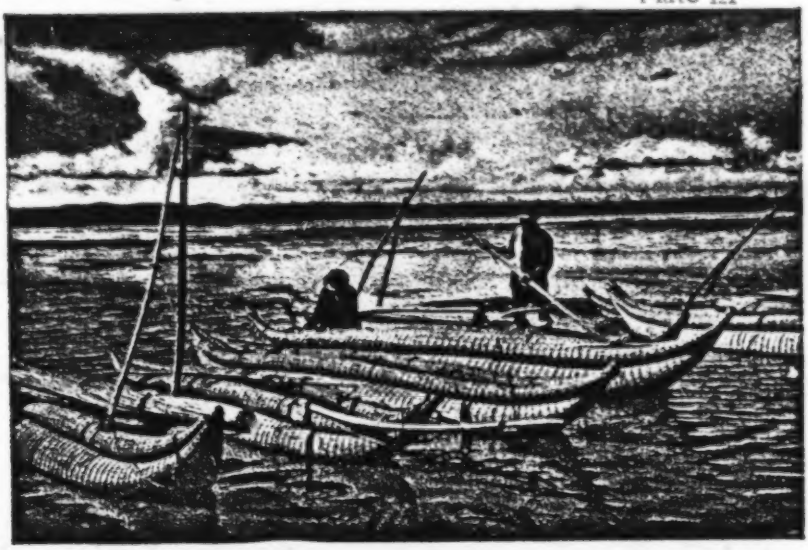

5. Balsas of totoras (1942).

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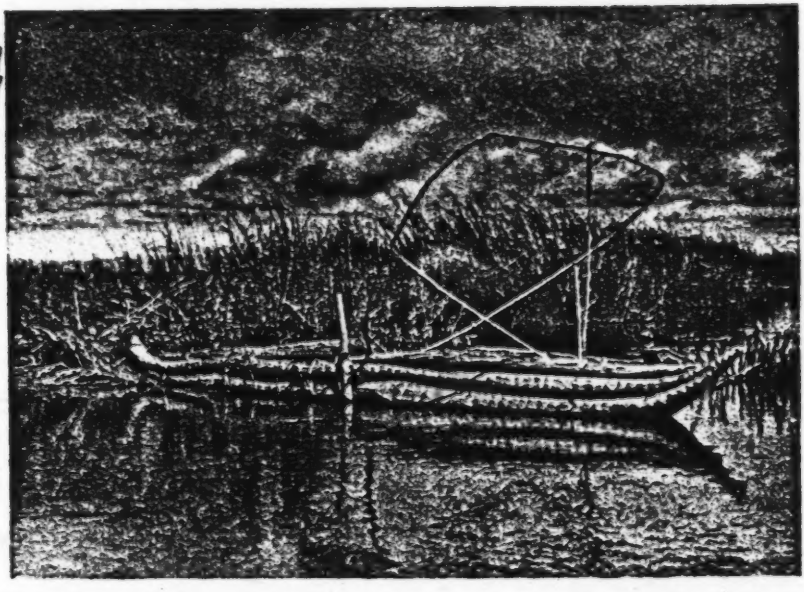

6. Balsa with large net (yak' kaka). Account VI /see p. 16/.

3\Vellard--6c D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

7. Uru with small fish net (tum kaku).
Account III. 14 /see p. 12/.

8. Uru with big fish spear (Account III, 20 /see p. 12/).

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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[285]

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[287]

PLATE 117.—**Uru and Chipaya Indians.** *Top (left): Uru* man making a mat. *Top (right): Chipaya* man. *Bottom (left): Uru* man holding a fishing net. *Bottom (right): Uru* man. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-E]

/78 cont./
412 kneeling woman exerts on them is accompanied by gentle rocking, which facilitates the grinding.

372 /79/ The Uro have no combustible material other than dried
[232] animal excrement and tola branches, which they go far to seek.
[224] These things are precious, and the Uro, like the Čipaya and the Aymara, are sparing in their use.

231 Near the huts a type of earth niche is sometimes erected which is rather similar to the huts around the village of Chipaya; these are pigstys.

226 Fishing. The Uro, in our age as in pre-Colombian times,
[262] draw their main subsistence from the lake. They are excellent
[439] fishers. The fish they catch is partly consumed by themselves and partly sold to the Aymara and to the half-breeds of the capital. I did not have the opportunity to be present on a real fishing expedition, only at several demonstrations made at my request. They first taught me the way in which they use the landing net shown in Fig. 23, 1 /see p. 9/. The wooden frame which holds the stretched-out net is fastened to the end of a pole. The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or seated on his balsa until he sees an interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net delicately, then pulls it out of the water with a sudden motion.

227 There is another type of landing net which is much larger. It is composed of a circle from which wooden sticks joined at one end go out. This skeleton, conical in form, is covered with a net. Another net, as large as a hand, is stretched across the opening to make the escape of the fish even more difficult. This apparatus is often of considerable dimensions; some are more than three meters in diameter. They are always equipped with a handle by which they are held in the water and lifted up as soon as the fish have ventured in (Pl. III, B /see p. 23/).

The Uro Indians also possess bottom nets, which I regret not having seen employed. I have, however, acquired a perforated stone (Fig. 24, 2 /see p. 10/) which corresponds to our weights or ballast.

/83 cont./

231 Animal raising. They raise guinea pigs in their huts, which renders habitation there even more disagreeable. They have several flocks of sheep, pigs, and cows; those of the latter along the shores of the Desaguadero have become amphibious. They spend the entire day in the water and graze on water plants. From afar one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan swamp.

262 252 Cooking. The diet of the Uro is that of all the Indians of the altiplano: potatoes cooked in water, chuño (potato fecula), boiled or roasted meat, maize, broad beans, quinua, cañave, etc. The Uro add to this a dish of their own creation: the juicy pith of the totora. The edible part of this plant is the base of the stalk. It does not need to be prepared in any way.

252 [174] The Uro have preserved a method of cooking which is very old and whose distribution in South America, completely unusual, corresponds perhaps to a very archaic cradle of civilization: this is the subterranean oven, or Polynesian oven. "These ovens, which the Uro call vaxaña, consist of a hole dug in the earth whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 centimeters. The rounded edge juts out at the level of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uro light a fire inside and put in stones which are more or less flat. When the rocks are incandescent they are withdrawn, with the exception of those at the bottom. On top of them is laid a bed of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a second bed of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is then closed with rocks which are covered with rushes. The fish thus cooks by stewing" (Palavecino).

251 They preserve fish by drying it on mats after having /84/ salted it. They do the same with the birds, whose flesh is cut up and exposed to the rays of the sun.

273 They make a beer called xawinskania from cañave seeds (Palavecino).

396 [439] Manufacture of balsas. The most important industrial activity of the Uro is the manufacture of rafts of totora, or balsas, to be provided with which partically all the shore-dwellers on the Titicaca come to them. As these small craft deteriorate rapidly,

Carangas-
Chipaya

/117 cont./

312 puna, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places
346 lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants,
331 which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as boars. The
137 Cipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities. As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this assertion. It nonetheless reveals a certain care for precision among the Cipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the scantiness of this flora which a little wetness causes to grow in the
132 midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya
133 has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate
346 land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques, the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds draw into strange formations and assume a luster elsewhere unknown. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

133 Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the existence of the Cipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River, which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the characteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months, threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation
132 of the "canton," the flocks which feed upon it. This is the most
221 crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe
796 are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals of the Cipaya take place at this time and that all have the

2:Mémoires--46 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya
Modern Quechua SE24
Inca SE13

/334 cont./

The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play a foremost role in the religious life of the Čipaya. The majority of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku, he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /335/ of the pagan religion of the Čipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the sands of the puna. The pit is housed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a yereta.

The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The Čipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent to konopa, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).

1. On the konopa, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Latcham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 55-62, may be consulted.

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/357 cont./

alferez and his wife received in addition cheeses, eggs, and even some small silver coins which they placed in front of the sheaves along with two horns and some flutes. They then proceeded to the distribution of part of the straw, which the women passed between the twists of the braids on their temples. The men decorated their hats with it.

In the samiri's cellar (Fig. 35. A /see p. 78/) the Officiant placed four small bags of white paper tied with strings of red wool, which contained respectively the following items: in the first, lozenges and white, yellow, and pink candy destined for the Earth-mother to make her sweeter; in the second, cloves, pimento, cinnamon bark, pallios (a type of cinnamon), and maté leaves; in the third, olives, orange peel, Carob-tree pods (kʷoka), dried pieces of peach, guava, quince, and apple; and in the fourth, dark red, clear blue, and brown mineral powders (sevarios), each in a separate little paper bag, rosemary, starch, and lastly two white and pink candies. Next to the little bags he then placed two small plants stuck into a pellet of fat and a bunch of pinks. On the other hand he then took out a bottle which had /358/ been in the cellar, into which those present one by one came to pour the contents of a drinking cup of alcohol. At the same time as this offering they sprinkled several drops of alcohol on the samiri and pinches of coca into the cellar. This libation was ceaselessly accompanied with this prayer muttered in a low voice:

Haĉa	pakʷal'a	samiri	kulumayo	pakʷal'a	samiri	kon
large	livestock	"	pigs	livestock	"	with

usita	pakʷal'a	samiri	maitarapita.
sheep	livestock	"	give to me.

"Samiri of the large livestock (llamas), samiri of the pigs, samiri of the sheep, give to me."

Zimmeraux--90 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/364 cont./

They continued their orations, this time facing the alferez. They then walked around the gathering, greeting the men and the women and uttering a long string of wishes for each.

One of the hosts /?/, after long prayers and all sorts of gestures which were respectful in manner, carried one of the sheaves away. The other was given to the alferez, who kept it carefully in a corner of his hut.

/365/ Several guitarists then began to play, solely for the pleasure of the audience. At a given moment, a very shrill head voice, plaintive and unmodulated, burst from the group of women. Others soon accompanied it on the same notes. It was a song without words, slow and melodious, with numerous inflections: the notes, often very prolonged, were followed by the accompaniste. At moments when the song seemed to have died, it would break out again, taken up by other voices. This song, an approximate idea of which is given by the following notation, is emitted with the mouth shut. It undoubtedly serves as an incantation for, according to the musicians, it could be addressed to llamas, male and female, and to pigs. One probably also exists for the sheep.

2:566mnau--06 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF26 Ucn SF26

Cavenger-
Chipaya

/269 cont./

amounts of quinua, cañawa, chuño, and sugar with pendants, many of which were prehistoric and tied together with a string (Pl. XVI, F /see p. 137/). A scale of values seems to exist, so many potsherds giving the right to acquire a certain quantity of a given product. Small clay llamas may also be bought; they have a magical action on the prosperity of the flocks.

The festival of the Entewat, Kemperasi, and Cumbirasi mal'ku (February 8, 12, and 14).

To give an account in detail of the ceremonies performed in honor of the mal'ku would be equivalent to repeating the description of the festival of the samiri. The ritual practices observed, their order, and the attitude of the spectators are exactly the same as those which I have described in detail above. The only difference is that instead of being directed to the samiri, libations and sacrifices are intended for the sacred caves of earth. However, I was able to note several variants which I think are worth mentioning.

The festival of the Entewat-mal'ku (Pl. XIII, 9-D /see p. 134/) had some preliminaries which were absent from the worship of the other mal'ku. The alferez of this festival had a sheep killed the day before in the court in front of the church. Two hours later a superb white ram was slaughtered at his command below the wall of his hut. He had summoned Atacleto Mollo for this sacrifice.

In conformance with the ritual a sacred stick was planted to the east in front of the sheep, whose streaming blood was mixed with flour in a bowl, poured out at the four cardinal points, offered to the demons, and finally sprinkled on the inner wall of the alferez' hut. These sprinklings finished with a libation of alcohol of which the demons were again the beneficiaries.

The Officiant was then invited to help with the preparations for the festival, and he spent a good part of the evening making little bags of offerings and shaping from fat into which black and white meal had been kneaded, a llama, a sheep, and a pig, to which is added silver that has passed through

Indians--SFF E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SFDA Uru SFDA

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[377]

"Demon Kaxil'xaxil, wife of the demon, in the morning I have come to acquit myself with these three animals, on this day, the day of thy anniversary. I have come with the whole assembly to acquit ourselves on behalf of our herds and (our) health."

In conclusion I shall reproduce the prayer which is addressed to Mount Sajama and to the Lauca River when a specimen of each of the three kinds of animal which comprise the herds of the Chipaya is sacrificed to the latter:

Sajama-mal'ku	awisuru	·wmiksi's	Maria	L'auka	ni	
Sacred Sajama	shepherd	make feed	Mary	Laura	thou	
'ay	pasa'r's	swmiku	pawsi's	para	ampa	
three	heads of livestock	make feed	give	for	always	
swmiku.						
make feed.						

"Sacred Sajama (thou) the shepherd, make us able to feed. Mary Laura, (grant us) to feed these three kinds of animals. (Give us grass) to feed them."

Religious Practices at Sheep-shearing Time.

In the beginning of February the Indians of the saya tayata went away to shear their sheep. They came back from their "wool houses" with huge packs of llama and sheep wool which they piled up in their turn. This return was the occasion for a festival which chiefly consisted of offering libations of alcohol over the piles of wool and of offering coca and alcohol to the small earthen llamas (Pl. XVII, 9 *here* p. 138) lined up inside the hut on a table. A few llamas had been led to the village, and the Indians came from time to time to drop some coca leaves and drops of alcohol on their backs, while imploring the demons and saints to increase these animals, to protect them, and to make the grass on which they feed grow.

Baldwin--109 E-5 (1930-1937) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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Chipaya

/777 cont./

Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Cipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /778/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, where steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Cipaya Indian is the festival par excellence beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /779/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other ayllu are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only season of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its usefulness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extolled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behind the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Cipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, and the no less precious cars. The crisis which elsewhere was laying up Latin American presidents was depriving the Cipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text continues on P. 110]

/386 cont./

778 vegetables, the knowledge and acquisition of which means the
796 most to the Čipaya. The green represents the fields, the brown
89 quinua seeds, the violet certain parts of quinua and cañave leaves.
[824]

With some mutton fat the yatiri modeled a lamb to whose neck he attached a tuft of wool. He put it in a bowl into which those present threw coca, and he offered libations to it and recited a long prayer where wishes for the prosperity of the flock were mingled with enumerations of the mal'ku and invocations to the Pačamama. Now taking pig fat the yatiri encrusted it with portions of gold leaf and stuck dried flowers in it. The choice of the flowers was as meticulous as that of the colored powders. When the slice of pig fat was covered with them, /387/ the wife of the master of the enclosure wrapped it with a tuft of red wool. The sheep made of fat, the flowers stuck in the pig fat, and the sacks of mineral powders were placed in a tin box and sprinkled with coca leaves. Among those present arose a real competition as to who would contribute the most coca leaves and recite his prayers with the most fervor. Then the bottle of eau-de-vie was uncorked, and all drank from it, beginning with the Officiant, without neglecting libations and the customary prayers before each bumper.

A few drops of alcohol were sprinkled on the offerings, to which the following things were added: llicta, candies, incense, khoa, copal, and sugar. The box was buried even with the ground and covered with a slab. The whole thing was carefully concealed under the ground, and the yatiri uttered a long prayer addressed, as previously, to the Pačamama and protecting demons on the site of the samiri. The ceremony ended, like all the Čipaya ceremonies, with mutual invitations to drink and chew.

23 Religious practices relating to putting domestic animals to
784 death.

When the Čipaya slaughter an animal in order to eat the meat, they perform a ritual which is in every respect analogous to the one which I have so often described in connection with sacrifices. The sheep or the pig receives an offering of coca and

/387 cont./

231 782 alcohol, and its blood is offered to the demons. The animal's head is placed on a table where it remains on display for several days. It is surrounded with bunches of flowers, and under the beast's snout a napkin covered with coca leaves and small dishes containing various substances, all invested with magical qualities, is placed. The residents of the hut, who have set up this altar, worship it in summary fashion, the principal manifestations of which are gestures of respect and offerings of coca and alcohol.

Divination.

787 824 Like the Aymara the Čipaya Indians practice divination on a large scale. I had one occasion to have the future predicted to me by the most highly reputed specialist of the tribe, Anacleto Mullu. The latter used only a napkin and a certain amount of coca provided by the client as accessories. He began with a short prayer murmured in a low voice, during which he carefully spread out his leaves, patting them with the palm of his hand. He brought his right hand to his mouth /388/ forming a horn and blew gently into it. Then, putting his hand gently back on the leaves, smoothing and caressing them, he repeated the question. After a short invocation he took hold of a handful of leaves which he turned with a quick movement. He separated the significant leaves from the pile to show them to me. From what I could ascertain, a leaf must be turned with its nervures on top, have the petiole behind, and the point of the limb toward the end of the fingers to be considered a good omen. The hand is always kept open, the fingers directed toward the consultant.

To be good the leaf also must not be covered by any other. The leaves which are clearly bad are those which are presented in an inverted position. The worst have their shiny side up and the petiole directed toward the consultant. The precision of the more or less categorical reply of the diviner depends on his general appraisal and on the proportion of good and bad leaves. Folded leaves are taken out and have no significance at all.

2:Métraux--132 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XI

782
291
[198]
[231]
[196]

A. — Indian kneeling before a mal'ku.

B. — Ritual slaughter of a sheep.

782
*196
[198]
[231]

C. — Ritual consecration of a llama: libation of alcohol and offering of coca.

D. — Ritual slaughter of a llama.

/159 cont./

Means of Subsistence

233 433 Stock raising. The Čipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in 233 describing the environment /160/ where they live, the pastures which 311 cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by [312] means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 231 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts 343 shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses 311 of the second type (Fig. 1, B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at littering time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large lacustral city.

233 417 The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Čipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

342 [361] It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Čipaya have their "water houses" (kˇas-kˇoya), or estancias, (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have [592] already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

/160 cont./

233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to them[1] at more or less close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their [891] cheeses. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the children from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them [842] the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous progeny.

[422] [231] Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20 sheep (uša), an indefinite number of pigs (kuči), and several llamas (xwala). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut in the ear.

[616] Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on /161/ the pastures belonging to his saya (moiety). No markers mark the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the members of the other saya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

231 233 The shepherds have dogs /paku/, middling in size, with rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals, which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye without its astounded owner having time to intervene.

236 233 [412] Sheep shearing (čipla) takes place at the same time for the whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

233 262 Like all pastoral people the Čipaya are loath to consume the meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their [231] flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied by a certain religious ceremony.

[1] [i.e., to their "water houses" or estancias -- Analyst]

/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone scoured by the herds of sheep, out where the ever poorer pastures are gradually lost in the arid puna (Pl. II, A /see p. 211/). The young llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watching a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231 It is rather strange that the Čipaya do not raise guinea pigs, as practically all the Indians of the Sierra do. It is true that the Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not [235] know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of [262] the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them because I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic animals that the Čipaya have.

241 Agriculture. To the meager income which their flocks bring [433] them the Čipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinua) (in Uro-Čipaya: kxula) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañahua).

The cultivated plots (skxāla), which are common to the whole tribe and not only to each of the saya, are situated to the southeast of the village /162/ and to the east of the flooded region called the lakes. Their area is about 300 meters wide and one kilometer long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet, is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries. Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten meters wide and 300 meters long.

[433] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the care and under the responsibility of the alcaldes. If what they say is accurate, the Čipaya practice crop rotation.

[412] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To till the soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bent handles, a specimen

2:Métraux--210 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya / Carangas

Plate I

142
291

A. Young Čipaya girl

B. Čipaya couple in Sunday best.

[312]
←

• [231]
→

C. Čipaya woman come to draw water from a canal and fleeing under a storm.

D. Little Indian girl holding a piglet.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

Herding.—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

Farming.—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

Food preparation.—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.

HOUSES

Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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Bertonio, 1879 b; Brinton, 1890; Chamberlain, 1910; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1925–27; Ehrenreich, 1905; Forbes, 1870; La Barre, 1941; La Grasserie, 1894; Latcham, 1910; Métraux, 1934 c, 1935 b, 1935 c, 1936 a, 1936 b, 1936 c; Ore, 1607; Polo, 1901; Posnansky, 1934; Rivet, 1925–27; Uhle, 1896; Vázques de Espinosa, 1942.

tains; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Mallcu Mayor*. The other *mallcus* are represented by small conical sod towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; cheeses and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *yatiri*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

There were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him standing motionless and followed the younger one down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

Fortunately in these last few years the climatic conditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more increased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

[p. 313-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Another house type, beyond the rectangular-thatched and round-matted forms, is that to be found in several examples on the plain just to the north of Ancoaqui. These have a rectangular ground-plan, and instead of being thatched with grass or *totora*-mats, have a pyramidal "dome" corbelled of the same turfs that the walls are made. One of these photographed was on a slight artificial elevation, and had a shallow "moat" around it, possibly to provide dryness and drainage during the long rainy season. Another has two doors, both east and south, suggesting that shepherds might watch their llamas from these tiny huts, which are too small for family habitation; one of them has a chimney-hole in the roof.

Posnansky[19] says the Uru of Sojopaca built temporary shelters, apparently of mud, "like beavers," and figures a carefully domed *putuku* on the islet of Simillaque, as well as a round, stone-roofed house on the Isle of Panza. Uru round houses at Ancoaqui have vertical walls, but some of those of the Chipaya (Posnansky, Figs. 39 and 56) are battened inward, like truncated domes. On islands in the Desaguadero swamps I noticed temporary shelters of *totora* shaped like an old-fashioned straw beehive with a point, erected to shelter the *balsa*-builders.

Food. The Uru have repeatedly been referred to as being chiefly fishermen, but fish are by no means exclusively their diet. Their linguistic congeners to the south, the Chipaya, are chiefly pastoral, and the Uru likewise have pigs, donkeys, some few chickens, sheep, and cows, but no llamas or alpacas. Of the cows Métraux writes:

> those on the border of the Desaguadero [have] become amphibian. They pass the whole day in the water browsing on aquatic plants. From a distance one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan marsh.

These half-wild creatures are so "pastured" because of the acute lack of land among the Uru, whose agriculture,[20] for the same reason, is thus greatly circumscribed. The Uru have dogs, which they call *paku*. Like the Aymára, and most *altiplano* Indians, the Uru keep domesticated guinea-pigs in their houses. Pigs wander about the village also, but are sometimes placed in

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Ethnography of South America seen from the Mojos of Bolivia (Comparative Ethnographic Studies 3, Göteberg, 1924), p. 19; see also Bernabé Cobo, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 2: p. 62; Huaman Poma de Ayala, in Montell, *Dress and Ornaments*, p. 188, Fig. 86 (in Métraux *loc. cit.*).

[19] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 108 and Figures 104, 111.

[20] George McCutchen McBride, *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia* (American Geographic Society, Research Series 5, New York, 1921), p. 18, says the Uru "form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them."

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *čuñu* (Uru *ounî*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*suļu*, *ḳawri*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likļa* or *likļi*, or *zawinskawia* according to Palevecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *chicha* of masticated maize also; *likļi* is made from a plant called *kiawi* or *kiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kenļa*, of *totora*-bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*okena*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the liga-

Caranga:-
Chipaya

/159 cont./

Means of Subsistence

233 433 Stock raising. The Čipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in 233 311 [312] describing the environment /160/ where they live, the pastures which cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 431 343 311 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the second type (Fig. 1, B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at littering time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large lacustral city.

233 419 The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Čipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

342 [361] It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Čipaya have their "water houses" (k^{x}as-k^{x}oya), or estancias, (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have [592] already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

Caranga: -
Chipaya

/160 cont./

233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to them[1] at more or less
close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their
[89] cheeses. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the chil-
dren from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them
[88] the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from
whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous
progeny.

[122] Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20
[231] sheep (ʧa), an indefinite number of pigs (kuʧi), and several llamas
(xwala). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut
in the ear.

[116] Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on
/161/ the pastures belonging to his saya (moiety). No markers mark
the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal
which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the
members of the other saya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

231 The shepherds have dogs /paku/, middling in size, with
233 rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals,
which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I
have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye with-
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242 meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the
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[1] [i.e., to their "water houses" or estancias -- Analyst]

[illegible]--147 E-6 (1830-1851) 1955, 1976; 1926 Uru 1926

Carangas--
Chipaya

/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone scoured by the herds of sheep, but where the grass grows [illegible] gradually lost in the arid puna (Pl. II. A /see p. 211/). The young llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watching a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

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241 [238] Agriculture. To the meager income which these flocks bring them the Cipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinoa) (in the Cipaya: kwala) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañahua).

The cultivated plots (akalla), which are common to the whole tribe and not only to each of the ayu, are situated to the southeast of the village /162/ and to the east of the flooded region called the lakes. Their area is about 300 meters wide and one kilometer long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet, is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries. Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten meters wide and 300 meters long.

[243] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the [illegible] and under the responsibility of the alcaldes. If what they say is accurate, the Cipaya practice crop rotation.

[242] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To till the soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bone handles, [illegible]

J. Velland---1 D.F.-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SFDA Dra SFDA

1. The place of the Dreggsands was from Jo-Do in 1938.

2. Photograph taken from the same point in 1942. The Dreggsands is reduced to a plain of sand, without waves.

Photos by J. Velland

9:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lance the head mole of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

Herding.—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

Farming.—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,500 feet (3,800 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

Food preparation.—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuño. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then sweat it to make a nourishing powder (pito). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.

HOUSES

Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-towers, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bundles of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal reeds in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Suipuyo *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the Isle of Similaque. On the Isle of Pacza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

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Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Environment. The Rio Desaguadero, as its name implies, is the outlet of Lake Titicaca and flows roughly south to Lake Poopo.[6] Near the lake, where uptilted strata testify to a major geological upheaval at some time in the past, the river flows relatively swiftly through the rocky gate, but on reaching a broad valley between the range of foothills west of the Tiahuanacu plain and a corresponding range in Peru, it slows down considerably. The Desaguadero endlessly bifurcates as the river reaches the Uru swamps. The giant *totora*-reeds stretch higher than a man's head, and clumps of these are alive with numerous and almost tame waterfowl of many varieties, which apparently have never been hunted other than with *bolas*. In the clear, cold water of the river, dozens of varieties of water plants can be seen waving in the current, and in and out of these can be seen darting abundant fish—although these last belong to only about four or five varieties. Near the village half-wild cattle can be heard and occasionally seen plunging through the swampy shallows to eat the succulent white roots of the *totora* (the Uru have scant mainland pasturage for cattle or llamas). In the mountains back of their lands are pumas and vicuñas, but nearby there are only *viscachas* (a bushy-tailed, rabbit-eared rodent of the chinchilla family), the *altiplano* fox (Aymará *q'amaq'e*), and the domesticated guinea-pig.

The stony, dry soil at this altitude, when uncultivated, bears only *t'ola*, a kind of greasebrush used as a fuel, as is also *yareta*, a low, gray-green, semisubterranean mass suggesting a large, woody, resinous cauliflower; and a few small-flowered herbs. The altitude of the Uru country is about 12,000 feet, hence, though it is not far south of the Equator, the air is cold and rare. The rainy season, from late November to early March, comprises the summer. Although the middle of the day can be more than uncomfortably warm

[6] The best way to reach the Uru is to proceed northwest from Guaqui, on Lake Titicaca, by land over a small range of mountains or by water on the Lake, to the little village of Desaguadero, which straddles the river of that name at its head, being thus in both Peruvian and Bolivian territory. *Balsas* are the only means of transportation on the river, and it is imperative to secure experienced rivermen as guides through the elaborate waterways of the swamps in the middle Desaguadero. Storms on the river and the temporary loss of a baggage-*balsa* in the swamp made it for me, my one half-breed and two native companions, a two-day trip, though it should normally be made in one long day's travel. Instead of boating laboriously upstream on the return trip to the Lake, one may go by land cross-country north of Jesus de Machaca. The cold, dry winds from the mountains in this region speedily entail the minor inconvenience of chapped and bleeding lips, and in certain seasons it is a nuisance to find in travelling that rivers on which one had been depending for drinking water have dried up. Weapons, with which I stupidly neglected to provide myself, are probably more nearly necessary in this region than elsewhere in the *altiplano*. Bandelier noted cannibalism near Sajama in 1898, and according to Bolivian authorities, the flesh of murdered whites was so employed during native uprisings as late as 1923 in this Jesus de Machaca region.

/162 cont./

241 of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2, K /see p. 150/). Today
[312] they use long-handled hoes (astuna, takisa) of European make.
[177] The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Čipaya with
[178] an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The quinua which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequent-
[132] ly of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

222

1. The Čipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (siča) which they say is the root of the tola, and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (sawkx-pera) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

000 of several broken down enclosures.

234 Trade. The Čipaya make cheeses, which constitute their
433 chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk.
439 They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, quinua, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried
439 fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region
[433] of the Salinas, from Garcimendoza. The Čipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

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/166 cont./

252 Too many authors have spoken of the preparation of these potatoes exposed to frost and dried for it to be necessary for me to linger on
[439] it. This effort would be all the more superfluous since the čuño which the Čipaya consume is bought from the Aymara. Several times I saw the Čipaya make a paste of čuño by crushing them in
[412] their mortar. The latter is a flat stone (t^{w}ax), slightly sloping, on which the grinding is done with the help of another flat stone (muruku) which goes and comes (Fig. 2, G /see p. 150/).

Meat is always boiled, probably because of the fuel, which burns without a flame or gives off, in the case of tola, an acrid smoke.

264 The food is served in bowls (čua) (Fig. 3, D /see p. 155/);
[412] liquids are taken with a spoon (wisl'a) (Fig. 2, B) and solids with the hand. At feasts the host spreads out the dishes he is offering to his guests on a blanket, and the latter take them in a flap of their clothes.

273 Preparation of chicha from quinua. After being husked, quinua seeds are roasted again. They are then reduced to flour, from which a bowlful is taken out and conscientiously chewed by a woman. The portion soaked with saliva is mixed with the rest of the flour which has been spread on a skin. The whole is boiled and then poured into a large vat to which more hot water is added. The liquid is left to ferment for four days. The drink (k^{z}esi) thus obtained resembles muddy water and is very slightly alcoholic.

● 234 Production of cheeses. Although the cheese industry is in the foreground of the economic activity of the Čipaya, the technique used is one of the most rudimentary. The rennet is prepared with a piece of fetus tripe of a llama or vicuña which is soaked in water. It is enough to pour a little of this liquid into sheep's milk to turn it into cheese. The casein, after having been pressed between the
[439] hands, is put into small straw rings which are superimposed and separated each time by a fragment of palm-tree bark, a material which is used to wrap the small packs of coca which the Aymara sell to the Čipaya. When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is

/166 cont./ When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is firmly bound with a wool rope and left to drip for a certain number of days. These cheeses, white and tasteless, are seasoned with salt which the Čipaya get from the great salt deposits which spread out about 30 kilometers from their village. /167/ /Figure 3 appears here./

/168/ Weapons

The small number of weapons that the Čipaya have is a direct consequence of the insignificance of hunting in their economy. As for war, it is an unknown phenomenon for them. Who would dream of coming to pick a fight with them for possession of the sand dunes or stunted pastures? The only occasions for giving free rein to their bellicose instincts are the festivals. The alcohol they absorb then accentuates the underhand rivalry of the sayas among themselves, and, awakening passions, leads them to often bloody fights. I do not know if any weapons other than sticks and fists enter into play in this case.

The sling (kxorawa) (Fig. 4, A /see p. 157/), which is the weapon par excellence of the Indians of the altiplano, has only a peacable use in Chipaya: it is used to hurl lumps of earth at llamas or sheep to prevent them from straying from the flock or from the route being followed. It is possible that the Čipaya might have recourse to the sling when they have some quarrels with the people of the other saya, but I was never able to get particulars on this subject. Another circumstance contributes to making the sling of the Čipaya a harmless instrument: the lack of stones able to serve as projectiles.

The bolas of the Čipaya play a role close to that of the sling: they permit them to catch the sheep. The most common type is the ordinary bola. The stones instead of being caught in a leather sheath, as is the case with the archaeological specimens (Fig. 4, D-B), are furnished with a groove which prevents the rope from slipping (Fig. 4, J).

[Text continues on p. 156]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

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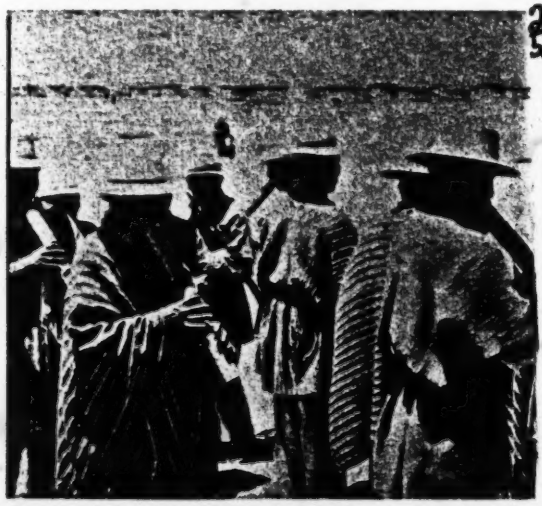
Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes



Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

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/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone scoured by the herds of sheep, out where the ever poorer pastures are gradually lost in the arid puna (Pl. II, A /see p. 211/). The young llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watching a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231 It is rather strange that the Čipaya do not raise guinea pigs, as practically all the Indians of the Sierra do. It is true that the Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not [235] know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of [262] the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them because I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic animals that the Čipaya have.

241 Agriculture. To the meager income which their flocks bring [433] them the Čipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinua) (in Uro-Čipaya: kxula) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañahua).

The cultivated plots (skxāla), which are common to the whole tribe and not only to each of the saya, are situated to the southeast of the village /162/ and to the east of the flooded region called the lakes. Their area is about 300 meters wide and one kilometer long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet, is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries. Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten meters wide and 300 meters long.

[433] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the care and under the responsibility of the alcaldes. If what they say is accurate, the Čipaya practice crop rotation.

[412] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To till the soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bent handles, a specimen

/377/

*1778 *796 539 "Demon Kosil'awari, wife of the demon, in this moment I have come to acquit myself with these three animals, on this day, the day of thy anniversary. I have come with the whole assembly to acquit ourselves on behalf of our herds and (our) health."

[782] In conclusion I shall reproduce the prayer which is addressed to Mount Sajama and to the Lauca River when a specimen of each of the three kinds of animals which comprise the herds of the Čipaya is sacrificed to the latter:

Saxama-mal'ku	awiaturu	awitiškal'a	Maria	L'auka	ti
Sacred Sajama	shepherd	make feed	Mary	Lauca	these

čep	pakčal'a	awitiška	parwal'a	para	simpre
three	heads of livestock	make feed	grass	for	always

awitiška.
made feed.

"Sacred Sajama (thou) the shepherd, make us able to feed, Mary Lauca, (grant us) to feed these three kinds of animals, (give us grass) to feed them."

*796 231 ● 236 Religious Practices at Sheep-shearing Time.

In the beginning of February the Indians of the saya taxata went away to shear their sheep. They came back from their "water houses" with huge packs of llama and sheep wool which they piled [532] up in their huts. This return was the occasion for a festival which chiefly consisted of offering libations of alcohol over the piles of wool and of offering coca and alcohol to the small earthen llamas (Pl. XVII, B /see p. 138/) lined up inside the hut on a table. A few llamas had been led to the village, and the Indians came from time to time to drop some coca leaves and drops of alcohol on their backs, while imploring the demons and saints to increase these animals, to protect them, and to make the grass on which they feed grow.

/377 cont./

*796 231 236 535 Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

*796 781 857 At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Čipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public [185] prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand [262] were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

527 Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Čipaya Indian is the festival par excellence *[796] beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival [803] /Figure 36 appears here./ /379/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead [578] drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other saya are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only leaven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its sottishness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extoled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Čipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, [439] and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Čipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text continues on P. 110]

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/160 cont./

233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to them[1] at more or less close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their [897] cheeses. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the children from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them [842] the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous progeny.

[422] [231] Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20 sheep (uša), an indefinite number of pigs (kuči), and several llamas (xwala). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut in the ear.

[616] Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on /161/ the pastures belonging to his saya (moiety). No markers mark the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the members of the other saya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

231 233 The shepherds have dogs /paku/, middling in size, with rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals, which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye without its astounded owner having time to intervene.

236 233 [912] Sheep shearing (čipla) takes place at the same time for the whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

233 262 Like all pastoral people the Čipaya are loath to consume the meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their [231] flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied by a certain religious ceremony.

[1] [i.e., To their "water houses" or estancias--Analyst]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha *to small clay images of sheep and* llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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/78 cont./

412 kneeling woman exerts on them is accompanied by gentle rocking, which facilitates the grinding.

372 /79/ The Uro have no combustible material other than dried
[232] animal excrement and tola branches, which they go far to seek.
[224] These things are precious, and the Uro, like the Cipaya and the Aymara, are sparing in their use.

231 Near the huts a type of earth niche is sometimes erected which is rather similar to the huts around the village of Chipaya; these are pigstys.

226 Fishing. The Uro, in our age as in pre-Colombian times,
[282] draw their main subsistence from the lake. They are excellent
[439] fishers. The fish they catch is partly consumed by themselves and partly sold to the Aymara and to the half-breeds of the capital. I did not have the opportunity to be present on a real fishing expedition, only at several demonstrations made at my request. They first taught me the way in which they use the landing net shown in Fig. 23, 1 /see p. 9/. The wooden frame which holds the stretched-out net is fastened to the end of a pole. The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or seated on his balsa until he sees an interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net delicately, then pulls it out of the water with a sudden motion.

227 There is another type of landing net which is much larger. It is composed of a circle from which wooden sticks joined at one end go out. This skeleton, conical in form, is covered with a net. Another net, as large as a hand, is stretched across the opening to make the escape of the fish even more difficult. This apparatus is often of considerable dimensions; some are more than three meters in diameter. They are always equipped with a handle by which they are held in the water and lifted up as soon as the fish have ventured in (Pl. III, B /see p. 23/).

The Uro Indians also possess bottom nets which I regret not having seen employed. I have, however, acquired a perforated stone (Fig. 24, 2 /see p. 10/) which corresponds to our weights or ballast.

/119 cont./

No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly was credited to it there can be no doubt that Čipaya mythology would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the Caranga: deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness: "these bare plains where we live," such is the expression which most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an impression of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes in a pale stroke.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous without the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Čipaya worship, is not visible from the village itself, Cerro Camacha hiding it from sight.

The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina) (Phoenicopterus andinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly disdained by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining themselves in red against the brilliant blue of the puna sky. The Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of flamingo eggs threaded together.

[illegible]--88 E-5 (1930-1931) 1933.1936 M'24 Urs M'26
- Caranga -
Chipaya

/363 cont./

who came with two soups, one of quinua and the other of Fuño and quinua kaiwa. They were distributed in small individual bowls which, as soon as they were filled by the officers of the alferez' wife and several other women, were carried to the guests by a group of little boys. Inside the hut the alferez was standing behind a table on which the heads of the sacrificed animals and the chicken which had been used the day before were placed. As usual, the alferez' wife was in her place, to the left of her husband. The most important guests were seated inside the hut.

[354] The meal did not last long. When the last guests were on the point of leaving, the flag was rolled up and carried away by an individual, undoubtedly the person who the day before had been proclaimed katokere, i.e., alferez of the next festival.

/364/ Several hours later a large group formed again in the alferez' hut, this time occupied in drinking according to the usual ritual. Two old men uttered prayers to the mal'ku without pause, even while drinking. At a given moment they knelt in the middle of the hut, their bodies turned toward the east, and, in this position, addressed a long invocation to them, which they concluded by kissing the ground.

Kant-mal'ku, Kantl'er-mal'ku, Kilimint-mal'ku, Kantl'aviri,
Kant-demon, Kantl'er-demon, Kilimint-demon, Kantl'aviri,

mirka-kol'o, Kemperan mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku(1),
country mountains Kemperan demon, Stephen-demon,

1. During the feast of the Estewan-mal'ku, the alferez threw beans, peas, and dried fruit to the wind.

/373 cont./

The prayer which resumed most often on the Officiant's lips clearly indicated that the Enewan-maĺ'ku alone was to receive the honors apparently being paid to his colleague:

Enewan-maĺ'ku	hanibi	am	bungin	tamaĺo
Stephen demon	in this moment	then	to accomplish	I have

ni	pak aĺ'anan	pak aĺ'a	rag-laiku	
come	three heads of livestock	heads of livestock	three for	

kanit	eqeqa	ĺ'bit-'laiku	hanibi	
married-spouses	health for		in this moment	

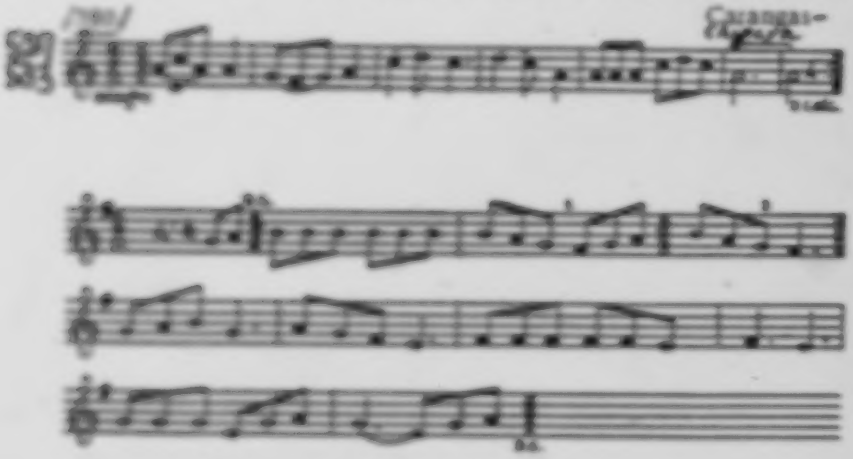
kumpisaja /374/	hanibi	t'aqa	kumpoli:	
I have accomplished	in this moment	all	assembly	

nau-tuli	kumpisaja	am-ni	maĺ'ku.
today	I accomplish	thou	demon.

"Stephen-demon, I have come to acquit myself toward thee (by offering thee) these animals on behalf of our three kinds of flocks and on behalf of married people. At this moment I have fulfilled my duty. at this moment, today, with the entire assembly I acquit myself toward thee, demon."

Aside from these insignificant details all the accessories of the festival of the ramuri figured in this one but with more abundance. The sheaves of straw were more numerous and more ornate than before, and had some parina (flamingo) eggs placed at their base.

I observed only one new rite: the prayer that the silivas and his wife made successively to the four cardinal points. At the moment when they got up to proceed to this duty, the flutists began to play a melody backed by drumbeats. When they returned to the village in the evening, the silivas and silivaga both had a tuft of straw on the back.



Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection with the festival of the samuri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling, which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week. At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

.394 cont./
121 directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties
124 and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to
[159] surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

521 Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco.
[513] As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in
[312] their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried
[235] excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

124 When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I re-
814 ceived the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

115 The few tales which I was able to note down were practically
[692] all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about
[902] 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of
[124] himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about
703 men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

/158 cont./

252 reproduced here (Fig. 2, C /see p. 150/). These stoves are well
352 contained; they are always to the right of the entry against the wall.
252 They are provided with holes for the pots and with a compartment
352 where the stores of taquia, i.e., of dried excrement, are kept. As
372 this substance is the chief fuel on the altiplano and has been through-
237 out time, the use of these stoves, an equivalent of which exists in no other region of South America, is self-explanatory. This dried excrement burns with difficulty on an open fire, and like wood (Yup) it is too rare to allow the least heat which emanates from it to
252 be lost. It is hence because of the material and from considerations
352 of economy that the Indians of the altiplano arrived at the idea of
175 constructing these stoves, which are certainly very old since Cobo (1)

[113]

1. Cobo (Bernabé), Historia del nuevo mundo /History of the New World/, for... of the Society of Jesus, published for the first time with notes and other illuatrations by D. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. Seville, 1893. "In all the houses, however small they may be, there is its cook stove behind the door, which is made of a small clay stove no higher than a handbreadth, closed on all sides, with a small mouth through which they feed the fire, and in the upper part, two or three round holes, where they set the pots. With this they use very little fuel, because they never put in more than two small sticks by the ends, and as they are being burned they are fed in, so that there is more fuel used in one of our cook stoves than in 20 stoves of the Indians."

/172 cont./

291 To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Čipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here/ /174/ a folded cloth (unkuña) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European [531] peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric identical to the mantles; like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip.

Style of Wearing the Hair

302 The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (kuru) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each 301 other by small strings. On these strings are hung small bronze pendants (laurake), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/).

The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kits, pāz-kits, kxola), the round, flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 163/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass [191] beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two culture traits which are completely typical of Andean culture.

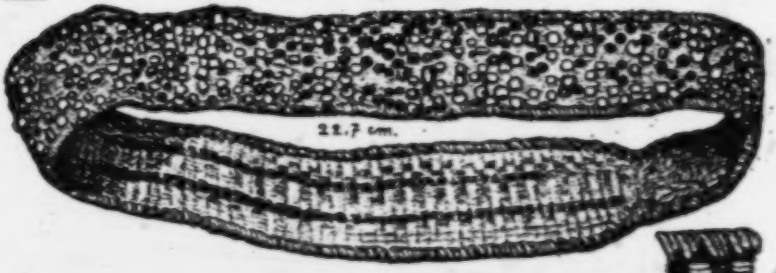
302 The women know no other toilette other than the care given their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity [42] [324] [339] of redoing their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few friends who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kˣara) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig bristles (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in rotten urine.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

Carangas – Chipaya

/173/

301



A

B

C

D

G

E

F

/See captions on next page./

/173 cont./

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137

Fig. 5. — Čipaya material culture. Clothing and accessories.

A: Diadem spangled with glass beads.
B: Woman's shirt of white wool (almil'a).
C: Cap of knitted wool (čul'u).
D: Pin (pāz-kits) which the Čipaya women stick in their hair.
E: Hairbrush (kˣara or čaxraña) of roots.
F: Hairbrush of pig bristle.
G: Man's tunic (ira).

2:Métraux--171 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

/180 cont./

Musical Instruments

[534 [14] The musical instruments that I got among the Čipaya have been the subject of a detailed monograph by Mr. Izikowitz, assistant at the Museum of Göteborg and an outstanding specialist in that field. I am allowing myself to refer the reader to this work (1), as

[113]

> 1. Izikowitz (K.G.). "Les instruments de musique des Indiens Chipaya /The musical instruments of the Čipaya Indians/." Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

he will find only a brief summary of it here.

Membranophones. There is not one family in Chipaya which [191] does not have at least one drum. This instrument, very common on the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, in Chipaya presents the peculiarity of having a square shape (Fig. 8, A /see p. 173/). It is made up of a wooden frame whose sides, made of small boards brought together with tenons, are about 20 centimeters long and six [239] to seven centimeters high. This skeleton is covered on its two faces with sheep or llama skin stretched by means of ligatures passed in a zigzag across the holes in the membrane. Along the latter there has been fastened a drum cord, or a string holding a splinter of wood which hits the membrane. They play the drum by holding its handle in the left hand and beating it with a single drumstick, the enlargement at the end of which is covered with rags.

[126] I was able to acquire a round drum in Čipaya (Fig. 8, E). The mounting is formed by a piece of flexible wood bent into a ring, with the ends sewn together by means of leather thongs. This specimen measures 37 cm. in diameter and nine cm. in height.

/180 cont./

[534] [616] The saya taxata (west) owns a very old, very large drum, the only one of its kind in the village; unfortunately, the Indians did not want to sell it to me at any price, alleging that it was the property of the whole community. Its construction was, from what I could see, similar to that of the round tambourine which I have just described. A very special importance devolved on this drum during the festival /181/ /Figure 8 appears here/ /182/ of the Comadres. [198] During the whole day it remained hanging from a flagstaff and was the object, at the same time as the standard, of real worship.

The drum bears in Čipaya the Spanish name caja. We should not conclude from this that the instrument is of Spanish origin among them. Some details at the most are of post-Columbian origin, but they are not numerous. The "drum cord," for example, is certainly an element added to it in the course of the centuries which followed [194] the conquest. It is possible that for lack of flexible wood to make round drums, the Čipaya were obliged to make them with boards from old boxes and consequently to modify the original type.

Wind instruments.

[237] Trumpets. Čipaya trumpets are of the most rudimentary kind: they are made up of a cow's horn sawed off near the point and of a bell formed of the dried tail of the same quadruped.

Only very rarely did I see the Čipaya make use of this instrument, which makes a hollow sound resembling the lowing of one in [196] the state of having breath of exceptional power. The trumpets which figure in all the festivals play the role of ritual or decorative accessories in them. They are placed in front of the sacred sheaves or on the table in front of the heads of the sacrificed animals. They bear the name tʰoti in Čipaya.

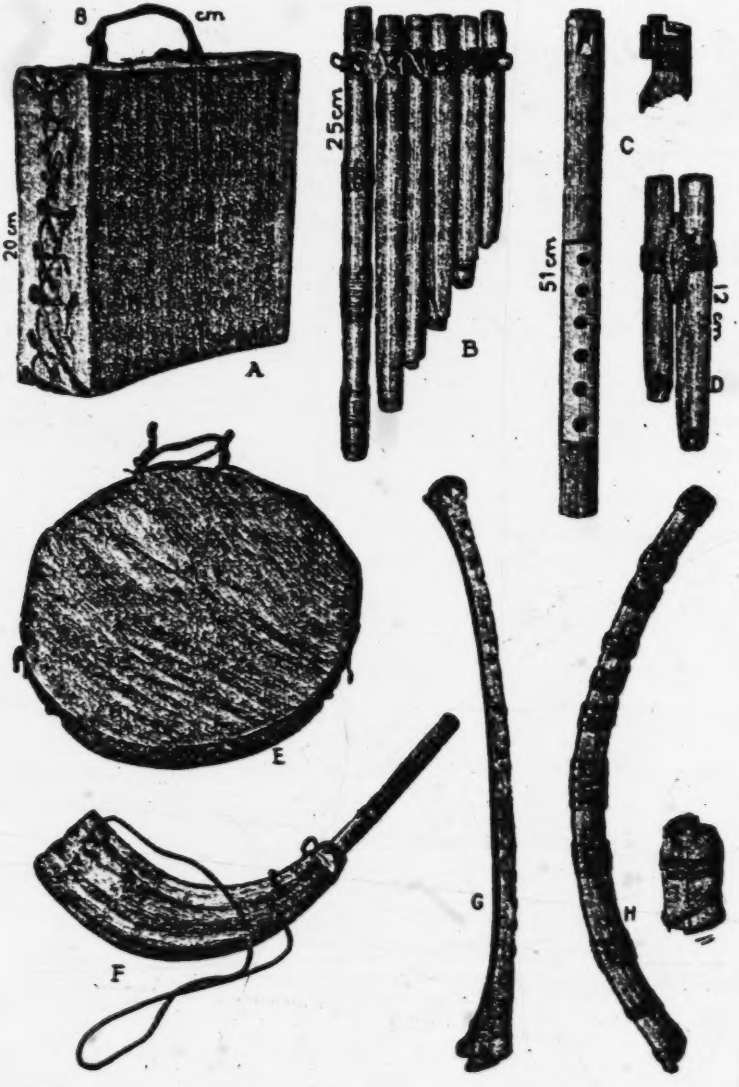
Clarinets (Fig. 8, F /see p. 173/), which like trumpets have a cow horn for a bell, also have a reed mouthpiece from which a small tongue has been cut out and smoothed to make it more flexible. So that it would be easier to play on, it has been raised by means of a string passing under its lower part. It is made to vibrate by

[Text continues on p. 174]

Carangas –
Chipaya

/181/

534



[287] →

/See captions on next page./

/181 cont./

534 Fig. 8.—Cipaya material culture. Musical instruments.

A: Square drum.
B: Syrinx.
C: Pinkul'u, flute with mouthpiece of the Indians of the altiplano and section of the mouthpiece.
D: Syrinx with two pipes.
E: Circular drum.
F: Clarinet (t^{h}oti).
[239] G: Flute with mouthpiece made from the wing bone of a condor.
H: Bent flute with mouthpiece.

/185 cont./

534 In La Musique des Incas /The Music of the Incas/,
[113] R. d'Harcourt reproduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

While examining the contents of one of the huts that the
● [237] Čipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 8, G /see p. 173/). The block inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to here are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkul'u, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pinkul'u, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The
[171] [839] Čipaya pinkul'u are identical and without doubt come from some Bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The tola flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these perfected instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

[192] The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-Čipaya dialect, täks, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used for /186/ secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

533 While there are very few Čipaya who know how to play the
535 quena, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The dancers accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may also play a little melody from time to time while seated.

/187 cont./ With the exception of the
534 bamboo splinters placed against each tube, these syrinxes are very
[191] like the rather similar ones which have been discovered at Arica and also like the Panpipes used by the Indians of the area northeast of the Andes in our day.

As for the small syrinx with two tubes, it is too simple an instrument to be considered at great length. In any case, up to the present its equivalent has been found nowhere.

[177] /188/ Aymara influence and through its medium that of Europeans have been strongly exerted on their musical instruments, just as on the rest of their culture. This penetration can be very simply explained when one thinks that aside from tola, they have no other material out of which they could make a musical instrument, and that they are obliged to import those that they use for their festivals.

Objects for purely ceremonial use

796 There are a certain number of objects which I acquired among the Čipaya, whose use is purely ceremonial and which should be
[126] examined in a special chapter. These are, in the first place, the festive slings, several specimens of which I was able to get (1).

1. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, B.

These slings are passed over the wrist or carried crossed on the chest of individuals participating in the dances during great clan or tribal
[301 337] festivals. Another accessory of the Indians on these occasions is the wig made of horsehair (2).

2. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, C.

/196/

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*171
291 The chuco, or helmet, of the Aymara and Čipaya is in my opinion of post-Columbian origin. From the heads of a good number of mummies in the chullpares in the neighborhood of Iscara and Huachacalla I have recovered string caps, the technique of which has no connection with the knitting stitches of modern caps but many analogies with that of spiral basket-work (coiled basketry /ref. in
U English/). The authors who make allusion to the Aymara caps of
*171 the sixteenth and seventeenth century never speak of the flaps that
A protect the ears, which is an argument more in favor of a recent
291 date for this type of headgear. Here are the oldest descriptions which we have of the Aymara cap: "They wore on the head what they called in their tongue chucos, a kind of very tall sombrero without a brim, and in order that they could hold the head, they compressed and attenuated it /the head/ as high as they could, in memory, so that they had heads having the tall form of the volcano whence they departed" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 40). /Cited in Spanish./ "...the headdress, which till now has been chucos shaped like the crowns of sombreros without a brim, and for some years in this region all have relinquished them and wear sombreros" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 69). /Cited in Spanish./ (1)

A
[113]

1. On the Aymara cap, cf. Montell, Dress and ornaments, pp. 204-205.

U
294
237 The Uro Indians of Ancoaqui up to recent years spun the feathers of water birds from which they then created caps (2). One

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*[191]
[113]

2. Forbes, On the Aymara Indians, p. 262: "Around the lake of Titicaca I have seen socks and gloves for children made of the down of the waterfowl, which had apparently

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Anciently, it is said, the *Uru* went entirely nude, which is quite incredible in view of the bitterly cold winters in this region. The essential male costume is like the pre-Columbian *Chipaya* uncu—a sleeveless, sacklike garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This is woven of llama yarn on a simple bar loom staked in the ground. Recently, most *Uru* males have adopted trousers of the *Aymara* style: short, with a slit at the heel, and tailored of native homespun after a Colonial pattern. The slit permits the trousers to be rolled up more easily when a man fishes from a balsa or wades in shallow water. Leather sandals are sometimes worn when traveling, but people usually go barefoot. A knit wool cap, with *Aymara*-style earflaps, is sometimes topped with a crude, *Aymara*-manufactured felt hat. A belt is sometimes worn, and occasionally a thick woolen poncho. Caps woven of bird feathers were known in ancient days.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts, girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at the top over each shoulder with a large-headed copper pin (tupu). When traveling in cold weather, the women wear woven woolen wimples over the head under the hat.

Women part their hair in the middle and wear it in two braids tied behind the back with vicuña-wool filets; only a few still wear the ancient style "Titicaca braids"—countless small braidlets all over the head. Women wash their hair in fermented human urine. *Uru* men wear their hair short in quasi-European fashion or in an all-around tropical bang.

BOATS

The *Uru* are famous balsa builders (pl. 115, *bottom*). Their craft, though actually rafts made of totora reeds, are shaped like boats and are highly navigable even in narrow, shallow swampways. The reeds are cut with knives attached to poles, then, after drying, are stacked in shocks like corn. Nearly every able-bodied *Uru* male has quantities of this material in all stages of preparation for balsas. During spare moments in their houses, they are continually braiding ichu grass into tough ropes to bind the reed bundles. The keel is formed of a long, thin, tubular bundle of reeds; and separately lashed to this keel are two thick, cigar-shaped pontoon-bundles. Each of these pontoons is built up of reeds so arranged as to be very thick in the middle of the boat and to have upturned points at each end. An acute-angled wooden tool with a groove inside one arm is used to tighten the binding. To keep out small waves, gunwales consisting of much thinner bundles of totora are lashed to the upper outside

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skillful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

Pottery.—Although not now made at Ancoaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles.

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas.

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara:* the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipia, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkillu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-choklo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charanga.

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve its functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into aylus, named Titicana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Inca* anansaya), and xanacha (*Inca* manansaya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

8:Pain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

rily to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Roca, not having sleeping-bags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies.

Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *puna*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or great-coats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* [9]). This latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to retire to our respective quarters.

9) Yareta, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 310-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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whereas the *bolas* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a pretextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *čats* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into *gorros*. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.[38]

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toskola* [cf. the term for penis, *siai-* ("eggs") *skolo*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *čulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Ogilvie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*kupoša*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *bolas*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *bolas*-making book (*koxlu* or *'kaxi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[38] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 262, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

/82 cont./

226 He lies in wait for the fish which are caught between the two dikes and are thus led toward the net which closes the barrier" (Palavecino).

The Uro like to fish at night: "It is a curious spectacle to see them on moonlit nights embark on their balsas in the direction of their barriers. At their destination they form a sort of conical tent with the totora sails, which shelters them from the wind, and they give themselves over to fishing" (Palavecino).

[All] When the Uro navigate on the Desaguadero, they always carry along with them a spear (p'uri), whose point bristles with iron spikes. With this weapon they harpoon the suche (Trichomycterus), a fish to which they are very partial, in the mud where the water is not very deep.

223 Hunting. Hunting plays only a very secondary role in the Uro economy. In all, for game they have nothing beside the water birds which abound in the marshes of the Desaguadero. They strike them with bolas, of which two weights are cylinders of wood; the third is an oval stone, which they hold in the hand while they whirl this weapon over the head (Fig. 25, 3 /see p. 13/).

They also have recourse to extremely long nets in capturing these birds whose flight skims the water. These are stretched in a semicircle /82/ in the middle of the fields of totora and attached to faggots of rushes and to stakes. A part of the net is submerged to prevent the diving birds from passing beneath the surface of the water. The hunters on their balsas make most to chase the birds toward the obstacle where the latter find themselves caught. Those which succeed in escaping are killed with bolas.

The cold of the Titicaca is such that in the mornings the birds are torpid. The Indians, hidden behind bundles of totora, draw near without being seen; they catch them by their claws and finish them off with their teeth or by twisting their necks.

241 Agriculture. The Uro today practice agriculture, just as the inhabitants on the shores of the Titicaca do. I do not know to what extent the produce of their fields contributes toward guaranteeing their existence. They cultivate, of course, potatoes and quinoa.

Carangas--
Chipaya

/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone
crossed by the herds of sheep, and where the even poorer pastures are
gradually lost in the arid puna (Pl. II, A /see p. 211/). The young
llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under
blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk
with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watch-
ing a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231 It is rather strange that the Chipaya do not raise guinea pigs,
as practically all the Indians of the llanos do. It is true that the
Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not
[215] know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of
[249] the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them be-
cause I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few
cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic ani-
mals that the Chipaya have.

• 241 Agriculture. To the meager income which their flocks bring
[249] them the Chipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They
cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinoa) (in the
Chipaya: kwala) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañahua).

The cultivated plots (ayllu), which are common to the
whole tribe and not only to each of the ayllus, are situated to the
southeast of the village /167/ and to the east of the flooded region
called the lakes. This area is about 300 meters wide and one kilo-
meter long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet,
is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked
out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries.
Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten
meters wide and 300 meters long.

[251] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots
are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the rule
and under the responsibility of the alcaldes. If what they say is
accurate, the Chipaya practice crop rotation.

[252] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To kill the
soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bent handles, a specimen

Caranga:-
Cipaya

/162 cont./

of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2. K /see p. 150/). Today they use long-handled hoes (*aruna, takisa*) of European make. The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Čipaya with an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The *quinua* which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequently of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

1. The Čipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (*ulla*) which they say is the root of the *tola*, and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (*uwkxpera*) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

Trade. The Čipaya make cheeses, which constitute their chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk. They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, *quinua*, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region of the Salinas, from Garcimendoza. The Čipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

101 between ou and o /French sounds/; or else urito (ourito), an affectionate diminutive, or chana wawa, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of hosle or huslé, "bastard," without father or master," or on the other hand the very respectful one of haké waka, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives uru, uro, kotá-haké ("men of the Lake"), uma-hake ("water men"), and chaitka-uira ("fishermen") in Aymara; laguneros /"lake men", in Spanish; uru, uru-kuna ("Uru men"), cocha kuna ("men of the Lake"), kocha-la ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Chroniclers

101 175 Morua (Fr. Martin de)

...but since the peoples of Peru are many very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the bigness of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull, as in Collao and other areas; [131] because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and [262] subsisted on the totora and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Pacajnas, some of them or generally most raise livestock and some live near the said [175] lake, intermixed with the said Uros; and these eat raw fish, [262] which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore [501] clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and [291] cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they [294] made a sort of jacket which they were accustomed to wear; [241] and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make [342] houses, but they merely subsist on plants, although there also [222] exists among them a seed similar to mijo which grows on

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

Herding.—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

Farming.—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

Food preparation.—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.

HOUSES

Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

to individual families by the head of each moiety. The altitude and the high salinity make the land infertile, and crops are meager. Sowing is done with a spade or sometimes a pointed stick, pushed into the earth with a strong thrust, forming a dry hole in which the seed is planted.

The people of the Andes have been master weavers for long over a thousand years. Modern Chipaya women carry on the art on looms like the ones their ancestors used, weaving the cloth for the family clothes from hand-spun llama wool. The women dress almost exactly as their ancestors did when the Spanish arrived. The basic garment is a rectangular shirt, woven in one piece with an opening left for the head. The blue sleeves that are sewn on are a modern addition. A black or gray tunic (*arku*) with a decorative border is worn over this, covering the whole body from the shoulders to the ankles. This ancient style has been slightly altered under ecclesiastical influence; now most of the women sew up the sides to form a sort of skirt. The sash is woven with black and white geometric designs. An ample mantle completes the costume. Long pins with large flattened heads are used to secure the mantle, and as ornaments in the hair. When the sun is strong, they protect themselves with an *anluño*, a folded cloth worn on the head, exactly like the ones shown on Inca pottery.

Perhaps the most striking pre-Columbian survival is the famous "Titicaca coiffeur" still worn by many of the

[P21-A]

9:La Barre E-4.5 (1938) 1941
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earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *ñuñu* (Uru *awui*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*sulu*, *kawi*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likla* or *likli*, or *suwiankasis* according to Palevecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *cháchas* of masticated maize also; *likli* is made from a plant called *kiwi* or *kiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoyu*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *ywagas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kawla*, of *totora* bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *kalus* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*ohwa*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the lip-

2:Métraux--214 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas—
Chipaya

Plate V

A. Čipaya woman leaning against a wall and treading quinua seeds to husk them.

B. Čipaya woman spinning.

C. Čipaya woman weaving.

D. Treadle loom for weaving made of cactus wood.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

/117 cont./

312 puna, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places
246 lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants,
231 which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as boars. The
137 Čipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities. As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this assertion. It nonetheless reveals a certain care for precision among the Čipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the scantiness of this flora which a little wetness causes to grow in the
132 midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya
133 has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate
346 land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques, the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds draw into strange formations and assume a luster elsewhere unknown. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

133 Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the existence of the Čipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River, which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the characteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months, threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation
132 of the "canton," the flocks which feed upon it. This is the most
221 crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe
196 are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals of the Čipaya take place at this time and that all have the

/83 cont./

231 Animal raising. They raise guinea pigs in their huts, which renders habitation there even more disagreeable. They have several flocks of sheep, pigs, and cows; those of the latter along the shores of the Desaguadero have become amphibious. They spend the entire day in the water and graze on water plants. From afar one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan swamp.

262 252 Cooking. The diet of the Uro is that of all the Indians of the altiplano: potatoes cooked in water, chuño (potato fecula), boiled or roasted meat, maize, broad beans, quinua, cañave, etc. The Uro add to this a dish of their own creation: the juicy pith of the totora. The edible part of this plant is the base of the stalk. It does not need to be prepared in any way.

252 [179] The Uro have preserved a method of cooking which is very old and whose distribution in South America, completely unusual, corresponds perhaps to a very archaic cradle of civilization: this is the subterranean oven, or Polynesian oven. "These ovens, which the Uro call vaxaña, consist of a hole dug in the earth whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 centimeters. The rounded edge juts out at the level of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uro light a fire inside and put in stones which are more or less flat. When the rocks are incandescent they are withdrawn, with the exception of those at the bottom. On top of them is laid a bed of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a second bed of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is then closed with rocks which are covered with rushes. The fish thus cooks by stewing" (Palavecino).

251 They preserve fish by drying it on mats after having /84/ salted it. They do the same with the birds, whose flesh is cut up and exposed to the rays of the sun.

273 They make a beer called xawinskania from cañave seeds (Palavecino).

396 [403] Manufacture of balsas. The most important industrial activity of the Uro is the manufacture of rafts of totora, or balsas, to be provided with which partically all the shore-dwellers on the Titicaca come to them. As these small craft deteriorate rapidly,

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 115, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (pana-soluna) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of varicolored llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden floats for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of disguises has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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native names for so exiguous a number of scientific varieties. These occur in the species: *O. Cuvieri*, *O. Pentlandi*, *O. Humboldti*, *O. Jussieui*, *O. Bairdii*, *O. Ortonnii*, *O. frontosus*, and *O. Neveui*. Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suči*, *mauri*; Uru *čisi*) these species are present: *T. dispar Tschudi*, and *T. rivulatus*. Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify clearly with the scientific classifications are: (Aymará) *qesi-čoqa*, *qesintxu*, *kuri-mauri*, *umantú*, *karači*; (Uru) *teri*, *čis*, *čaki*, *okʷulu*, *čalkiri*, and *wakʷlali* —whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and female of the same species.

Fish are preserved and prepared in several ways. The smaller kinds (*ispi*, *sačala*, *učkerčula*), salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. The larger varieties (*suči*, *mauri*, *čisi*) are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire, and thus smoke-dried are preserved for periods of scarcity, according to Posnansky. But what appears to be the same process, described by Palavecino, is evidently a method of *cooking*:

> These ovens, which the Uru call *sazaño*, consist in a hole dug in the soil, whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 cm. The rounded edge is raised at the surface of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uru light a fire in it and introduce more or less flat stones. When the stones are incandescent, they take them out, all except those on the bottom. They lay on these a layer of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a layer of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is closed with stones, and covered with reeds. The fish is thus cooked by steaming.

Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South America.

Hunting is almost as important to the Uru as fishing, neither of which is basic in Chipaya economy. The river marshes abound with birds of many kinds: waterhens (*wesla*, *čokxa*), ducks (*soχna*), geese (*wačata*), loons (*pače*), herons (*ačičí*), various diving birds and gulls; a large unidentified black bird they call *čiwanku* or *čičinksa*. Other unidentified birds are *čalita*, *kačwaina* (*waina* is Aymará for "youth, young man"), *alowa*, *čowani*. Of these aquatic birds, only the "bobo" (*pače*) is not hunted or eaten, because of its rank, oily flesh. Most frequently hunted is a kind of red duck called *p'anosoχna*.

The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Posnansky says men hunting alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or twisting the neck. The Uru are able users of slingshots woven or braided of varicolored llama-wools, and they also use *bolas*, made with two large

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24
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wooden balls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.[8] They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking; spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yuhrua*), and kill with their *bolas* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*hiñi*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *tarki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña; tahola*, a word obviously related to Aymará *hola*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold[9] small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lassoed, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the viscacha (*ahilas*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, reed-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails; and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymára neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

[8] An Uru bola from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

[9] The Aymára have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "bone-numbery" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *hahaya* ("to split"), *wari* (vicuña), *q'aruya* ("makes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-coated vicuña scream. The Aymára schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "chola" interpreter, the late Manuela Alvarado, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") yell of this familiar phrase: *q'ala hahaya wari q'aruya, ura ura!*

/83 cont./

231 Animal raising. They raise guinea pigs in their huts, which renders habitation there even more disagreeable. They have several flocks of sheep, pigs, and cows; those of the latter along the shores of the Desaguadero have become amphibious. They spend the entire day in the water and graze on water plants. From afar one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan swamp.

242 252 Cooking. The diet of the Uru is that of all the Indians of the altiplano: potatoes cooked in water, chuño (potato fecula), boiled or roasted meat, maize, broad beans, quinua, cañave, etc. The Uru add to this a dish of their own creation: the juicy pith of the totora. The edible part of this plant is the base of the stalk. It does not need to be prepared in any way.

252 [179] The Uru have preserved a method of cooking which is very old and whose distribution in South America, completely unusual, corresponds perhaps to a very archaic cradle of civilization: this is the subterranean oven, or Polynesian oven. "These ovens, which the Uru call vasaña, consist of a hole dug in the earth whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 centimeters. The resulting edge juts out at the level of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uro light a fire inside and put in stones which are more or less flat. When the rocks are incandescent they are withdrawn, with the exception of those at the bottom. On top of them is laid a bed of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a second bed of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is then closed with rocks which are covered with rushes. The fish thus cooks by steaming" (Palavecino).

251 They preserve fish by drying it on mats after having /84/ salted it. They do the same with the hide, whose flesh is cut up and exposed to the rays of the sun.

273 They make a beer called sawimonia from cañave seeds (Palavecino).

244 Manufacture of balsas. The most important industrial activity of the Uru is the manufacture of rafts of totora, or balsas, to be provided with which partially all the shore-dwellers on the Titicaca come to them. As these small raft deteriorate rapidly,

Carangas--
Chijaya

/358 cont./

*798 *796 Several women came to add new tufts of red wool to the samiri, so much that the stones finally were no longer visible.

[392] At the same time the rest of the assembly drank, chewed çoca, and exchanged the usual civilities.

Then several handfuls of khon were lighted; they burned on the place of sacrifice all day.

• [352] While these ceremonies were under way, several men and young girls were busying themselves at the side with the cooking. The victims were cut up, their bones crushed with a stone, and the entrails boiled in large receptacles of tin. Once cooked pieces [24A] were carried to the assembled people in large clay dishes and distributed through the efforts of the Officiant, who first of all threw a few slices destined for the spirits and demons to the four cardinal points as if to mark the formula then uttered:

[539]

hal'pa	tija	mal'ku	resevita
pieces	these	demons	receive

"Demons, receive these pieces."

[391] This preliminary meal ended all began to drink and chew [393] coca again. From time to time the Officiant took one of the horns placed in front of the sheaves and drew muffled and distant sounds from it. He or some other qualified person recited rapid prayers *798 without interruption, in which the names of the saints and of the *796 539 mal'ku were closely bound together. Here is one of them:

Hac'a-pak^{x}al'a-samiri		çamanta
Samiri of the large livestock (llamas)		thou wilt stay
kulumay(u)-samiri	/359/ çamant'i	^{x}cital'a-samiri
samiri of the pigs	thou will rest	samiri of the sheep
çamanta	hani-hewtiri	putukwa-anka
thou wilt rest	in order not to die	hundred thousand (years?)

Schéraux--97 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga: —
Chipaya

/369 cont./

which he added silver leaf and parrot plumules. The women, for their part, attached garlands of bread rings and pieces of cheese and fruit to the festive slings, while keeping watch over the vegetables and grain which they were boiling for the next day's feast. To encourage his helpers the alferez was generously giving an installment of the /370/ festival to come, and, libation after libation, the alferez, Officiant, and friends finally became drunk out of their minds.

During the night I was awakened by strange melodies which sometimes seemed very close to my hut, and sometimes vanished in the silence of the desert. Intrigued by these confused noises, I went outside and saw five or six young girls holding each other by the hand; led by a guitarist they were going through the village at racing speed, circling each hut. In spite of the rain, the cold, and the darkness of the night, they did not pause an instant to catch their breath; ever sadder, ever more mournful melodies (transcribed below) were followed by intervals of silence and then taken up again a little later in the midst of pants of fatigue. In the huts and in the church, the Indians were offering up their libations, disfigured by their ponchos and heavy coverings. Silent and unmoving, illuminated by the dim lamps of their huts, they had the fantastic aspect of ghosts.

Carnegie
Caingua

[illegible] The framework of the latter is actually formed by [illegible]
of split [illegible] canes) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes
[illegible] (Pl. VI, 8 /see p. 214/). They are thrust in the holes of
which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1, H /see
p. 147/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the
roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are
superimposed and are fastened at the intersections by solid ligatures.
Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cecropia
wood [illegible] (Figure 1 appears here) /148/ in order to allow the
natives to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

On this frame is spread a set of linoleum (palms) made of
[illegible] [illegible] stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible
plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this rain cover-
ing, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the
straw is laid. The natives receive large bunches of it which are
tied up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where
they straighten it down by feet. These sheaves are then sewn on the
ridge by means of a long wooden needle (Fig. 1, k) threaded with straw
and (Fig. 1, k) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and
the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the
linoleum, goes around each of the ridgepoles in turn and returns to
accompany a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged
in successive layers, interwoven up to the summit. The adherence
of the thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of
wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is
made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of
this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the intertwining
of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from
below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross sur-
mounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house
from the effects of lightening.

Furnishings. The interior disposition of Capaya huts is most
[illegible] summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.143]

Goldman--143 F-o (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 NPM Uru NPM
Cerrillos
(Aymara)

/116 next/

reproduced here (Fig. 2, C /see p. 116/). These stoves are still
[illegible] they are always to the right of the entry against the wall.
They are provided with holes for the pots and with a compartment
where the stove of taquia, i.e., of dried excrement, are kept. As
this substance is the chief fuel on the altiplano and has been through-
out time, the use of these stoves, an equivalent of which exists in
no other region of South America, is self-explanatory. This dried
excrement burns with difficulty on an open fire, and like wood
[illegible] it is too rare to allow the most heat which emanates from it to
be lost. It is hence because of the material and from considerations
of economy that the Indians of the altiplano arrived at the idea of
constructing these stoves, which are certainly very old since Cobo (1)
[illegible]

1. Cobo (Bernabé). Historia del nuevo mundo /History of the New World/, Ms.... of the Society of Jesus, published for the first time with notes and other illustrations by D. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. Seville, 1893. "In all the houses, however small they may be, there is its cook stove behind the door, which is made of a small clay stove as higher than a handbreadth, closed on all sides, with a small mouth through which they feed the fire, and in the upper part, two or three round holes, where they set the pots. With this they use very little fuel, because they never put in more than two small sticks by the ends, and as they are being burned they are fed in, so that there is more fuel used in one of our cook stoves than in 20 stoves of the Indians."

/116 cont./

who mentions them seems to consider them as /159/ indigenous. The smoke escapes through the door, but in some huts, not very many it is true, a hole in the wall facilitates ventilation.

Enormous wool blankets (*tusi*), extremely heavy, take the place of beds. They are warm enough for one to suffice to cover for the night two or three people, who roll themselves in them. At the beginning of the seventeenth century these blankets were in general use on the altiplano. "The bed which the people of the *puna* and the cold lands use," Cobo tells us, "is a large blanket called a *chusi*, which is spread on the ground. One half serves as a mattress and the other, which they pull up from the foot end, as a blanket or sheet. All the inhabitants of one house, fathers and sons, sleep in one blanket, although now under the influence of civilization they are beginning to have separate beds." The present-day Andean Indians sleep on earth benches which are altogether lacking in Chipaya. One might conclude from this that they were unknown in pre-Columbian times and that they are only a crude imitation of European beds.

In some Chipaya huts one can find a wobbly table made of cane bows. The Chipaya use them only as an altar on which to place the heads of sacrificed animals or coca that they offer their guests when they celebrate a festival at home. Outside of these occasions the tables have no use.

Several wooden pegs thrust into the wall serve as pegs for clothes. The few articles to be seen are arranged in niches constructed in the wall or on small shelves of earth shaped like swallows' nests (Fig. 2, F /see p. 150/).

To illuminate the always very dark interior of their huts, the Chipaya have tallow candles or, more frequently, very primitive small lamps: bowls (*tusa*), full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns. This apparatus, which gives them only feeble light, has the Spanish name *mecha*, a practically certain indication that the idea came to them from the Creoles.

2:Métraux--150 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas -
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

A
252
/163/
A
804
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/See captions on next page./

2:Métraux--150a E-5 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas - Chipaya Aymara SF5

/163 cont./

Fig. 2. –Čipaya material culture. Utensils and tools.

A: Baked clay stove of the Aymara Indians.
B: Wooden spoon (wisl'a).
C: Čipaya stove (from a sketch).
D: Adze with T-shaped blade.
E: One-livre stone weight used by the Aymara of Carangas to weigh the potatoes and salt they sell in Chipaya.
F: Čipaya whatnot.
G: Mortar (t'ax) (from a sketch).
H: Stone hammer.
I: Axe with T-shaped heel and old hafting.
J: Stone vat (takxira) for treading on quinua seeds (from a sketch).
K: Aymara hoe from the village of Belen (Oruro Department).

/165 cont./ a pastime than for food that the Čipaya amuse
224 themselves trapping them with small reed baskets, which are sold
[434] to them by the Indian peddlers who come from Andamarca or
[171] Orinoca. These openwork baskets are, it appears, real fish traps which the shore-dwellers on Poopó use. The Čipaya use them to hold small objects (Fig. 3, B /see p. 155/).

Preparation of Food

•252 It is more to relieve my conscience than in the hope of presenting new facts that I shall devote a few lines to Čipaya cooking.
[171] Their food and the preparation of their dishes are exactly those which have so often been described in connection with the Aymara and Quichua.

The quinua cuticle has, as is known, a bitter and disagreeable
[439] taste. To free the seeds from it they are grilled in a dish, then soaked in a stone vat (takxira) (Fig. 2, J /see p. 150/) which the Čipaya buy from the people at Huachacalla who make them (1).

1. The vats are sometimes of baked clay.

When the seeds have been softened, a woman takes a standing position in this vat and leaning against a wall, she husks them by turning the lower part of her body (Pl. V, A /see p. 214/). To see them execute this strange gymnastic is a picturesque spectacle. The seeds submitted to this treatment are then spread on a blanket and winnowed by hand.

252 The quinua is used to prepare a soup or, reduced to meal
253 (akxal'ipe), a pap. Leaves (čañi) of this plant or of cañagua are cooked in water like spinach greens. Maize (tara) is eaten roasted (tsars-tara) or boiled the same as beans. The Čipaya eat /166/ potatoes (kxisa), as everywhere on the altiplano, in the form of čuño.

/166 cont./

252 Too many authors have spoken of the preparation of these potatoes exposed to frost and dried for it to be necessary for me to linger on
[139] it. This effort would be all the more superfluous since the ʒuño which the Čipaya consume is bought from the Aymara. Several times I saw the Čipaya make a paste of ʒuño by crushing them in
[140] their mortar. The latter is a flat stone (t'ax), slightly sloping, on which the grinding is done with the help of another flat stone (muruku) which goes and comes (Fig. 2: G /see p. 150/).

Meat is always boiled, probably because of the fuel, which burns without a flame or gives off, in the case of tola, an acrid smoke.

264 The food is served in bowls (ʒua) (Fig. 3, D /see p. 155/);
312 liquids are taken with a spoon (wiri'a) (Fig. 2, F) and solids with the hand. At feasts the host spreads out the dishes he is offering to his guests on a blanket, and the latter take them in a flap of their clothes.

273 Preparation of chicha from quinua. After being husked, quinua seeds are roasted again. They are then reduced to flour, from which a bowlful is taken out and conscientiously chewed by a woman. The portion soaked with saliva is mixed with the rest of the flour which has been spread on a skin. The whole is boiled and then poured into a large vat to which more hot water is added. The liquid is left to ferment for four days. The drink (hʒesi) thus obtained resembles muddy water and is very slightly alcoholic.

284 Production of cheeses. Although the cheese industry is in the foreground of the economic activity of the Čipaya, the technique used is one of the most rudimentary. The rennet is prepared with a piece of fetus tripe of a llama or vicuña which is soaked in water. It is enough to pour a little of this liquid into sheep's milk to turn it into cheese. The casein, after having been pressed between the
[137] hands, is put into small straw rings which are superimposed and separated each time by a fragment of palm-tree bark, a material which is used to wrap the small packs of coca which the Aymara sell to the Čipaya. When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is

2:Métraux--214 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF34 Utn SF34

Plate V

291 [362] [493]

A. Čipaya woman leaning against a wall and treading [illegible] to talk them.

B. Čipaya woman grinding.

291 [362] [493]

C. Čipaya woman weaving.

D. Tinajo loom for weaving made of cactus wood.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *čuñu* (Uru *ounî*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*suļu*, *ḳawi*, or *ḳuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likḳa* or *likḳi*, or *zawinkawia* according to Palevecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *chicha* of masticated maize also; *likḳi* is made from a plant called *ḳiawi* or *ḳiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *ḳewļa*, of *totora*-bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*okwa*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the liga-

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

native names for so exiguous a number of scientific varieties. These occur in the species: *O. Cuvieri*, *O. Pentlandi*, *O. Humboldti*, *O. Jussieui*, *O. Bairdii*, *O. Orbignii*, *O. frontosus*, *and O. Neveui*. Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suči*, *mauri;* Uru *čisi*) these species are present: *T. dispar Tschudi*, and *T. rivulatus*. Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify clearly with the scientific classifications are: (Aymará) *qesi-čauča*, *qesintun*, *kuri-mauri*, *umanti*, *karači;* (Uru) *teri*, *čis*, *čaki*, *okʷulu*, *čalkiri*, and *wakʷlali* —whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and female of the same species.

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Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South America.

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The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Posnansky says men hunting alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or twisting the neck. The Uru are able users of slingshots woven or braided of varicolored llama-wools; and they also use *bolas*, made with two large

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

Herding.—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

Farming.—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

Food preparation.—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.

HOUSES

Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semisubterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Sojopata *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isla of Pomata there are round, stone-roofed houses.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

172

252
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[534]

[534]

Plate 13.—Chipaya country and Chipaya Indians. Top (left): Chullpa, or ancient burial tower. Top (right): Woman shelling wild fruit. Bottom (left): Dancers. Bottom (right): Playing a game. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P.582-H]

Rhode Crosswriter 2-3 (Jan Army) 1993 KP34 Dos KP34

[F20-8]

cause of their origins, the association they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymara haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipaya speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipaya to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sun-dried brick, they build their houses of reeds hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called cola. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy wooden blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipaya are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipaya fleeing their home as looted the

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather on occasional visits, and sheep's milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into chuño flour.

Land ownership in the village continues to the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of land by stone boundaries that are considered sacred ones

SFath T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955

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Iru Ifu

angle. The professor was taking chest- and head-measurements and making notes. We lunched, giving the remains to the children, who looked somewhat suspiciously at cold ham, tomatoes and cake, and hid it away in their skirts. As we reached the car, we saw a thin column of smoke, and, sure enough, the village cooking fire was alight. Owing to the poverty of the village, they have only enough fuel to light about one fire every day or every two days. Two girls in scarlet skirts, little cotton jackets which had once been pink, and dusty battered bowler hats, crouching on all fours, played the part of bellows. The youngest, remarkably pretty and remarkably dirty, ran into the house and emerged dragging a large iron pot. My thirst for ethnology was satiated and I felt sure that Vellard had already gone into the question of Uru cooking, and that further

[p. 314-A]

/78 cont./
412 kneeling woman exerts on them is accompanied by gentle rocking, which facilitates the grinding.

/79/ The Uro have no combustible material other than dried animal excrement and tola branches, which they go far to seek. These things are precious, and the Uro, like the Cipaya and the Aymara, are sparing in their use.

231 Near the huts a type of earth niche is sometimes erected which is rather similar to the huts around the village of Chipaya; these are pigstys.

226 Fishing. The Uro, in our age as in pre-Colombian times, draw their main subsistence from the lake. They are excellent fishers. The fish they catch is partly consumed by themselves and partly sold to the Aymara and to the half-breeds of the capital. I did not have the opportunity to be present on a real fishing expedition, only at several demonstrations made at my request. They first taught me the way in which they use the landing net shown in Fig. 23. 1 /see p. 9/. The wooden frame which holds the stretched-out net is fastened to the end of a pole. The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or seated on his balsa until he sees an interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net delicately, then pulls it out of the water with a sudden motion.

227 There is another type of landing net which is much larger. It is composed of a circle from which wooden sticks joined at one end go out. This skeleton, conical in form, is covered with a net. Another net, as large as a hand, is stretched across the opening to make the escape of the fish even more difficult. This apparatus is often of considerable dimensions; some are more than three meters in diameter. They are always equipped with a handle by which they are held in the water and lifted up as soon as the fish have ventured in (Pl. III. 8 /see p. 23/).

The Uro Indians also possess bottom nets, which I regret not having seen employed. I have, however, acquired a perforated stone (Fig. 24. 2 /see p. 10/) which corresponds to our weights or ballast.

(83 cont.)

231 Animal raising. They raise guinea pigs in their huts, which renders habitation there even more disagreeable. They have several flocks of sheep, pigs, and cows; those of the latter along the shores of the Desaguadero have become amphibious. They spend the entire day in the water and graze on water plants. From afar one would take them for buffalo in some Bolivian swamp.

242 252 Cooking. The diet of the Uro is that of all the Indians of the altiplano: potatoes cooked in water, chuño (potato locale), boiled or roasted meat, maize, broad beans, quinua, cañawa, etc. The Uro add to this a dish of their own creation: the juicy pith of the totora. The edible part of this plant is the base of the stalk. It does not need to be prepared in any way.

252 [178] The Uro have preserved a method of cooking which is very old and whose distribution in South America, comparatively unusual, corresponds perhaps to a very archaic cradle of civilization: that is the subterranean oven, or Polynesian oven. These ovens, which the Uro call vavaña, consist of a hole dug in the earth whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 centimeters. The rounded edge juts out at the level of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uro light a fire inside and put in stones which are more or less flat. When the rocks are incandescent they are withdrawn, with the exception of three at the bottom. On top of them is laid a bed of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a second bed of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is then closed with rocks which are covered with rushes. The fish thus cooks by stewing" (Paleoreuse).

251 They preserve fish by drying it on mats after having [illegible] salted it. They do the same with the birds, whose flesh is cut up and exposed to the rays of the sun.

273 They make a beer called kewiñkaña from cañawa seeds (Paleoreuse).

274 Manufacture of balsas. The most important industrial activity of the Uro is the manufacture of rafts of totora, or balsas, to be provided with which partially all the shore-dwellers on the Titicaca come to them. As these small craft deteriorate rapidly,

1. Reference

9F2A Ulu 9F5A

● 102, 273, 276

[For additional, scattered information about the consumption and other uses of food, alcoholic beverages, narcotics and stimulants associated with rituals or organized religious ceremonies, see Category 116, pp. 31-118.]

2:Métraux--86 I-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 9F24 Uru 9F24
Caranges--
Chipaya

repeated immediately in echo. It seemed to me that this cry was raised each time that the alferez began to drink or refilled his drinking cup. More direct compliments were frequently addressed to the alferez, who was treated as in the previous festival.

Several times the alferez' wife, displaying as much conviction as enthusiasm, threw out handfuls of white maize or peas over which the audience fought.

Practically the whole afternoon passed in this way beneath a leaden sky. When the prayers and wishes ceased to be heard, a mournful silence momentarily reigned, uninterrupted by any particular conversation. Although most of them were drunk, the Indians remained as apathetic and indifferent as usual.

Toward five o'clock the meal for which all had been patiently waiting was served. Two blankets were spread out in front of the alferez, and the cooks, led by the Officiant and his helper, placed the food on them. Boiled barley brought in bowls was poured out in ribbons forming a large oval cut again lengthwise by several parallel lines. At this point several guests got up to add either cuño (frozen potatoes) or roasted maize which was scattered between the ribbons of barley. The boiled meat brought in bowls was arranged magisterially on the ribbons of barley at regular intervals and in equal amounts. But part of the meat was directly distributed by the Officiant and the cooks, who first offered the llama, then the pork, and last the mutton. At the same time bowls of stinking bouillon were passed from hand to hand and everyone took several gulps.

Before closing the samiri's cellar, the Officiant recited a prayer that was listened to by all with bared heads. This prayer is addressed to the mal'ku and the samiri. The cellar was then shut and hidden under a yareta.

At the moment of departure the Officiant turned once more to the samiri and directed several words of farewell which put an end to the ceremony.

Carangue-
Chiaye

/362 cont./

Hasiki	suma	t'outsta	suma	kampitsa	hasiki
Now	well	shut	well	acquitted	now

katsita	suma	katokitshi'e.
you have received	well	you have received.

/363/ "Now you have been well shut in. we have acquitted ourselves well toward you. Now you have received offerings. you have received well of them."

Little by little the group dispersed. Each, before going away, approached the site of the cellar, knelt, and said a short prayer, at the end of which he touched the mound with his hand, which he brought to his lips. The alleeq' wife epitomized the gesture by kissing the ground. I heard them murmur while getting up. "Verxina-mai'ku lisuma" — "Holy Virgin, with thy permission." Some couples, before leaving the area, went to salute the alleeq and his wife in the customary fashion.

The latter, moreover, did not seem to consider the merry-making ended, and it was with flags flying, dancing and drinking, that the most enthusiastic returned, forming a procession which disappeared toward the "water houses."

On the same day the saya tanata held a similar festival on its territory.

Second day (January 21). On the preceding day only a part of the meat of the sacrificed victims had been eaten on the spot. The rest was served in the course of a feast which the alleeq offered to the members of his saya the day after the festival. The ceremony which I will describe took place at Tanata.

The alleeq' two white banners were planted before the door of his hut toward noon. The members of the saya had gathered near the threshold, men on one side and women on the other, waiting for the food (Pl. XII, 9 /see p. 133/). It was served to them as on the day before, on blankets spread on the ground. The menu was, moreover, substantially the same, but completed

[illegible] E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 NFSA Lim NFSA

Cayapa
Chipaya

[illegible]

[illegible] with two ends, one of quinua and the other of [illegible] and [illegible] maize. They were distributed in small individual bowls [illegible]. As soon as they were filled by the efforts of the villeroy' [illegible] and several other women, were carried to the guests by a group of little boys. Inside the hut the villeroy was standing behind a table on which the heads of the sacrificed animals and the [illegible] which had been used the day before were placed. As usual, the villeroy' wife was in her place, to the left of her husband. The most respected guests were seated inside the hut.

The meal did not last long. When the last guests were on the point of leaving, the flag was rolled up and carried away by an individual, undoubtedly the person who the day before had been proclaimed kayakere, i.e., villeroy of the next festival.

[illegible] Several hours later a large group formed again in the villeroy' hut, this time occupied in drinking according to the [illegible] ritual. Two old men uttered prayers to the mal'ku without pause, even while drinking. At a given moment they knelt in the middle of the hut, their bodies turned toward the east, and, in this position, addressed a long invocation to them, which they punctuated by kissing the ground.

k'ot mal'ku,	k'ual'ar-mal'ku,	k'ikimar-mal'ku	k'ual'ayar,
k'ot-dermon,	k'ual'ar-dermon,	k'ikimar-dermon,	k'ual'ayar,

mirky-kol'a,	k'empe'ra	mal'ku,	k'ewar-mal'ku(la,
royalty mountain	k'empe'ra	dermon,	k'ewhara-dermon,

1. During the [illegible] of the k'ewar-mal'ku, the villeroy threw beer, [illegible], and dried fruit to the wind.

Reference--108 F-5 (1830-1851) 1850, 1856 SF24 Uns SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/777 cont./

[illegible] steered by the alcalde, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during the festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Chipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /778/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, where again the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Chipaya Indian is the festival par excellence beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /779/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other ayllu are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only instance of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its attributes and uncovers for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extolled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya beyond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Chipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Chipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text Continues On P. 110]

2 Métraux--127 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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Chipaya

/392 cont./

These civilities were of the usual type, i.e., they were carried out by bending the knee before the person honored and simulating an embrace.

Two dishes of meat were then carried in, signaling the beginning of the feast which the patient offered his doctor and his relatives, doubtless to repay them for their trouble.

The magician, who up to now had preserved a serious and imperturbable expression, appeared afterward in a more cheerful mood and with a smile on his lips accepted the cups of alcohol and the dishes which his client, full of gratitude, offered him.

However great the respect of the sick man for his healer was and the impression caused by the ceremony, the patient did not consider it superfluous to question me on his case and took the laxative I administered to him with gratitude. He had great need of it, all the more so since, to celebrate his return to health and the beneficent treatment of which he had been the subject, he ingurgitated a remarkable portion of the sacrificed sheep and washed down this feast with impressive bumpers of alcohol. I still do not know how this unfortunate man was able to endure these new excesses. He got well nevertheless, and this complicated ceremony seems at least to have had the positive result of actually transforming his department. Up to this point I had had an enemy in him who had picked quarrels with me on every occasion; each time that I met him after this, he astonished me by his friendliness and courtesy.

I only wish that this good disposition had lasted as long as the memory of his experience.

Funeral rites.

In the course of the weeks spent in Chipaya only one death occurred in the village, that of a woman who had committed suicide for obscure reasons, probably out of resentment against her husband. Arriving at the spot shortly after the event, I did not notice any behavior among those present which could be interpreted as ritual.

/160 cont./

233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to them[2] at more or less close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their [897] cheeses. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the children from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them [842] the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous progeny.

[422] Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20 [231] sheep (uša), an indefinite number of pigs (kuči), and several llamas (xwala). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut in the ear.

[616] Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on /161/ the pastures belonging to his saya (moiety). No markers mark the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the members of the other saya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

231 The shepherds have dogs /paku/, middling in size, with 233 rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals, which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye without its astounded owner having time to intervene.

236 Sheep shearing (čipla) takes place at the same time for the 233 whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for [912] this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

233 Like all pastoral people the Čipaya are loath to consume the ●262 meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their [231] flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied by a certain religious ceremony.

2 [i.e., to their "water houses" or estancias--Analyst]

/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone scoured by the herds of sheep, out where the ever poorer pastures are gradually lost in the arid puna (Fl. II. A /see p. 211/). The young llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watching a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231 It is rather strange that the Čipaya do not raise guinea pigs, as practically all the Indians of the Sierra do. It is true that the Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not [235] know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of [262] the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them because I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic animals that the Čipaya have.

241 Agriculture. To the meager income which their flocks bring [233] them the Čipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinua) (in the Čipaya: kxula) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañahua).

The cultivated plots (skxčla), which are common to the whole tribe and not only to each of the saya, are situated to the southeast of the village /162/ and to the east of the flooded region called the lakes. Their area is about 300 meters wide and one kilometer long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet, is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries. Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten meters wide and 300 meters long.

[203] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the care and under the responsibility of the alcaldes. If what they say is accurate, the Čipaya practice crop rotation.

[212] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To till the soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bent handles, a specimen

/162 cont./

439 neighboring Aymara villages to dispose of their small cheeses directly and specially to sell pig fat /163/ /Figure 2 appear. here/ /164/ which, after cheese, is their most important export. They undoubtedly trade wool, although I was not able to obtain any precise information on this matter. I only ascertained that pieces of cloth carted in a neighboring village were given to Cipaya women to be finished. Formerly some Cipaya would go to hire themselves out as workers in the "salitreras" (exploitation of nitrates) of Tarapacá.
464 [190] They returned with some knowledge of Spanish and new tastes. This stay away from home had the result above all of opening their eyes to their poor condition and to make them discontented. Since the nitrate beds have been abandoned, nothing remains to draw the Cipaya outside their "bare plain."

433 439 The crisis of overproduction which rages over the whole world upset the economic life of the Cipaya. The low quotations for tin on the Stock Exchange, or the New York exchange, led to the closing of the mines, the departure of the laborers, and the sale of cheese at a loss. The Aymara no longer come to Chipaya to stock up on cheeses, and the latter accumulate in the round huts and there is no alcohol or coca for festivals. By virtue of the economic cohesion of all humanity the Cipaya themselves are also overproducing, and their present distress is the latest of the one which constricts the hearts of the great proprietors of wheat fields.

648 These particulars show us that in spite of their apparent isolation, these Indians maintain constant relations with the outside world, and that the focalization of this tribe is not as total as one might conclude from their material culture.

234 Hunting. Hunting and fishing play only an insignificant role in the life of the Cipaya. In all, for game they have a few herds of vicuña which make their appearance in the neighborhood of the village, water birds which abound in the numerous lagoons which cut their pastures, and toxo, a kind of small rodent a little larger than a rat. Posnansky (1) asserts that the latter constitutes
[242] the principal food of the Cipaya.

[TEST CONTINUES ON P. 151]

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Carangas - Chipaya Aymara SF5

/164 cont./

1. Posnansky (Ing. Arthur). Los Chipayas de Carangas /The Cipaya of Carangas/. La Paz, Bolivia, 1918, p. 6; La lengua "Chipaya" (Carangas, Bolivia) /The "Cipaya" Language (Carangas, Bolivia)/. La Paz, 1915, p. 2; "Nuevas investigaciones en Carangas (Bolivia) /New Investigations in Carangas (Bolivia)/." Congrès international des Américanistes. Record of the XXI Session, Part II, held at Göteborg in 1924. Göteborg, 1925, p. 91.

the principal food of the Cipaya. In reality, during my entire stay I never saw a Cipaya catch one, and when I asked them to get a few specimens for me, they demanded an exorbitant price from me, claiming the difficulty of this hunt. Toxo are rare in the territory properly called Chipaya; they are found only at a certain distance from the grassy zone behind the dunes. It is there that the Aymara come /165/ to capture them. Their method, as far as I can understand it from the explanations which have been given to me, is the following: they try to dislodge the toxo from the underground corridors where it stays by opening them with a blow from a shovel; then when it comes out they pursue it and beat it to death. In the plains undermined by the toxo, one can see the earth completely worked over by the hunters.

The Cipaya easily get hold of vicuñas by setting their dogs, swift and bloodthirsty beasts, on them. They themselves succeed in knocking down these animals with bolas, or throwing stones. This same weapon permits them to bring down water birds.

The fish to be found in the small ponds of the Chipaya plain are too miniscule for the word fishing to be used in connection with them. It is more as a pastime than for food that the Cipaya amuse

[i.e., The Toxo -- Analyst]

Cayanga-
Chipaya.

/165 cont./ themselves trapping them with small reed baskets, which are sold to them by the Indian peddlers who come from Andamarca or Orinoca. These openwork baskets are, it appears, real fish traps which the shore-dwellers on Poopó use. The Čipaya use them to hold small objects (Fig. 2. B /see p. 155/).

Preparation of Food

It is more to relieve my conscience than in the hope of presenting new facts that I shall devote a few lines to Čipaya cooking. Their food and the preparation of their dishes are exactly those which have so often been described in connection with the Aymara and Quichua.

The quinua cuticle has, as is known, a bitter and disagreeable taste. To free the seeds from it they are grilled in a dish, then soaked in a stone vat (taksira) (Fig. 2. J /see p. 150/) which the Čipaya buy from the people at Huachacalla who make them (1).

1. The vats are sometimes of baked clay.

When the seeds have been softened, a woman takes a standing position in this vat and leaning against a wall, she husks them by turning the lower part of her body (Pl. V. A /see p. 214/). To see them execute this strange gymnastic is a picturesque spectacle. The seeds submitted to this treatment are then spread on a blanket and winnowed by hand.

The quinua is used to prepare a soup or, reduced to meal (akxal'iye), a pap. Leaves (čaffi) of this plant or of callagua are cooked in water like spinach greens. Maize (tara) is eaten roasted (tuars-tara) or boiled the same as beans. The Čipaya eat /166/ potatoes (axisa), as everywhere on the altiplano, in the form of čuño.

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

101 between ou and o /French sounds/; or else urito (ourito), an affectionate diminutive, or chana wawa, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of hosle or huslé, "bastard," without father or master," or on the other hand the very respectful one of hakẽ waka, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives uru, uro, kotá-hakẽ ("men of the Lake"), uma-hake ("water men"), and chaitha-tira ("fishermen") in Aymara; laguneros /"lake men"/ in Spanish; uru, uru-kuna ("Uru men"), cocha kuna ("men of the Lake"), kocha-la ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Chroniclers

101 Morua (Fr. Martin de)
195 . . . but since the peoples of Peru are many very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the bigness of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull, as in Collao and other areas;
[131] because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and
[262] subsisted on the totora and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Puquinas, some of them or generally most raise livestock, and some live near the said
195 lake, intermixed with the said Uros; and these eat raw fish
[262] which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore
[501] clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and
[291] cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they
[294] made a sort of jacket which they were accustomed to wear;
[241] and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make
[342] houses, but they merely subsist on plants, although there also
[222] exists among them a seed similar to millo which grows on

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

[175] its own, without cultivation, and which they call quinua [222] /quinoa/ or canagua; all of these Indians are fond of and eat the [262] leaf of same..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Incas del Peru /History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru/, 1590, Constantino Bayle edition, Madrid, 1946, p. 214.)

[148] [102] [126] /31/...The Uros were Indians that the Inca sent for when the army was short, and they were compelled to follow the flags, not knowing even how to hold a bow; they went into battle almost without weapons and they and some of the Puquinas were killed like flies; because they had no military training, they let themselves be killed like animals. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibidem, p. 184.)

Garcilaso de la Vega

[181] ...and thus the Puquina, Colla, Uru, and Yunca Indians, and other nations that are crude and dull, and owing to their crudeness, even speak their own languages poorly..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales /First part of the Royal Commentaries/..., VII, Chap. 4.)

Oliva (Rev. Father Anello)

[181] [148] [651] ...(Sinchi Roca) ordered that...useless people, as the Uros were, who are ignorant and useless, should each one of them gather one reed tube full of lice each month, so that no one should be idle..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de sus Incas Reyes /History of the Kingdom and Provinces of Peru, of its Inca Kings/..., 1598. 1895 edition, Lima.)

Ramirez (Baltasar)

[131] The Uro Indians are a people who live on lakes, such as the lake of Chuquito and that of Paria, and in other parts.

4:Vellard--4 D.E-4.5 (no date) 1950-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th Century]

/31 cont./

[195] [342] They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes, which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tule....."

[242] ...They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant, although not very good....They dress badly and eat, aside [181] from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land; they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They [248] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general [251] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/...., 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua: Juicio de límites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/. Barcelona, 1906. I. 295-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[124] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats [101] and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/...., Madrid, 1601-1615, III, 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[133] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current, contrary to what they say.

4:Vellard--6 D.F-6.9 (no date) 1910-1960 SF26 Ura SF26

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

[195] [285] [97] Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them: The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the inhabitants, unable to bear with it, asked Canacapa to rid them of those people, because they robbed them, ate their livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the Captain advised the Inca of this and he was ordered to return them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it; [101] these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where [31] they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small [46] villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable: they are infidels in addition. Your Excellency would perform a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so [52] that they and their descendants might become Christians, and giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings defy description. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

[195] Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima, 1568/.

[14] This document from the General Archives of the Indies in Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed by Marie Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-150, 1951.

A/V Willard--11 D.E-6.5 (no date) 1810-1860 0726 Uro 0726

[19th Century]

[98] [99] /At last./ There is another Pueblo four leagues east-west of Chuilacollo called Taraco, whose Indians are resplendent, skilful, courteous..., these Indians came from other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) set soup to whom as Ethiopians they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

[100] ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town.....

[101] [102] [103] [104] [105] Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake.....They are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long and so sharp /[?]/ that they can tear it up without need of a knife.....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe...../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

[106] [107] In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were scattered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Sinilliake.

[108] [109] [110] ...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all defined, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe...../Translated from the Spanish./

3 La Barre E-3 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

Uru, who, at least, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the Uru is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have mutually extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The Uru depend primarily on fishing (pl. 115, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock.

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter. Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, soaked, heated, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (pana-soluna) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of varicolored llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden floats for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of disguises has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

They do little hunting of land animals, but they may loose the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

Herding.—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

Farming.—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

Food preparation.—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuño. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.

HOUSES

Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Pansa there are round, stone-roofed houses.

S:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1966
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Pulo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the buchiho or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimulo, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

9:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 300 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into unexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymara*ized.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerusalem, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chonkirini-*malku*, Kemperani-*malku*, Estowan-*malku*), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Lauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-*malku*). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-*malku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malkus* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

9:La Barre E-9 (1937-1938) 1946
BF24 Urs BF24
Chipaya

paper. Llama fetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The *mokho*, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of mud 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.30 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own *mokho* which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety *manit* are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant.

The cult of the *mokho* and that of the *manit* follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an *alferes* and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point in the sacrifice of the three animals on which the Chipaya depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a *yatiri*—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and rust to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or *manit* stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupolas and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulas are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (*khiche*, "devotion," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupola is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the *mokho*, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candles are buried for Pachamama. *Khoa*, an *alferes* resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the *alferes* and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

[illegible] of their origins, the ancestors they themselves hold of their own experiences leads them to treat the Aymara thoughtfully and gravely. Nevertheless commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipaya speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak their own among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipaya to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate place on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even suitable fuel for cooking purposes, they build their houses of mud packed from the plain, piling them in a circular beehive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of stalked bundles of a shrub called cebi. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy wooden blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipaya are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who until lately, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipaya blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather on occasional visits, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into edible flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of about an acre [illegible] by the heads of each moiety.

Chipaya

taire, and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Mallku Mayor*. The other *mallkus* are represented by small conical reed towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; cheeses and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *yatiri*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallku* cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

Brown F-3 pa. 1954) 1802

BP34 Uru BP34
Bru 2 Ru

were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been pressured to stage-hand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him standing motionless and followed the younger one down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe drought. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, the roots or *knowar* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

Fortunately in these last few years the climatic conditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more increased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

[p. 313-A]

9:La Barre E-4,9 (1938) 1961
SF24 Uru SF24

dant. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymára. Wolle (page 142
138) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Posnansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full, the Uru share in the ancient Amer- [201
indian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are 202
whiter and appear less carious than those of the *ch'uño*-consuming Aymára (*ch'uño* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fisher- 515
men, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymára and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a 302
grease-cutting principle and use an Aymára-type brush-comb in caring for it. 912
The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle 911
and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other 945
with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymára, so that a 142
European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymára; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymára is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymára nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymára; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The 146
Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymára, possibly because of a more 164
varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tututia*. No adequate 941
osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[17] the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but 291
this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the 132

[17] In Neveu-Lemaire, *Les Lagos*, p. LXI.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Another house type, beyond the rectangular-thatched and round-matted forms, is that to be found in several examples on the plain just to the north of Ancoaqui. These have a rectangular ground-plan, and instead of being thatched with grass or *totora*-mats, have a pyramidal "dome" corbelled of the same turfs that the walls are made. One of these photographed was on a slight artificial elevation, and had a shallow "moat" around it, possibly to provide dryness and drainage during the long rainy season. Another has two doors, both east and south, suggesting that shepherds might watch their llamas from these tiny huts, which are too small for family habitation; one of them has a chimney-hole in the roof.

Posnansky[19] says the Uru of Sojopaca built temporary shelters, apparently of mud, "like beavers," and figures a carefully domed *putuku* on the islet of Simillaque, as well as a round, stone-roofed house on the Isle of Panza. Uru round houses at Ancoaqui have vertical walls, but some of those of the Chipaya (Posnansky, Figs. 39 and 56) are battened inward, like truncated domes. On islands in the Desaguadero swamps I noticed temporary shelters of *totora* shaped like an old-fashioned straw beehive with a point, erected to shelter the *balsa*-builders.

Food. The Uru have repeatedly been referred to as being chiefly fishermen, but fish are by no means exclusively their diet. Their linguistic congeners to the south, the Chipaya, are chiefly pastoral, and the Uru likewise have pigs, donkeys, some few chickens, sheep, and cows, but no llamas or alpacas. Of the cows Métraux writes:

> those on the border of the Desaguadero [have] become amphibian. They pass the whole day in the water browsing on aquatic plants. From a distance one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan marsh.

These half-wild creatures are so "pastured" because of the acute lack of land among the Uru, whose agriculture,[20] for the same reason, is thus greatly circumscribed. The Uru have dogs, which they call *paku*. Like the Aymára, and most *altiplano* Indians, the Uru keep domesticated guinea-pigs in their houses. Pigs wander about the village also, but are sometimes placed in

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Ethnography of South America seen from the Mojos of Bolivia (Comparative Ethnographic Studies 3, Göteborg, 1924), p. 19; see also Bernabé Cobo, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 2: p. 62; Huaman Poma de Ayala, in Montell, *Dress and Ornaments*, p. 188, Fig. 86 (in Métraux *loc. cit.*).

[19] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 108 and Figures 104, 111.

[20] George McCutchen McBride, *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia* (American Geographic Society, Research Series 5, New York, 1921), p. 18, says the Uru "form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them."

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kulo*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *čuñu* (Uru *auni*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*sulu*, *kauri*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likša* or *likši*, or *xawinskania* according to Palevecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *chicha* of masticated maize also; *likši* is made from a plant called *kiuwi* or *kiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kenša*, of *totora*-bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*okena*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the liga-

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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native names for so exiguous a number of scientific varieties. These occur in the species: *O. Cuvieri, O. Pentlandi, O. Humboldti, O. Jussieui, O. Bairdii, O. Orbonnii, O. frontosus, and O. Neveui.* Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suči, mauri;* Uru *čisi*) these species are present: *T. dispar Tschudi*, and *T. rivulatus*. Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify clearly with the scientific classifications are: (Aymará) *qesi-čauła, qesintuu, kuri-mauri, umantú, karači;* (Uru) *teri, čis, čaki, okᵘulu, čalkiri*, and *wakᵘluli* —whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and female of the same species.

Fish are preserved and prepared in several ways. The smaller kinds (*ispi, sačała, učkerčula*), salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. The larger varieties (*suči, mauri, čisi*) are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire, and thus smoke-dried are preserved for periods of scarcity, according to Posnansky. But what appears to be the same process, described by Palavecino, is evidently a method of *cooking:*

> These ovens, which the Uru call *sazaña*, consist in a hole dug in the soil, whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 cm. The rounded edge is raised at the surface of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uru light a fire in it and introduce more or less flat stones. When the stones are incandescent, they take them out, all except those on the bottom. They lay on these a layer of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a layer of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is closed with stones, and covered with reeds. The fish is thus cooked by steaming.

Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South America.

Hunting is almost as important to the Uru as fishing, neither of which is basic in Chipaya economy. The river marshes abound with birds of many kinds: waterhens (*wesła, čokχa*), ducks (*soχna*), geese (*wałata*), loons (*pako*), herons (*ačičí*), various diving birds and gulls; a large unidentified black bird they call *čiwanku* or *čičinksa*. Other unidentified birds are: *čelita, kačuwaina* (*waina* is Aymará for "youth, young man"), *ałowa, čorani*. Of these aquatic birds, only the "bobo" (*pako*) is not hunted or eaten, because of its rank, oily flesh. Most frequently hunted is a kind of red duck called *p'anasoχna*.

The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Posnansky says men hunting alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or twisting the neck. The Uru are able users of slingshots woven or braided of varicolored llama-wools; and they also use *bolas*, made with two large

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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wooden balls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.[22] They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking; spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yokeṣa*), and kill with their *bolas* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*ɨiñi*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *čarki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña; sahaḷa*, a word obviously related to Aymará *haḷa*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold[23] small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lassoed, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the viscacha (*oḷičai*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, roof-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails; and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymára neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

[22] An Uru *bola* from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

[23] The Aymára have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "brass-monkey" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *lakaya* ("to split"), *wari* (vicuña), *q'asaya* ("makes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-wooled vicuña scream. The Aymára schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "cholo" interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") yell of this familiar phrase: *q'ala lakaya wari q'asaya, ura ura!*

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252 Too many authors have spoken of the preparation of these potatoes exposed to frost and dried for it to be necessary for me to linger on [439] it. This effort would be all the more superfluous since the čuño which the Čipaya consume is bought from the Aymara. Several times I saw the Čipaya make a paste of čuño by crushing them in [412] their mortar. The latter is a flat stone (tʷax), slightly sloping, on which the grinding is done with the help of another flat stone (muruku) which goes and comes (Fig. 2, G /see p. 150/).

Meat is always boiled, probably because of the fuel, which burns without a flame or gives off, in the case of tola, an acrid smoke.

264 The food is served in bowls (čua) (Fig. 3, D /see p. 155/); [412] liquids are taken with a spoon (wisl'a) (Fig. 2, B) and solids with the hand. At feasts the host spreads out the dishes he is offering to his guests on a blanket, and the latter take them in a flap of their clothes.

273 Preparation of chicha from quinua. After being husked, quinua seeds are roasted again. They are then reduced to flour, from which a bowlful is taken out and conscientiously chewed by a woman. The portion soaked with saliva is mixed with the rest of the flour which has been spread on a skin. The whole is boiled and then poured into a large vat to which more hot water is added. The liquid is left to ferment for four days. The drink (kᶻesi) thus obtained resembles muddy water and is very slightly alcoholic.

284 Production of cheeses. Although the cheese industry is in the foreground of the economic activity of the Čipaya, the technique used is one of the most rudimentary. The rennet is prepared with a piece of fetus tripe of a llama or vicuña which is soaked in water. It is enough to pour a little of this liquid into sheep's milk to turn it into cheese. The casein, after having been pressed between the [439] hands, is put into small straw rings which are superimposed and separated each time by a fragment of palm-tree bark, a material which is used to wrap the small packs of coca which the Aymara sell to the Čipaya. When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is

/352 cont./

*796 The saints and mal'ku were requested with more insistence to grant the Čipaya a good year, without dry spells or frost, in the course of which the flocks would multiply. At a given moment [824] all left to gather little mountain flowers with which the men [301] decorated their hats and the women their braids. They also spread bouquets on the small tablecloths covered with coca. "The flowers bring luck," they replied to the question I put to them on this subject.

Shortly before sunset all those present knelt in a line before the chapel, whereupon the Officiant took the box containing Santiago /James/ and put it on the head of each of the faithful. He left it there during an entire prayer, doing the same for all, and did not proceed to the next person until the hoofs of Santiago's horse had been respectfully kissed. On the way back they stopped in front of every chapel as before to kneel, this time to the east. Several times I noted that before getting up again, the men, and more especially the women, touched the ground with the hand and then brought it to the mouth.

Espíritu Mamani put a pinch of copal or incense on the east side of the niche with which each oratory is provided.

When the group arrived at the village it headed first toward the chapel of the saya tuanta and on their knees went around the cross placed near the threshold. They then reached the church, where they performed the same ceremony, accompanied with prayers and chants. The Officiant, who had armed himself with censers, put them under the noses of the faithful as if to make them inhale the fragrant smoke which was released from it.

[202] On the next day the saya was awakened by the beating of a drum as on the day before. All the inhabitants hastened to reach the surroundings of the alferez' house to take part in the feast that [264] the latter, aided by his relatives, had prepared. The women ate squatting in front of blankets on which various types of hash had been spread out. The men carried off their rations in the flaps of their poncho or their cape. When the feast was finished the

/358 cont./

*798 *796 Several women came to add new tufts of red wool to the samiri, so much that the stones finally were no longer visible.

[294] At the same time the rest of the assembly drank, chewed coca, and exchanged the usual civilities.

Then several handfuls of khoa were lighted; they burned on the place of sacrifice all day.

[252] While these ceremonies were under way, several men and young girls were busying themselves at the side with the cooking. The victims were cut up, their bones crushed with a stone, and the entrails boiled in large receptacles of tin. Once cooked pieces [246] were carried to the assembled people in large clay dishes and distributed through the efforts of the Officiant, who first of all threw a few slices destined for the spirits and demons to the four cardinal points as if to mark the formula then uttered:

[539]

hal'pa	tija	mal'ku	resevita
pieces	these	demons	receive

"Demons, receive these pieces."

[296] This preliminary meal ended all began to drink and chew.
[533] coca again. From time to time the Officiant took one of the horns placed in front of the sheaves and drew muffled and distant sounds
*798 from it. He or some other qualified person recited rapid prayers
*796 without interruption, in which the names of the saints and of the
539 mal'ku were closely bound together. Here is one of them:

Hača-pakˇal'a-samiri		samanta
Samiri of the large livestock (llamas)		thou wilt stay

kulumay(u)-samiri	/359/	samanta	čital'a-samiri
samiri of the pigs		thou wilt rest	samiri of the sheep

samanta	hani-hewtiri	patakwaranka
thou wilt rest	in order not to die	hundred thousand (years?)

/83 cont./

231 Animal raising. They raise guinea pigs in their huts, which renders habitation there even more disagreeable. They have several flocks of sheep, pigs, and cows; those of the latter along the shores of the Desaguadero have become amphibious. They spend the entire day in the water and graze on water plants. From afar one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan swamp.

262 252 Cooking. The diet of the Uro is that of all the Indians of the altiplano: : potatoes cooked in water, chuño (potato fecula), boiled or roasted meat, maize, broad beans, quinua, cañave, etc. The Uro add to this a dish of their own creation: the juicy pith of the totora. The edible part of this plant is the base of the stalk. It does not need to be prepared in any way.

252 [174] The Uro have preserved a method of cooking which is very old and whose distribution in South America, completely unusual, corresponds perhaps to a very archaic cradle of civilization: this is the subterranean oven, or Polynesian oven. "These ovens, which the Uro call vaxaña, consist of a hole dug in the earth whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 centimeters. The rounded edge juts out at the level of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uro light a fire inside and put in stones which are more or less flat. When the rocks are incandescent they are withdrawn, with the exception of those at the bottom. On top of them is laid a bed of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a second bed of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is then closed with rocks which are covered with rushes. The fish thus cooks by stewing" (Palavecino).

251 They preserve fish by drying it on mats after having /84/ salted it. They do the same with the birds, whose flesh is cut up and exposed to the rays of the sun.

273 They make a beer called xawinskania from cañave seeds (Palavecino).

398 [433] Manufacture of balsas. The most important industrial activity of the Uro is the manufacture of rafts of totora, or balsas, to be provided with which partically all the shore-dwellers on the Titicaca come to them. As these small craft deteriorate rapidly,

262, 273, 276

[For additional, scattered information about the consumption and other uses of food, alcoholic beverages, narcotics and stimulants associated with rituals or organized religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-129.]

/121/

621 616 [171] Aymara and Kičua /Quechua/ communities recall the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in [220] [242] space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [573] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-[123] making. Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [195] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about 621 616 614 their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

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[796] [697] them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

[692] The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex [692] [976] came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They [973] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

[621] [535] [282] Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the outgoing alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He [301] [324] [934] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead. Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

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/344 cont./ Brandishing his banner, he led the troup of musicians and dancers, stopping in front of each hut to obtain a tribute of alcohol for himself and his troup. In exchange for this gift he gave his momentary host the privilege of seizing the white banner and putting himself at the head of the dancers. The end of the day was only a succession of rounds and drinking which went on until complete exhaustion.

The second day. On the next day, noticing that all the Indians were going toward a particular hut, I in turn went. There I found about 30 individuals, men and women, squatting on the floor around the alcalde taking office, who was seated on a pile of cloth behind a table facing the door. He was holding his stick of authority in his arm and had bunches of flowers and a napkin full of coca in front of him. His physiognomy did not act in his favor; his ravaged, closed face was scarred with smallpox; his thick features, aquiline nose, and projecting chin gave him an air which was both cruel and bestial. I sat down next to the men immediately to the right of the host. All were keeping a profound, almost disturbing silence. At long intervals a man would rise to profer his bag of coca to the alcalde. The latter would take a few leaves from it and tender his own chuspa with a bored gesture. Others moved toward the table, took a pinch of coca leaves, some of which they left in front of the flowers, and swallowed the rest. The drinkers never forget their libations directed, as were the offerings, toward the flowers on the table. On that day the chicha of maize and quinua, in exception to the rule, competed with the alcohol. It was served by the women in terra-cotta bowls. I had the opportunity to be present that afternoon at a scene, the significance of which remains a mystery to me. A man got up and greeted a young woman in the usual manner; /345/ she replied to his greeting and went to kneel at the head of the audience. The individual who had greeted her took the young woman's head and shoved it against that of a man squatting next to her. Several seconds later the young woman gave way to weeping identical to that with which the church had resounded the day before. Silence

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622 re-established itself little by little, and during the entire day the Indians remained in their hut, as apathetic as I had found them in the morning.

*796 The festival of San Geronimo (January 7)

[203] [205] Very early in the morning an Indian ran through the saya tuanta, beating on a drum and stopping before each hut to wake the inhabitants and call them to the festival which was about to begin. Not knowing the significance of this household-rousing, I attributed little importance to it and thus missed the initial [782] ceremonies. I could ascertain, however, that two piglets had been sacrificed on the threshold of the chapel of the saya: the cross which stands in front of the door, the outside walls, and the altar had been splattered with fresh blood. Inside two tables had been set up on which coca leaves had been spread out. Some Indians [274] squatted in the chapel chewing coca leaves and drinking alcohol, [273] preceding each mouthful with a prayer and libation. Espíritu *796 Mamani subsequently recited the text of the prayer to me, uttered, 539 no doubt, at the moment when the blood of the pigs is sprinkled:

Araxpaĉa	auki,	suma	tiempo	apanital'a,	wainu
Sky	lord,	good	weather	send me,	good

mara,	suma	mara,	araxpaĉ-patruna,		todos
weather,	good	weather,	sky	master,	all

wawataki.	Lo mismo	Virxin-taika	xumapeuyuwaxista,
children for.	Likewise	Virgin-earth	thou feedest me,

katokanta	(taki)	wawanakataki,	todos	mondos,
thou wilt receive	(all?)	children of,	all	the world,

wawanakataki	ukʲaro	todos	mondos	pakʲalis	aka
children of	then	all	the world	animals	these

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*796 signal all kneeled again in a row facing east and again recited a brief prayer. They began the same rites before each oratory up to the last chapel situated at the limits of Cipaya territory. Having arrived before this low, narrow hut, men and women entered in turn and prostrated themselves before the altar on which the [796] Officiant had placed the effigy of Saint James, the cross, and the sticks which the worshipers had given him. Some paid homage to the saint with their bags of coca, which they placed at his feet or hung in his niche. Others lit small lamps, if this name can be given to dishes containing tallow and a wick, around him and, kneeling before the saint, held censers toward him or burned grains of copal (1). These signs of reverence were accompanied by

1. The Indians give the name copal (kupala) to a resin which while burning gives off a fragrant smoke. This substance comes from eastern Bolivia.

prayers in Aymara.

A small enclosure continues the chapel to the east. It contains a cross of straw which stands on a crude pedestal of earth and some slabs /347/ serving as tables on which the participants place [796 875] coca and alcohol which they offer each other. While each family was taking its place at the spot which pleased it and set out coca, a bottle of alcohol, and the drinking cups that play an essential part in the festival on a small cloth, the Officiant and his helper stretched a small tablecloth in front of the cross, on which they placed 36 mugs and two extra ones outside the rug. They poured a little chicha in each of them, and in each one in succession, following a set pattern (a mug on the left, then a mug on the right, and going from bottom to top), dipped three stones, silicious in appearance, two white and one grey. These stones were then placed between the mugs of the lower row at regular intervals. The Officiant moistened small, round, green stones from old,

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"Master of the sky, grant good weather to thy sons this year. Give us sheep, young llamas, piglets and lambs. (increase) the births of our livestock."

Frequently, a single Indian, or still more often a couple, would leave the enclosure and go kneel down a certain distance from the chapel facing east. They would each carry a censer or light a handful of khoo beside themselves. They would remain there about ten minutes, meditatively murmuring invocations to the mal'ku, and then would offer up a libation to them followed by several pinches of coca.

Others would go in the chapel to kneel before Santiago and pray to him. The Officiant beat the drum for several minutes at short intervals, probably with the intention of chasing away the evil spirits who were prowling around thereabouts.

Toward the end of the afternoon two old men, turning toward the north, offered up a libation and an offering of coca to Cerro Sajama, "father of the Lauca River which makes us live," and to the Lauca River itself. Both were given the title of mal'ku (Sasama-mal'ku, Mal'ku-suma-Sasama, L'auka mal'ku).

As the hours passed spirits revived under the influence of the alcohol which provoked a recrudescence of piety. Libations were offered more frequently, prayers were repeated after shorter and shorter intervals, and xal'al's burst out at the slightest opportunity. They invited each other to offer alcohol to the foster-parent divinities:

Tabi	?uima	?'al'tama	uyuwirinaka	taki.
All	we	offer up libations	foster parents the	for

/352/ And they expressed the wish to gather together again the next year at the same place to drink and offer up libations: Mara ki?ar(u) hama ("That next year [we offer libations] likewise").

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Calypso

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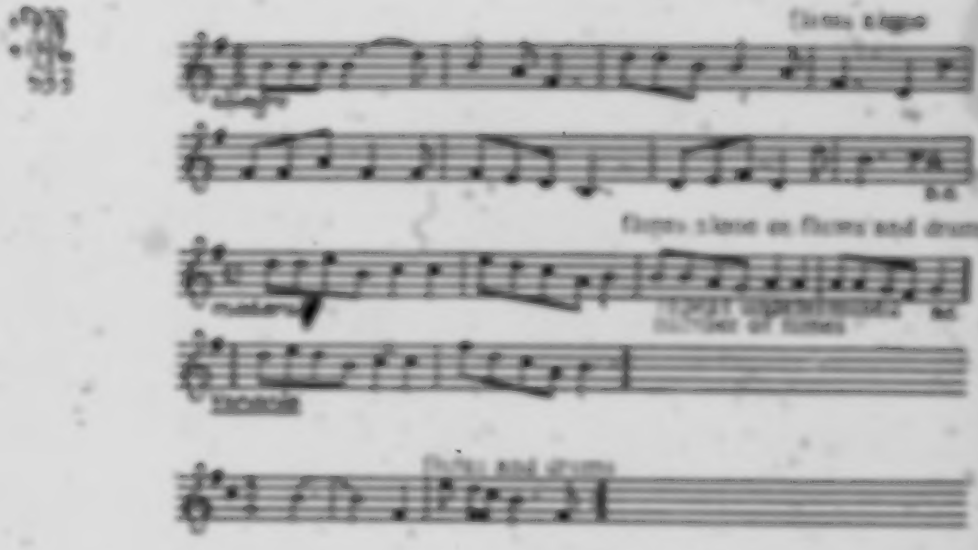

Of course the alferes and his wife, furnished with the whips hermes, their insignia of office, displayed especial zeal /362/ and danced with all the more enthusiasm for being rather tipsy.

The Indians remained seated for hours, constantly exchanging civilities in the form of circular, coco, and cigarettes. The most frequent verbal civility consisted of uttering the word xa'al'a or xal'al'a alferes ("Hallelujah alferes"), which some members of the assembly

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repeated immediately in echo. It seemed to me that this cry was raised each time that the alferez began to drink or refilled his drinking cups. More direct compliments were frequently addressed to the alferez, who was treated as in the previous festival.

Several times the alferez' wife, displaying as much conviction as enthusiasm, threw one handfuls of white maize or peas over which the audience fought.

Practically the whole afternoon passed in this way beneath a leaden sky. When the prayers and wishes ceased to be heard, a mournful silence momentarily reigned, uninterrupted by any particular conversation. Although most of them were drunk, the Indians remained as apathetic and indifferent as usual.

Toward five o'clock the meal for which all had been patiently waiting was served. Two blankets were spread out in front of the alferez, and the cooks, led by the Officiant and his helper, placed the food on them. Boiled barley brought in bowls was poured out in ribbons forming a large oval cut again lengthwise by several parallel lines. At this point several guests got up to add either cuñe (frozen potatoes) or roasted maize which was crammed between the ribbons of barley. The boiled meat brought in bowls was arranged magisterially on the ribbons of barley at regular intervals and in equal amounts. One part of the meat was directly distributed by the Officiant and the cooks, who first offered the llama, then the pork, and last the mutton. At the same time bowls of stinking bouillon were passed from hand to hand and everyone took several gulps.

Before closing the samiri's cellar, the Officiant recited a prayer that was listened to by all with bared heads. This prayer is addressed to the mal'ku and the samiri. The cellar was then shut and hidden under a yareta.

At the moment of departure the Officiant turned once more to the samiri and directed several words of farewell which put an end to the ceremony:

/363 cont./

*778 *796 514 [862] this time with two soups, one of quinua and the other of ẍuño and quinua leaves. They were distributed in small individual bowls which, as soon as they were filled by the efforts of the alferez' wife and several other women, were carried to the guests by a [239] [824] group of little boys. Inside the hut the alferez was standing behind a table on which the heads of the sacrificed animals and the sheaves which had been used the day before were placed. As usual, the alferez' wife was in her place, to the left of her husband. The most respected guests were seated inside the hut.

[554] The meal did not last long. When the last guests were on the point of leaving, the flag was rolled up and carried away by an individual, undoubtedly the person who the day before had been proclaimed katokere, i.e., alferez of the next festival.

*778 *779 [303] /364/ Several hours later a large group formed again in the alferez' hut, this time occupied in drinking according to the usual ritual. Two old men uttered prayers to the mal'ku without pause, even while drinking. At a given moment they knelt in the middle of the hut, their bodies turned toward the east, and, in this position, addressed a long invocation to them, which they concluded by kissing the ground.

*778 *796 539

Kant-mal'ku,	Kusil'er-mal'ku,	Kilimint-mal'ku,	Kusil'aviri,
Kant-demon,	Kusil'er-demon,	Kilimint-demon,	Kusil'aviri,
márka-kol'o,	Kemperan	mal'ku,	Estewan-mal'ku (1),
country mountains	Kemperan	demon,	Stephen-demon,

1. During the feast of the Estewan-mal'ku, the alferez threw beans, peas, and dried fruit to the winds.

/366 cont./

*796 [562] [889] [932] In this case the alferez was an old woman, wrinkled and respectable, /367/ assisted by her son, a young boy 18 to 20 years old who was a deaf-mute. She led the procession dressed in her most beautiful attire with flowers stuck in her hair.

The procession returned to the chapel to kneel and to perfume again the altar, on which a spot of still fresh blood stood out. The procession broke up shortly afterward, but part of those present accompanied the alfereza and her son, who proceeded with one of the banners from the church up to the door of their hut. There the standard, which the alfereza and her son kissed respectfully, was rolled up and attached to a stake of Cereus.

[616] The authorities of the saya seated themselves behind a table, and a mantle (talu) was spread out on the ground a certain distance away, on the edge of which the alfereza and her daughter-in-law squatted. They were promptly surrounded by a large number of women who grouped themselves in a horseshoe. A small tablecloth covered with coca leaves was placed on the table, as on the talu.

The alfereza and her son began to pray on their knees before the banner and offered up a libation of alcohol to it; then the young man went to get his wife and repeated the same ceremony with her (Pl. XII, A /see p. 133/). The alcaldes congratulated the alfereza, repeating the sacred formula of suma hora. This rite of politeness accomplished, they went to kiss the post against which the standard had been fastened, and then, taking two wooden cups with two bulls carved on the inside from the table, they offered up a libation of chicha accompanied by a prayer (Pl. XVII, A /see p. 138/).

[415] [2078] On the two sides of the talu behind which the women were seated a very old footless wooden cup, very old, had been placed, from which the women one after the other drank chicha (Pl. XVII, D).

The audience began to chew and to offer up libations. Prayers crossed each other, and in this exchange of vows and

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/369 cont./

*708 *796 [852] which he added silver leaf and parrot plumules. The women, for their part, attached garlands of bread rings and pieces of cheese and fruit to the festive slings, while keeping watch over the vegetables and grain which they were boiling for the next day's feast. To encourage his helpers the alferez was generously giving an installment of the /370/ festival to come, and, libation after libation, the alferez, Officiant, and friends finally became drunk out of their minds.

*778 *796 533 During the night I was awakened by strange melodies which sometimes seemed very close to my hut, and sometimes vanished in the silence of the desert. Intrigued by these confused noises, I went outside and saw five or six young girls holding each other by the hand; led by a guitarist they were going through the village at racing speed, circling each hut. In spite of the rain, the cold, and the darkness of the night, they did not pause an instant to catch their breath; ever sadder, ever more monotonous melodies (transcribed below) were followed by intervals of silence and then taken up again a little later in the midst of pants of fatigue. In the huts and in the church, the Indians were offering up their libations, disfigured by their ponchos and heavy coverings. Silent and unmoving, illuminated by the dim lamps of their huts, they had the fantastic aspect of ghosts.

*708 *796 [842]

/374 cont./

*778 *796 [373] The festival ended in general intoxication, of which the court in front of the chapel was in part a witness. The drinking continued practically without interruption until the next day, when the alferez held a feast for 120 people. In spite of the relative dearth of alcohol, the alferez, the Officiant, and his relatives found the means to finally roll on the ground, dead drunk.

Several days later on February 12 (Comadres /Gossips' Thursday, the last Thursday before Shrove-Tuesday/), it was the turn of the Kemperani-mal'ku to receive alcohol and presents. The poor idol did not seem to enjoy much favor, for there were few who came to "acquit themselves," and although the rites were faithfully observed they were carried out rapidly. Several small details that I was able to perceive in the gestures of the Officiant and in the composition of the liquids offered to the mal'ku have been mentioned in the footnote on pages 74 and 75. One fact is worth keeping in mind: when the cone was dripping with blood, those present got up and prostrated themselves in front of it. Some touched it lightly with their fingertips and brought them to their [616] lips. The individuals who took part in this festival all belonged to the saya, with the possible exception of the Officiant. The absence of families or of a few representatives at least from taxata *778 *796 did not fail to surprise me, as in the prayer addressed to the 539 Kemperani-mal'ku one is given to understand that the east (tuanta) side of the cone which stands on the border of the two saya "looks at" both of them:

Kemperani-mal'ku	porap-ikina	inkiñi	mal'ku lenta
Kemperani-demon	the two behind	who looks	demon border

towantišta	/375/ taxatišta	maitiñi	hasiki
east of	west of	who hearkens	in this moment

porap-ayl'u	kumplatuja	tonxi-ki	towanta	taxata
the two clans	acquit themselves	today	east	west

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/377 cont./

*796 231 236 535 Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

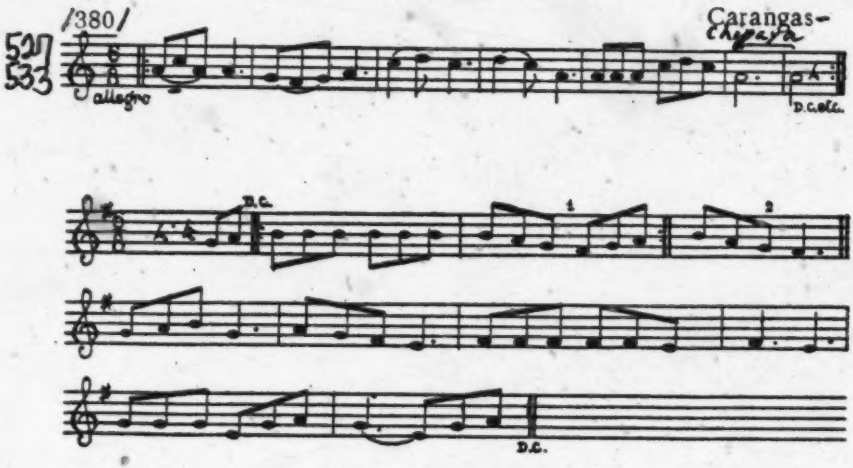
Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

*796 787 857 At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Čipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public [785] prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand [262] were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

527 Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Čipaya Indian is the festival par excellence *[796] beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival ● 893] /Figure 36 appears here/ /379/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead [578] drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other saya are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only leaven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its sottishness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extoled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Čipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, [839] and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Čipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text Continues on P. 110]



527 Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most
535 monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection
574 with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to
[616] everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

527 In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed
778 into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of
[824] straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the
[987] festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

527 The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week.
[533] At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few
● [273] madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol
154 did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not
[171] present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

/381 cont./

[525] [621] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

342 [476] Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Chipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment [287] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him [273] [296] enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother * [778] to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[782] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

342 * 778 [776] Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

/166 cont./

252 Too many authors have spoken of the preparation of these potatoes exposed to frost and dried for it to be necessary for me to linger on
[A39] it. This effort would be all the more superfluous since the čuño which the Čipaya consume is bought from the Aymara. Several times I saw the Čipaya make a paste of čuño by crushing them in
[A12] their mortar. The latter is a flat stone (t^{w}ax), slightly sloping, on which the grinding is done with the help of another flat stone (muruku) which goes and comes (Fig. 2, G /see p. 150/).

Meat is always boiled, probably because of the fuel, which burns without a flame or gives off, in the case of tola, an acrid smoke.

264 The food is served in bowls (čua) (Fig. 3, D /see p. 155/);
[A12] liquids are taken with a spoon (wisl'a) (Fig. 2, B) and solids with the hand. At feasts the host spreads out the dishes he is offering to his guests on a blanket, and the latter take them in a flap of their clothes.

● 273 Preparation of chicha from quinua. After being husked, quinua seeds are roasted again. They are then reduced to flour, from which a bowlful is taken out and conscientiously chewed by a woman. The portion soaked with saliva is mixed with the rest of the flour which has been spread on a skin. The whole is boiled and then poured into a large vat to which more hot water is added. The liquid is left to ferment for four days. The drink (k^{z}esi) thus obtained resembles muddy water and is very slightly alcoholic.

284 Production of cheeses. Although the cheese industry is in the foreground of the economic activity of the Čipaya, the technique used is one of the most rudimentary. The rennet is prepared with a piece of fetus tripe of a llama or vicuña which is soaked in water. It is enough to pour a little of this liquid into sheep's milk to turn it into cheese. The casein, after having been pressed between the
[A39] hands, is put into small straw rings which are superimposed and separated each time by a fragment of palm-tree bark, a material which is used to wrap the small packs of coca which the Aymara sell to the Čipaya. When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is

/203 cont./

*171
415
[13]

Erland Nordenskiöld, "Origin of the Indian Civilizations in South America," Comparative Ethnographical Studies, 9, Göteborg, 1931.

of Cuzco Department /204/ still preserve several specimens which have been passed from father to son since the Inca period. Like the Čipaya the Quichua surround these pieces with superstitious respect and only use them to make libations of chicha on the
● [203] occasion of some solemn festival. They believe that chicha drunk from one of these mugs has the virtue of making one drunk more quickly than that which is contained in another vessel (1).

1. Herrera, p. 1.

Conclusion

178 The review we have just made of all the Čipaya culture traits leads us to the following conclusion: there is no object in the present-day industry of these Indians which could be considered as belonging to them alone or as representing a survival of their distant original culture. All their material goods are those which we know from the modern or ancient Aymara, or in a general way from the Indians of the Andean altiplano. In their way of life, that of sedentary shepherds, the Čipaya do not differ from the primitive populations of "las regiones frias /the cold regions/," whom the Spanish chroniclers sometimes distinguish from the "serranos /highlanders/." The interest in the Čipaya tribe does not lie then in the originality of their material culture but rather in the fact that their relative isolation has permitted them to keep many an object and many a technique which have disappeared elsewhere. They concern us insofar as they bear witness to rural Inca life, and not as representatives of an isolated ethnic group.

/185/

*539 101 114 Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the
*539 192 name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of
[195] the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which
[193] is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkíčay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ču followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

*539 124

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.:
[276] The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give
● [273] thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking).
[126] 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

224 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

233 **Herding.**—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the 231 swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

241 **Farming.**—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 **Food preparation.**—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white [262] root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

● 273 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

276 Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.
171

HOUSES

342 Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed [284] vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over [354] the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and [392] makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The [184] Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

Tschopik Camacho 1-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
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tains; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Mallcu Mayor*. The other *mallcus* are represented by small conical sod towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; cheeses and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *yatiri*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him standing motionless and followed the younger one down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

Fortunately in these last few years the climatic conditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more increased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *čuñu* (Uru *aunî*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*suļu*, *kauri*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likļa* or *likļi*, or *xawinkonia* according to Palevecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *chicha* of masticated maize also; *likļi* is made from a plant called *kiwi* or *kiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kenļa*, of *totora*-bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*okena*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the liga-

2: Métraux

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262, 273, 276

[For additional, scattered information about the consumption and other uses of food, alcoholic beverages, narcotics and stimulants associated with rituals or organized religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-129.]

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/344 cont./ white banner, he led the troup of musicians and dancers, stopping in front of each hut to obtain a tribute of alcohol for himself and his troup. In exchange for this gift he gave his momentary host the privilege of seizing the white banner and putting himself at the head of the dancers. The end of the day was only a succession of rounds and drinking which went on until complete exhaustion. Brandishing his

The second day. On the next day, noticing that all the Indians were going toward a particular hut, I in turn went. There I found about 30 individuals, men and women, squatting on the floor around the alcalde taking office, who was seated on a pile of cloth behind a table facing the door. He was holding his stick of authority in his arm and had bunches of flowers and a napkin full of coca in front of him. His physiognomy did not act in his favor; his ravaged, closed face was scarred with smallpox; his thick features, aquiline nose, and projecting chin gave him an air which was both cruel and bestial. I sat down next to the men immediately to the right of the host. All were keeping a profound, almost disturbing silence. At long intervals a man would rise to prefer his bag of coca to the alcalde. The latter would take a few leaves from it and tender his own chuspa with a bored gesture. Others moved toward the table, took a pinch of coca leaves, some of which they left in front of the flowers, and swallowed the rest. The drinkers never forgot their libations directed, as were the offerings, toward the flowers on the table. On that day the chicha of maize and quinua, in exception to the rule, competed with the alcohol. It was served by the women in terra-cotta bowls. I had the opportunity to be present that afternoon at a scene, the significance of which remains a mystery to me. A man got up and greeted a young woman in the usual manner; /345/ she replied to his greeting and went to kneel at the head of the audience. The individual who had greeted her took the young woman's head and shoved it against that of a man squatting next to her. Several seconds later the young woman gave way to weeping identical to that with which the church had resounded the day before. Silence

2nd Trans--60 E-5 (1930-1931) 1930, 1936 SP24 Uru SP24
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Chipaya

/345 cont./

re-established itself little by little, and during the entire day the Indians remained in their hut, as apathetic as I had found them in the morning.

The festival of San Geronimo (January 7)

Very early in the morning an Indian ran through the uya tuanta, beating on a drum and stopping before each hut to wake the inhabitants and call them to the festival which was about to begin. Not knowing the significance of this household-rousing, I attributed little importance to it and thus missed the initial ceremonies. I could ascertain, however, that two piglets had been sacrificed on the threshold of the chapel of the uya: the cross which stands in front of the door, the outside walls, and the altar had been splattered with fresh blood. Inside two tables had been set up on which coca leaves had been spread out. Some Indians squatted in the chapel chewing coca leaves and drinking alcohol, preceding each mouthful with a prayer and libation. Espíritu Mamani subsequently recited the text of the prayer to me, uttered, no doubt, at the moment when the blood of the pigs is sprinkled:

Araspe$^{?}$a	oubi,	ouma	tiempo	apanta$^{?}$a.	waima
Sky	lord,	good	weather	send me.	good
mara,	ouma	mara,	araspe$^{?}$-petruna,		tndou
weather,	good	weather,	sky	manner,	all
wawatabi.	Lo mismo	Virgin-taika		tumapeuyuwasista,	
children for.	Likewise	Virgin-earth		thou feedest me,	
kenpkama	(taki)	wawanakatabi,		tndou	mundu,
thou wilt receive	(all?)	children of,		all	the world,
wawanakatabi	ak$^{?}$ aru	tndou	mundu	pak$^{?}$aki	aka
children of	thou	all	the world	animals	these

2066mmm--62 E-8 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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signal all kneeled again in a row facing east and again recited a brief prayer. They began the same rites before each oratory up to the last chapel situated at the limits of Cipaya territory. Having arrived before this low, narrow hut, men and women entered in [illegible] and prostrated themselves before the altar on which the Officiant had placed the effigy of Saint James, the cross, and the sticks which the worshipers had given him. Some paid homage to the saint with their bags of coca, which they placed at his feet or hung in his niche. Others lit small lamps, if this name can be given to dishes containing tallow and a wick, around him and, kneeling before the saint, held censers toward him or burned grains of copal (1). These signs of reverence were accompanied by

1. The Indians give the name copal (kopala) to a resin which while burning gives off a fragrant smoke. This substance comes from eastern Bolivia.

prayers in Aymara.

A small enclosure continues the chapel to the east. It contains a cross of straw which stands on a crude pedestal of earth and some slabs /347/ serving as tables on which the participants place coca and alcohol which they offer each other. While each family was taking its place at the spot which pleased it and set out coca, a bottle of alcohol, and the drinking cups that play an essential part in the festival on a small cloth, the Officiant and his helper stretched a small tablecloth in front of the cross, on which they placed 28 mugs and two extra ones outside the rug. They poured a little chicha in each of them, and in each one in succession, following a set pattern (a mug on the left, then a mug on the right, and going from bottom to top), dipped three stones, silicious in appearance, two white and one grey. These stones were then placed between the mugs of the lower row at regular intervals. The Officiant moistened small, round, green stones from old,

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/358 cont./

Several women came to add new tufts of red wool to the samiri, so much that the stones finally were no longer visible. At the same time the rest of the assembly drank, chewed coca, and exchanged the usual civilities.

Then several handfuls of khoa were lighted; they burned on the place of sacrifice all day.

While these ceremonies were under way, several men and young girls were busying themselves at the side with the cooking. The victims were cut up, their bones crushed with a stone, and the entrails boiled in large receptacles of tin. Once cooked pieces were carried to the assembled people in large clay dishes and distributed through the efforts of the Officiant, who first of all threw a few slices destined for the spirits and demons to the four cardinal points as if to mark the formula then uttered:

hal'ga	tija	mal'ku	resevita
pieces	these	demons	receive

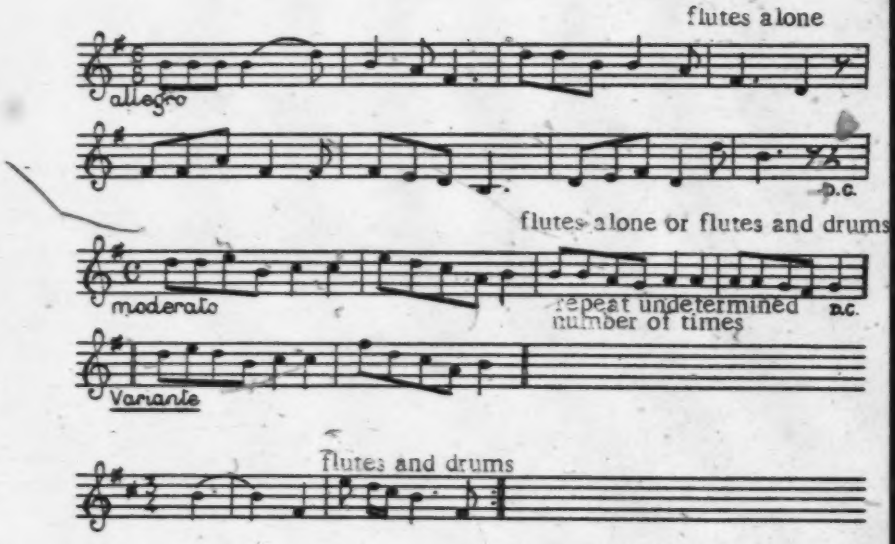
"Demons, receive these pieces."

This preliminary meal ended all began to drink and chew coca again. From time to time the Officiant took one of the horns placed in front of the sheaves and drew muffled and distant sounds from it. He or some other qualified person recited rapid prayers without interruption, in which the names of the saints and of the mal'ku were closely bound together. Here is one of them:

Ha^{s}a-pak^{x}al'a-samiri			samanta
Samiri of the large livestock (llamas)			thou wilt stay
kukumay(u)-samiri	/359/	samanta	č^{x}ital'a-samiri
samiri of the pigs		thou wilt rest	samiri of the sheep
samanta	hani-hewtiri		patakwaranka
thou wilt rest	in order not to die		hundred thousand (years?)

Carangas - Chijaya

/361 cont./



*178 *196 [535] Of course the alferez and his wife, furnished with the white banners, their insignia of office, displayed especial zeal /362/ and danced with all the more enthusiasm for being rather tipsy.

[296] [303] [596] The Indians remained seated for hours, constantly exchanging civilities in the form of alcohol, coca, and cigarettes. The most frequent verbal civility consisted of uttering the word xal'al'a or xal'al'a alfereza ("Hallelujah alferez"), which some member of the assembly

/381 cont./

[521] [621] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

342 [476] Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Chipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment [287] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him [273] [276] enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming * [778] work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[782] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

342 * 778 [776] Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (tin-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

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/388 cont./

The fortune-teller is satisfied to chew the leaves[7] with which he has been provided for his trouble.

Magical treatment of illness.

The medical science of the Indians of the Andean altiplano is very extensive. To be convinced of this one need only go inspect the sector of any native market whatsoever occupied by the chifles, or vendors of medicinal plants. The abundance of vegetable, animal, and mineral products, carefully sorted out in small boxes, which they offer is extraordinary and deserves a long, methodical enumeration. If one considers that each of these substances, in addition to its special properties, also enters in the composition of anomalous and varied mixtures, one will have an idea of the number of medical recipes which the Indians of the altiplano have at their disposal. To tell the truth, many of the [055] treatments recommended by the yatiri are strictly magical in nature; a number of the medicaments which they prescribe, however, are recommendable for their real and effective qualities. The Institute of Ethnology at the University of Tucumán possesses a very complete collection of these products and it is hoped that a study of them will some day be carried out by a pharmacist who is also a botanist. There can be no doubt that such an investigation, already begun by Nordenskiöld (1), has more than one

[113]

1. Nordenskiöld (Erland). "Recettes magiques médicales du Pérou et de la Bolivie /Magical Medical Recipes of Peru and Bolivia/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Paris, New Series, Vol. IV, 1907, pp. 153-174.

surprise in store and /389/ will open new perspectives on the medical knowledge of the Indians of Bolivia.

[7] [i.e., coca leaves--Analyst]

/185/

*539 101 114 Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the *539 192 name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant [175] also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which [193] is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkíčay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ču followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

*539 124

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: [206] The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give [213] thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking). [126] 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

224 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

233 **Herding.**—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the
231 swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

241 **Farming.**—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 **Food preparation.**—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants [illegible]ard from their laps, then
[262] toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

273 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

276 Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.
191

HOUSES

342 Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is
[284] closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over
[354] the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and
[392] makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The
[184] Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

124 in-law of some eighty-odd years. While they talked [126] the purest of pure Uru we could make a sound-recording.

[363] A badly bombed area of London is in good repair compared with the Uru streets. Finally having climbed over crumbling walls and fallen into deep holes, we arrived at the house. Seated against the wall in the sun was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen. The mayor who spoke fluent Spa- [191] nish said she was well over a hundred. Had she [165] been less deaf and more comprehensible, I am sure we should have discovered that she had waved to General Sucre during the wars of the Liberation. Seated on the low wall was the daughter, a young seventy. The mayor explained what we wanted. The centenarian mumbled, but Roca's efforts with the [126] recorder were unsuccessful. We left her to provide local colour and material for photographs of the most amazing wrinkles. The son-in-law seemed completely inert, so turning to the daughter the mayor asked her to talk. Realizing that a unique occasion was offered her probably after a lifetime of oppression, she settled herself firmly on a solid piece of wall, and the floodgates of Uru eloquence opened. She launched forth into what was apparently her life-history, accompanied by the most extraordinary mime. Mother, who was past seeing, hearing and [876] still less, caring, continued to mutter, the husband, when the recital became particularly spirited, would stop chewing his *coca,* lift his head and open his mouth, but no sound issued forth. Apparently the mechanism had definitely run down, and he relapsed again into a state of ruminating coma. Encouraged by the general enthusiasm, our star became more and more expansive. By now most of the inhabitants had arrived on the scene, and judging by the expression on the faces of the other ladies, she had by unanimous consent taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate. She held the audience spellbound for one and a quarter hours, when either her vocal cords relaxed or she had come momenta-

[g. 309 - B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *čuñu* (Uru *auni*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*sulu*, *ñauri*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likša* or *likši*, or *xawinskania* according to Palevecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *chicha* of masticated maize also; *likši* is made from a plant called *kiuwi* or *kiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kenša*, of *totora*-bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*okena*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the liga-

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Magical treatment of illness.

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surprise in store and /389/ will open new perspectives on the medical knowledge of the Indians of Bolivia.

[1] [i.e., coca leaves--Analyst]

Carangas—
Chipaya

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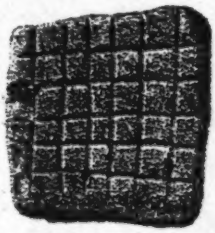
278 [100] The Čipaya Indians of Carangas have been so deeply impregnated with the influence of the Aymara Indians that we may presume that, in the sphere of medicine, they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbors of the altiplano. It is completely [439] justifiable if their knowledge is more rudimentary because of their isolation and the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the medical substances, almost all of which come from the Yungas. I was able to convince myself of this by examining one day a bag of medicine which had been left by a deceased Čipaya, the father of a young Indian with whom I had a friendly relationship. In the legacy of the old man I found several pharmaceutical products which I had obtained in the Oruro market. The deceased possessed small amounts of them which he had carefully wrapped in some small rags. His son refused to sell them to me, allegedly because [959] of their great value and the difficulty of procuring them. I doubt, however, that anyone in Chipaya could have benefited from them, for, to my knowledge at least, there is no Indian in this village who possesses sufficient skill to carry out their application.

164 757 123 Practically every day in the hut which I was occupying I received visits from Indians coming to ask me for remedies for various ills. The most frequent was constipation, which seems to frighten the Čipaya very much. I was also able to see a hernia and a terrible infection which the Indians treated by applying a [578] piece of llama heart to the abscess. The Indians often called upon me to care for swellings, the result of drubbings which they [842] had not spared themselves in their domestic quarrels. Some also came to beg me to cure them of impotence. In some not very serious cases of swellings or localized pains, the Indians content themselves with sticking a coca leaf on the skin.

757 At present the empirical medicine of the Čipaya seems to be limited to a certain number of insignificant recipes, frequently and easily applied. Faced with a serious case they have recourse to complicated magical processes which I had the good fortune to observe. I should not be able to say, however, if the exceptional

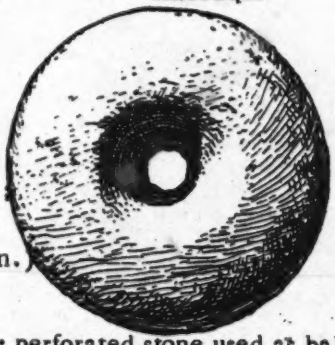
/81/



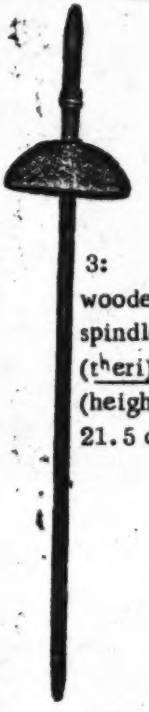
1: Stone polisher to soften leather (height: 7.5 cm. width: 7.2 cm; thickness: 3.5 cm.)

281

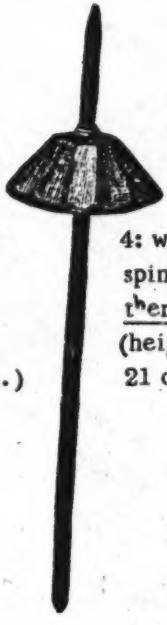
227



2: perforated stone used as ballast to sink bottom nets (diameter: 9.9 cm.) (GM. 31.44.44)



3: wooden spindle (t^heri) (height: 21.5 cm.)

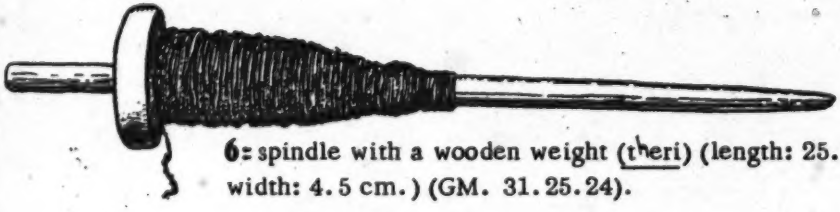


4: wooden spindle t^heri (height: 21 cm.)

286

396

5: wooden hook which the Uro use for making their balsas (kaxlu, t^kaxi)



286

6: spindle with a wooden weight (t^heri) (length: 25.2 cm. width: 4.5 cm.) (GM. 31.25.24).

Fig. 24

women. The hair is divided into innumerable tiny braids, each decorated with a small flat piece of bone, or a miniature bronze idol exactly like those found at Tiahuanaco.

Chipaya men wear a costume similar to the *tipoy* used by various Indians in eastern Bolivia. It resembles the shirt worn by the women, but is fuller because it is square. In former times it was the only garment worn by the men; trousers are a recent addition. Colorful decorated pouches are always slung from the belt. The short striped poncho is known as the Chipaya cape. The hair is cut short all the way around and is covered with a cap similar to the *chullo* of the Aymaras; the distinction lies in the broad ear flaps worn by the Aymaras in contrast to the smaller ones and the much finer cloth of the Chipaya caps.

Every Chipaya family owns at least one drum. These instruments are common in the altiplano, but the square shape of the Chipaya drum makes it unique. It is also unusually small, measuring six to eight inches on a side and about two inches in thickness. It is covered with tanned llama skin, stretched over a wooden frame. This instrument is thought to be pre-Columbian, since its unusual construction is so dissimilar to that of the drums introduced by the Spaniards. The Chipayas make two kinds of flutes. The straight Andean flutes are generally made of bamboo, which is brought from other regions and becomes brittle very quickly in the dry climate here.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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whereas the *bolas* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a pretextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *čala* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into *gorros*. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.[26]

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toskola* [cf. the term for penis, *siñi-* ("eggs") *skolo*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *čulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Ogilvie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*kupaña*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *balsa*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *balsa*-making hook (*kaχlu* or *'kaχi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[26] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 262, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

/84 cont./

396 The construction of these rafts is rather simple, although
[147] it demands great manual skill and considerable expenditure of strength. The keel is composed of two enormous spindle-shaped sheafs of totora tied together. The natives obtain them by heaping up and intertwining stalks of totora of unequal length (Pl. IV, B /see p. 24/); they take care that the shortest remain inside and they cover these with progressively longer stalks until the total forms a compact mass. The rope which maintains each of these rolls /85/ /Fig. 25 appears here/ /86/ is crossed at each turn with that of the other sheaf. Two padded rims are then fastened to the edge, where they serve as a railing and add to the stability of the craft. The only instrument to which the Indians have recourse in making these rafts is a wooden hook (Fig. 24, 5 /see p. 10/), which they use to lift the straw rope, either to tighten it or to pass the rope which joins one sheaf to the other under it. This alternating play of the ropes obliges the balsa constructors to work always two by
501 two (Pl. IV, C /see p. 24/). For navigating, the Uro have long boathooks, l'okena, the wood for which comes from the eastern slopes of the Andes. The extremity of these poles ends in a sort of trident which prevents them from sinking too deeply in the mud of the lake (Fig. 25, 2 /see p. 15/).

285 Mats. The Uro Indians have several uses for the rush (totora) mats. They make the framework and roofs of their huts from it, their beds, the door of their house, and the sails of their balsas. Making them is not complicated. The totora stalks are spread out on five or six parallel ropes, stretched between stakes, and attached to them in little piles.

283 Rope-making. The Uro are obliged to constantly make rope, the indispensable accessory for the two industries which have just been mentioned. Different types of gramineous plants,
[284] among them the Stipa ichu Kunth, Festucha orthophylla Pilger, and F. dissiflora Griseb (1), furnish them with raw material of

1. Parodi, p. 4.

[text continues on p. 16]

/86 cont./

000 1. Parodi, p. 4.

283 excellent quality. They pull them up with their roots, then put them in a pile, cutting off the two ends, and let them soak in
283 water. Then they crush them on a slab with hammer blows.
412 The latter is made of a stone put in a leather sheath to which a wooden handle is attached (Fig. 25, 1 /see p. 15/). There is no doubt that this handle is a recent innovation, and that the primitive hammers of the Uro, like all those of the Aymara of the conquest and of the modern Cipaya, were nothing more than a simple pebble with, at the most, somewhat of a depression to facilitate grasping it. Once the straw is flexible through the washing and hammering, it is rolled on the leg with the flat of the hand, following a process common to America as a whole.

291 Dress. The dress of the Uro is identical with that of the
171 Aymara, i.e., with very few exceptions, to that of the poor classes in practically all of Latin America: trousers, a shirt,
292 a felt hat, and a poncho. Almost all the Uro, however, still
[174] keep the "camiseta," the long woolen shirt which was once the /87/ national costume of the Indians who belonged to the Andean civilizations or who were subject to their influence (Fig. 25, 4 /see p. 15/). They rarely put it on nowadays, and only on my express request did those whom I photographed consent to slip this tunic over their ordinary clothes (Pl. V, A /see p. 25/).
291 They cover their heads with a wool helmet, whose pre-Colombian
294 origin is doubtful. The Uro formerly knitted them with thread made from the down of water birds. The Berlin Museum has a sample of these caps, the technique of which Dr. Th. Krickeberg was kind enough to study on my behalf. This examination led
[Pf 3] him to the conclusion that although the idea of spinning bird
[172] down is ancient, the knitting stitches are clearly European in origin.

291 The women are dressed like the Indian women of La Paz: several colored skirts put on one over the other, a dirty blouse barely hidden by a mantle closed over the chest, a felt hat, and

2:Méraux--136 E-8 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate XV

A. —Old Čipaya woman and her daughter.

B. —Čipaya woman spinning.

C. —Čipaya woman.

D. —Čipaya Indian dressed in a camiseta.

Plate XVI

Caranga-Chipaya

A

B

C

D

E

F

A. – Coca bag covered with a sort of "velvet" and used only during festivals.

B. – Festive sling.

C. – Wig worn by the men during festivals.

D. – Sacred stick (hamana-pare).

E. – Rope cross hung on the roof of the huts.

F. – Perforated pembrels used as money during the festival of the alasita.

Caranga: -
Cayaya

/156 cont./ The framework of the latter is actually formed by [illegible]
of tola (Tola, Tosa) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes (waru-waru) (Pl. VI, 8 /see p. 215/). They are thrust in the holes of which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1, H /see p. 142/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are superimposed and are fastened at the intersections by solid ligatures. Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cereus wood /157/. /Figure 1 appears here/ /158/ in order to allow the roofers to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum (pirina) made of straw (ichu) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin covering, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are hoisted up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the faggots by means of a long wooden needle (kapa) threaded with straw cord (Fig. 1, A) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to encompass a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence of this thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the intercrossing of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross surmounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house from the effects of lightening.

Furnishings. The interior disposition of Cipaya huts is most summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[Text Continues on p. 143]

/166 cont./ when the pile of cheeses is high enough it is firmly bound with a wool rope and left to drip for a certain number of days. These cheeses, white and tasteless, are seasoned with salt which the Čipaya get from the great salt deposits which spread out about 30 kilometers from their village. /167/ /Figure 3 appears here./

/168/ Weapons

The small number of weapons that the Čipaya have is a direct consequence of the insignificance of hunting in their economy. As for war, it is an unknown phenomenon for them. Who would dream of coming to pick a fight with them for possession of the sand dunes or stunted pastures? The only occasions for giving free rein to their bellicose instincts are the festivals. The alcohol they absorb then accentuates the underhand rivalry of the sayas among themselves, and, awakening passions, leads them to often bloody fights. I do not know if any weapons other than sticks and fists enter into play in this case.

The sling (kuxawa) (Fig. 4, A /see p. 157/), which is the weapon par excellence of the Indians of the altiplano, has only a peacable use in Chipaya: it is used to hurl lumps of earth at llamas or sheep to prevent them from straying from the flock or from the route being followed. It is possible that the Čipaya might have recourse to the sling when they have some quarrels with the people of the other saya, but I was never able to get particulars on this subject. Another circumstance contributes to making the sling of the Čipaya a harmless instrument: the lack of stones able to serve as projectiles.

The bolas of the Čipaya play a role close to that of the sling: they permit them to catch the sheep. The most common type is the ordinary bola. The stones instead of being caught in a leather sheath, as is the case with the archaeological specimens (Fig. 4, D-E), are furnished with a groove which prevents the rope from slipping (Fig. 4, J).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 156]

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/See captions on next page./

/169 cont./

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Fig. 4. —Čipaya material culture. Weapons and technology.

A: Čipaya sling.

B: Bag (käls) covered with white, black, and red tufts forming a sort of velvet.

C: Čipaya bola perdida.

D-E: Pre-Columbian bolas.

F: Weaver's dagger (wiña), of bone.

G: Čipaya loom for weaving women's belts (tsai).

H: Spindle with wooden weight /whorl/ (t^{h}eri).

I: Bag (käls) made from the skin of a llama's neck.

J: Weights of a modern Čipaya bola.

/176 cont./

415 Besides these vessels of archaic form which have not been
[193] shaped with the help of a potter's wheel, the Čipaya use locally
439 produced receptacles, the technique of which is more advanced and influenced by European civilization. These vessels are produced in quantity in various regions of the altiplano and bear trademarks.

The Čipaya take good care of their ceramics, each piece of which represents a pecuniary sacrifice for them; hence many pots for daily use are wrapped in a protective sheath of undressed leather (Fig. 6, C /see p. 165/).

[192] The names (maska, lūš, čua yuru, oč, yakina) that the Čipaya give the different pieces of pottery they use are always
[194] Aymara. One can deduce from this that the Uro did not know this industry or that they have been dependent on the Aymara for a long time in this respect.

● 283 Spinning. The raw sheep's wool (uš-čuma) or llama wool (xwal-čuma) is rolled around the left arm and spun by means of a spindle (t^{h}eri) (Fig. 4, H /see p. 157/). The spindle stick is not surmounted by any enlargement. The weight /whorl/ (waiñu) is now of turned wood, but I was still able to obtain two specimen crudely carved with a knife.

[284] To spin, a bit of wool is pulled out and attached to the spindle by a /177/ slipknot. The movement communicated to the spindle is made by holding the thumb against the index and middle finger of the left hand, from right to left. When the spindle has begun to turn, the male or female spinner rapidly brings the right hand toward the left, following the thread (kauni) being formed. This movement is to even the thread. Once the hands are together, he draws out the wool and repeats the twisting movement. The spindle is suspended at the end of the thread, or, when the spinner is seated, it turns in a bowl (Pl. V, B /see p. 214/). When a certain length of thread has been obtained it is unrolled from the top part of the spindle and rolled on below. A new loop is made and the spindle is placed in action again in the way indicated. The threads obtained by this method are generally very thin. For weaving

/177 cont./

283 it is more advantageous to have thicker ones. With this aim two are twisted together during an operation which is analogous but made up of different movements. The rotation movement communicated to the spindle is carried out with the flat of the hand. The spinner, abandoning the spindle to itself, follows the thread with her right hand until it comes up to the spindle when she stops it to make it turn again.

286 Weaving. The loom (Fig. 4, C /see 157/) is essentially composed of two sticks between which the warp threads run. The latter are not directly fastened to the sticks but to a cord stretched along the latter. To weave, the Indian woman begins by tying the forepart of the loom to two short stakes (pat-kˣena) stuck in the ground in front of which she sits down (Pl. V, C /see p. 214/). Then she holds out the warp while tying the other end to her own body by means of a small cord (skos-koči, činuka) passed around her waist. The automatic raising of the warp threads (ĸauni) is done, as usual, with the help of small loops of thread placed between two wooden sticks (il'ava). Their crossing is maintained thanks to a stick (tokxura) placed behind this network. The motions of the Indian during the weaving operation can be broken down as follows: with the thumb of the right hand she presses on the warp threads behind the network of small loops to make the upper threads pass under. This motion ended she slides a wooden knife (skuas-para) pointed at both ends behind the network, between the warp threads. She puts it edgewise and with a bone dagger (Fig. 4, F) she packs and presses together the threads which have just crossed. She then darts through her shuttle (kˣos), which is nothing but a cleft stick around which she has rolled the weft thread (kuš). To cross the warp threads again, with the bone dagger (wiña, wikuña) she lifts the lower threads over the network, passes her wooden knife through again, and makes /178/ her shuttle again pass through the half-opening between the warp threads and begins again the operation described. The material is begun at the two ends of the loom and ends in the middle of the piece.

/179 cont./

283 Rope-making. Ropes (koč, koms) are made of llama wool or straw, the former twisted or braided. To make them, the Čipaya take a bundle of raw wool in the right hand and twist it by hand and gradually roll around a ring held in the left hand. The ropes and cords of wool (kxiya, tuanda) serve as belts for the men or are used to fasten loads on the backs of llamas.

Straw ropes are used practically exclusively in the construction of houses, where they tie the different pieces of the framework of the roof and fasten down the straw which covers it.

[284] These ropes are made by the women: they hammer each handful of straw on the back of their overturned grindstones with a round rock provided with depressions which facilitate handling it. The stalks once softened are moistened. The woman twists some of them to make a strand (pʰit-čekta). She does the same with another pinch, then applies a rotating motion between her palms to these two strands. So that the straw will not dry out during the process, she holds it sheltered under a blanket and herself dampens her hands frequently.

285 Basket-making. Basket-making is a local industry in Chipaya. /180/ Their circular baskets (pats patz) with a small perpendicular rim are all of one type although of different sizes (Fig. 3, A /see p. 155/). They are composed of small coils of straw turned upon themselves in a spiral and held together by leather ties (Fig. 3, A, B). This technique is the one that ethnographers in the English language call "coiled."

287 The small openwork baskets (čiñi šepa) are, it appears, fish 439 traps which the Čipaya buy from the people of Orinoca or Andamarca (villages situated near the banks of the Poopó).

2:Métraux--214 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate V

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[252]
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[192]
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A. Čipaya woman leaning against a wall and treading quinua seeds to husk them.

B. Čipaya woman spinning.

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[302]

C. Čipaya woman weaving.

D. Treadle loom for weaving made of cactus wood.

3:Vellard--6d D, E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

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9. Fisher preparing straw ropes to make a balsa. He is using a stone hammer.

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824

10. Construction of a balsa: preparation of the three totora cylinders: the heart and the two side parts.

/171 cont./

*539 192 193 1. píni means "many"; with hána it may be rendered by "no more"; učúmi, exclusive personal pronoun /172/ for the first person plural. 2. šalák, probably the Spanish chacra, "cultivated field"; the Uru do not have their own word to designate fields. 4. The ending čay added to a root gives it [136] the verbal form. 6. xui, interrogative particle. 7. suche, small kind of sheatfish from the Titicaca region; it is the [824] Trichomycterus dispar. 8. totora, Scirpus totora, the reeds of Lake Titicaca used by the Uru to build their balsas, cover their houses, and for other uses. 12. ke-, particle of repeti- [101] tion. 14. tòxša, literally "other persons," designates all men other than the Uru; nak' for náka, plural form of pronouns.

*539 396

II. Manufacture of Balsas from Totoras
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 154 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. Let us go, as is our custom, to find totoras to make a [283] balsa. 2.. We are accustomed to go far to make the straw ropes /necessities/. 3. Three days are needed to dry (the straw ropes). 4. The straw ropes are well dried now. 5. Now all these totoras are well dried. 6. Let us make the balsa. 7. A man cuts the totora. 8. The totora is tied (in bunches). 9. Three have to be made (bunches of totora): the heart (the middle spindle) and the two side spindles of the balsa. 10. We tie (the spindles); now we are going to squeeze them together very tightly, at first it takes two men to squeeze it together. 11. We have the custom of sprinkling (the totora) with water so that it does not dry. 12. Now we are going to tighten; to tighten we are accustomed to use a hook. 13. We beat (the totora) with /173/ a rock (in order to compress it).

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

396 edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

501 The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

[509] [435] [461]

MANUFACTURES

824 *Uru* material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

325 323 178

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

285

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skillful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

286 [283] [411] [531]

286 An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

231

41 **Weapons.**—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

[439] [284]

325 **Metals.**—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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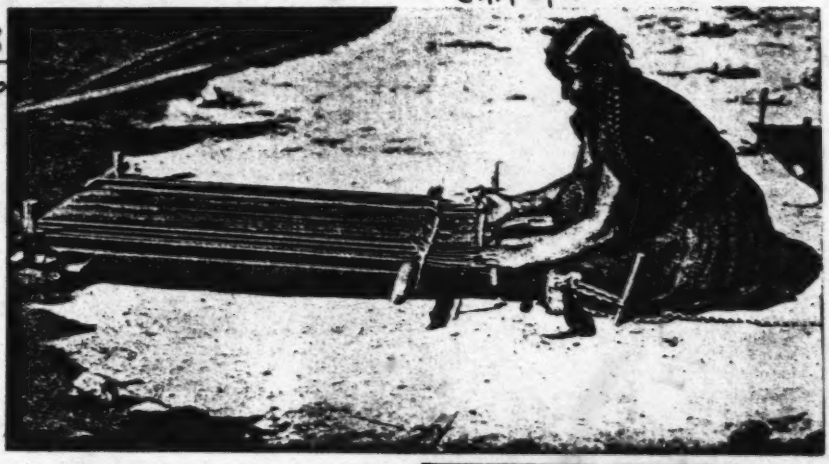

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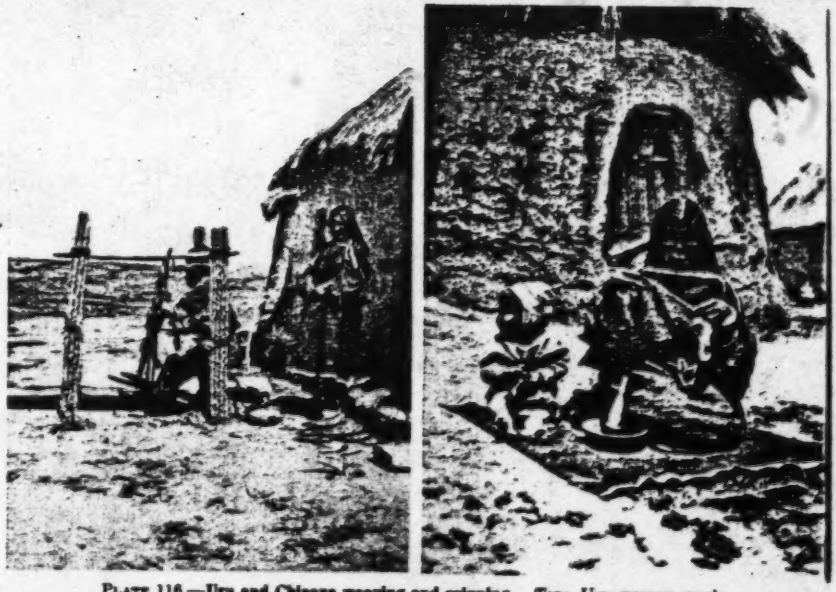

PLATE 116.—**Uru and Chipaya weaving and spinning.** *Top: Uru* woman working at native loom. *Bottom (left): Chipaya* man at upright loom. *Bottom (right): Chipaya* woman spinning. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-D]

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *mallcus;* the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P. 22-B]

346 There
[996] were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken [831] up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony 126 path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him [396] standing motionless and followed the younger one [283] down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

824 Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered [1131] from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among [501] the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the [964] stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, [203] the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

132 Fortunately in these last few years the climatic con-
137 ditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more in-
501 creased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and
396 one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long
283 braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

[p. 313-A]

SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

CYNTHIA FAIN: THE PEOPLE OF THE LAKE

Two men work simultaneously
396 tightening the braids with little wooden hooks,
[883] taking care that the two parallel cylinders have
912] exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a third man waters the cylinders, so that the reed remains
[412] slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the
501 reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fisherman holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsas measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a punt-pole when circulating among the rushes. The
[961] life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or
1327] four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

126 The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and
123 then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the raucous lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the previous day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of
[188] Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards,
201] and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the
126 forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

(Aymára rectangular houses are *iču*-grass thatched, not matted in the Uru fashion). Possibly because of the scarcity of wood, "rafters" in the roof are made of thick bundles of reeds, the main supports laid east and west, with secondary supports arched north and south. Some of the round houses have a roof framework made of bent sticks laid at right angles and grass-rope lashed at their crossings. On this framework of wood or *totora*-bundles, large mats, employing the full lengths of these giant reeds, are laid in two sections, so that there is a sort of pseudo-ridge to the roof, running from over the door to the west wall; this ridge is made by the meeting of the butts of the reeds. Grass ropes are laid over these mats to hold them down in the wind, and tied to wooden pegs in the mud walls of the house. There is no smoke-hole save the door, so the roof mats become speedily coated with soot and are quite waterproof. One must stoop in entering the door, but a man can stand upright in the center of the house. A mud "stove" is placed to the right (north) of the door, in which *t'ola* (a kind of grease-brush), *yareta* (woody, turf-like masses of a semi-subterranean shrub), or *takia* (llama-dung) are burned for fuel, owing to the absence of wood in the region. The cord used on the roof-mats to twine the ends of the single reed elements, is true two-element twisted rope, the torque of the twisted strands of wiry grass holding the whole together. The rope used in binding *balsas*, on the other hand, is of tightly plaited grass, possibly because the more laboriously made plaited grass rope has greater strength and durability than the twisted kind.

Anciently, according to the 18th century writer Alcedo, the Uru lived in caves and holes in the ground, but they share the round type of house with their congeners the Chipaya. The same round house type is seen elsewhere scatteredly in the *altiplano*. Forbes noted "beehive" houses in out-of-the-way places, and in the 16th and 17th century descriptions such as that of Cobo are indications that the round hut was the original Aymára style. Métraux noted round mud houses with corbelled domes like those of the Chipaya, at Kxulliri, near Toledo; and villages of round houses may be seen the west of the railroad halfway between La Paz and Oruro.[18]

[18] David Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (Journal Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 2: 193–305, 1870), p. 255. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 69, also says the Uru formerly lived in caves or holes dug in the ground, and roofed with mats. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1895), Vol. 4: pp. 166–667. Métraux (JSAP 28: 190–194) says that the rectangular huts of the Aymára are built after Spanish patterns, and that only the chiefs at Chipaya used them, others building the older round type of house. The round style is useless, however, for tracing the provenience of the Uru: Braun noted Quechua storehouses of this kind in southwestern Bolivia, Nordenskiöld the same form among Aymára at Tunari, near Cochabamba (Otto Braun [Letter to Nordenskiöld in 1931]; Erland Nordenskiöld, *The*

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

396 knives on the ends of poles, then stacked in shocks like corn, after they have been dried spread out in the sun. Nearly all able-bodied Uru males have quantities of these materials in various stages toward the manufacture of the complete boats. In their houses, even, in spare moments, men are continually braiding *ičʉ*-grass into tough ropes to bind the boats together.

Though shaped like a boat, the *balsa* is of course actually a raft. A handful of reeds is bound together and repeatedly thickened with more reeds as the middle of the cigar-shaped element is reached, then tapered off again into a point. The only tool used in the manufacture of this is a wooden hook [413] (*kaχlu*) with a handle at an acute angle to it, used to tighten the lashing of grass rope. A more tubular and thinner sheaf of reeds forms the keel of the *balsa*, and two of the fat cigar-shaped bundles are separately lashed to it, forming a sort of sea-sled type of hull, which cannot be overturned in a storm; the thinner ends of these cigar-shaped bundles are slightly raised fore and aft of the boat. To form gunwales, a still thinner and tubular sheaf of reeds is lashed (during its own round-and-round binding with braided grass rope) through the original lashing of the hull-elements. One of these gunwales (*pinča*) is placed on each side of the top of the hull-elements to prevent splashing of water onto the occupants of the boat as it is poled 501 along. The Uru *balsa* thus differs from the Aymára[34] type in that its two [191] large basic elements are lashed to a central "keel" and not to each other (though the bulwark lacings are similarly looped through the lacings of the two hull-elements); it has therefore five instead of four elements. The Uru also rig their *totora*-mat sails with a slight difference from the Aymára. [502] Sails, however, can only be used on the Lake and on the open river "before the wind" since the boat has no center-board and cannot tack. In the narrow swampways a punt pole or gaff (*teksi*) with a stubby trident at its end is [824] used to push the boat along. The wood for these comes from the *yungas* of 501 the Cordillera Real's eastern, tropical slopes. (See Posnansky, Fig. 83.) A 435 complete *balsa* cost in 1937 from ten to sixteen *bolivianos*, then worth about 5¢.

285 Of Uru textiles we have already noted twined single-element *totora balsa*-sails, twined many-element mattress-mats of reed, fish- and bird-nets (which they themselves make of cord obtained in Guaqui from La Paz), and 283 single-element twined roof mats of *totora*. Métraux has an excellent description (page 86) of the preparation by soaking, pounding, and rolling of the wiry grasses of the region (*Stipa ichu, Festucha orthophylla*, and *F. dis-*

[113] [34] Lorenzo R. Parodi, *Las balsas usadas por los Aymaras en el lago Titicaca* (Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. 11, Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 145-149. Métraux' description (JSAP 27: 84) is of the Aymára type.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

sijara) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *bolas*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *čawara*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*gawaa*) llama-wool (*gaači*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*wač'[i]*) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the heald-rod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymára. The women's wide girdles or *časi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gorros* of the Aymára type (Uru *škara*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.[25] The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymára at Guaqui, Tiahuanacu and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "sogas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Uru *bolas* (Aymará *liwi*, Uru *k'oñi*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

[25] Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the *altiplano* whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lucurmata on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *asiro* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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whereas the *bolas* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a pretextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *čais* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into *gorros*. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.[28]

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toskola* [cf. the term for penis, *siñi*- ("eggs") *skolo*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *čulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Ogilvie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*kupaña*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *balsa*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *balsa*-making hook (*kaχlu* or *'kaχi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[28] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 262, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

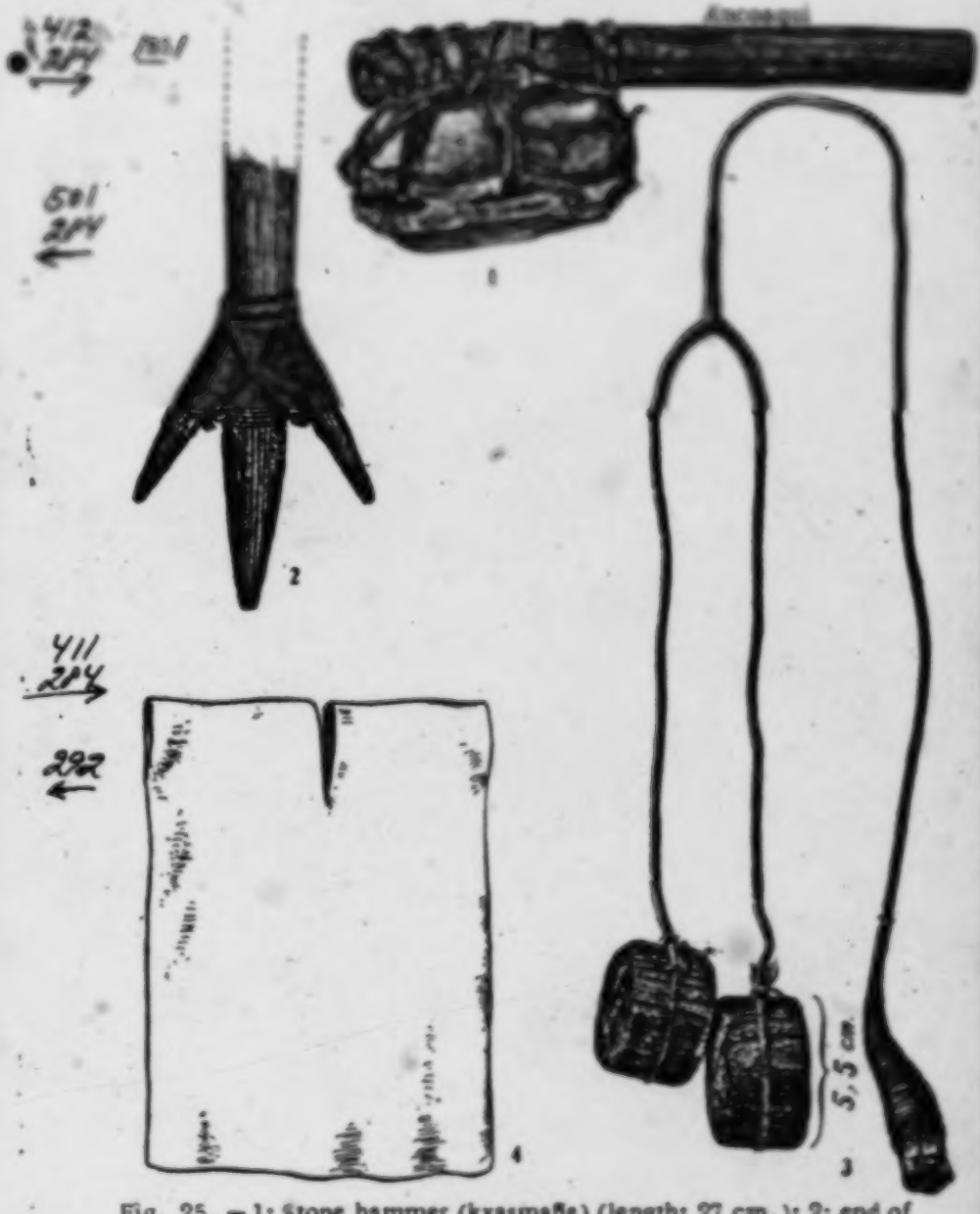


Fig. 25. — 1: Stone hammer (kxasmaña) (length: 27 cm.); 2: end of the boathook which the Uru use to propel their cane rafts (l'okena); 3: bolas (skuni); 4: tunic of white wool which the Uro wear over their modern clothes for certain occasions (ira) (length: 1.05 m. width: 0.62 m

2 Mexico--141 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga--
Chipaya

/156 cont./ The framework of the latter is entirely formed by faggots
of wila (Lepia, Tessa) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes
(waru) (Pl. VI, B /see p. 215/). They are thrust in the holes of
which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1, H /see
p. 142/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the
roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are
superimposed and are fastened at the intersections by solid ligatures.
Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cereus
wood /147/. /Figure 1 appears here/ /158/ in order to allow the
roofers to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum (pirina) made of straw (p'it) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin covering, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are hoisted up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the faggots by means of a long wooden needle (tapa) threaded with straw cord (Fig. 1, A) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to encompass a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence of this thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the intercrossing of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

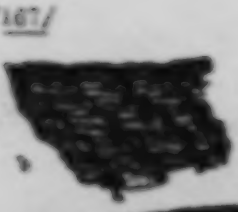
The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross surmounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house from the effects of lightening.

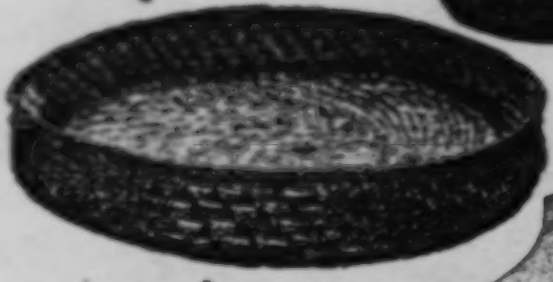
Furnishings. The interior disposition of Čipaya huts is most summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[Text Continues on p. 143]

/167/

385
[315]





415
[201]

[384]

/See captions on next page./

/176 cont./

415 Besides these vessels of archaic form which have not been
199 shaped with the help of a potter's wheel, the Čipaya use locally
439 produced receptacles, the technique of which is more advanced and influenced by European civilization. These vessels are produced in quantity in various regions of the altiplano and bear trademarks.

The Čipaya take good care of their ceramics, each piece of which represents a pecuniary sacrifice for them; hence many pots for daily use are wrapped in a protective sheath of undressed leather (Fig. 6, C /see p. 165/).

[192] The names (maska, luš, čua yuru, oč, yakina) that the
[194] Čipaya give the different pieces of pottery they use are always Aymara. One can deduce from this that the Uro did not know this industry or that they have been dependent on the Aymara for a long time in this respect.

283 Spinning. The raw sheep's wool (uš-čuma) or llama wool (xwal-čuma) is rolled around the left arm and spun by means of a spindle (t'eri) (Fig. 4, H /see p. 157/). The spindle stick is not surmounted by any enlargement. The weight /whorl/ (waiñu) is now of turned wood, but I was still able to obtain two specimen crudely carved with a knife.

[284] To spin, a bit of wool is pulled out and attached to the spindle by a /177/ slipknot. The movement communicated to the spindle is made by holding the thumb against the index and middle finger of the left hand, from right to left. When the spindle has begun to turn, the male or female spinner rapidly brings the right hand toward the left, following the thread (kauni) being formed. This movement is to even the thread. Once the hands are together, he draws out the wool and repeats the twisting movement. The spindle is suspended at the end of the thread, or, when the spinner is seated, it turns in a bowl (Pl. V, B /see p. 214/). When a certain length of thread has been obtained it is unrolled from the top part of the spindle and rolled on below. A new loop is made and the spindle is placed in action again in the way indicated. The threads obtained by this method are generally very thin. For weaving

Carangas—
Chipaya

/183 cont./

534

[284]

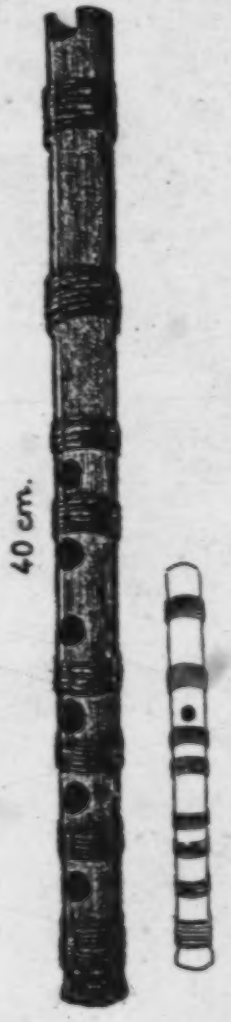


Fig. 9. — Quena.

Fig. 10. — a: Cross section of a flute with mouthpiece;
b: Cross section of a quena.

/184 cont./

534

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Thumb
19.8	22.6	25.7	28.9	31.8	35.0	1.65

The total length of the flute is 39.8 cm.

[177] We do not find the same disposition of the holes on pre-Spanish quena; according to all probability European influence has played a part here.

Flutes with mouthpieces. When the quena is played the current of air is shaped and directed with the lips and must be conducted against the beveled edge of the mouth to break up there and set the column of air in the pipe vibrating. For flutes with mouthpieces (Fig. 11) the formation of the current of air and the direction given to it are produced automatically; it is sufficient to blow and to control the strength of the air current. The air is led through a "vent" (see Figure 10, a /see p. 175/, which shows us a flute with mouthpiece in section) composed of the space between the walls of the pipe and a block of some material inserted in the opening of the flute. The air passes through this channel and strikes against the lower brim (lip).

[824] Čipaya flutes with mouthpieces are made of tola (Baccharis tola). These Indians /185/ make them themselves, taking an old one as a model to give them the distance between the holes. These flutes are made of a branch which is split along its entire length. The two halves are hollowed out and then joined again in such a way that the air cannot escape. Where a perfect joint could not be made, the chinks have been sealed with resin. Since it is difficult with the bushes at the disposal of the Čipaya to come across straight branches, most of the flutes are not straight. Some even have the shape of a segment of a circle, a form which is perhaps intentional (Fig. 8, H /see p. 173/).

Fig. 11. Flute with mouthpiece.

/173 cont./

*539 [396] 14. We are going to place a rim of totoras. 15. He attaches the rim of the balsa. 16. He tightens the rim of the balsa. 17. We are going to finish. 18. (The totora) is still a bit loose; we are going to tighten it a bit more. 19. All is finished. 20. Now the balsa is ready. 21. Let us go fishing [501] with the new balsa. 22. We are not going to hoist a sail? 23. We are not accustomed to use a sail; there is too little water. 24. We always use a boat hook manipulated by hand. [226] 25. Here is the stone which is attached to the large net so that the fish can enter. 26. The fish is going to enter (the net); now we are going to lift (the net) up and put it in the balsa.

Remarks

This text is divided into two parts. The first, 1 to 20, describes the making of balsas from totoras. The second is a succinct description of fishing with a net in the swamps of the Desaguadero.

*539 396 [824] To build their balsas the Uru use the Scirpus totora, which used to grow in abundance in the swamps of the Desaguadero and at numerous points on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Two Indians work at the same time on the con- [114] struction of a balsa. First they lay out the bunches of totoras on the ground, from which they make three spindles the length of the balsa, two large side ones and a middle one which is shorter and thinner; this middle cylinder, the "heart of the balsa," used to stabilize the craft, has passed unnoticed by practically all the authors who have concerned themselves [171] with the Uru. Only the fishers on the lagoon of Arapa, to the north of Lake Titicaca, who speak Keŝwa, build balsas, small and rather narrow, formed with two cylinders.

● [284] The totora of three cylinders is held in place with the aid of thin straw plaits (2-4), which hold the cylinders evenly between them. These straw ropes are tightened in a progressive and methodical fashion by two /174/ men, working alternately

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

224 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

233 **Herding.**—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the
231 swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

241 **Farming.**—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 **Food preparation.**—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white
[262] root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

273 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

276 Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.
171

HOUSES

342 Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed
[284] vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over
[354] the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and
[392] makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The
[184] Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isla of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skillful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

/80/

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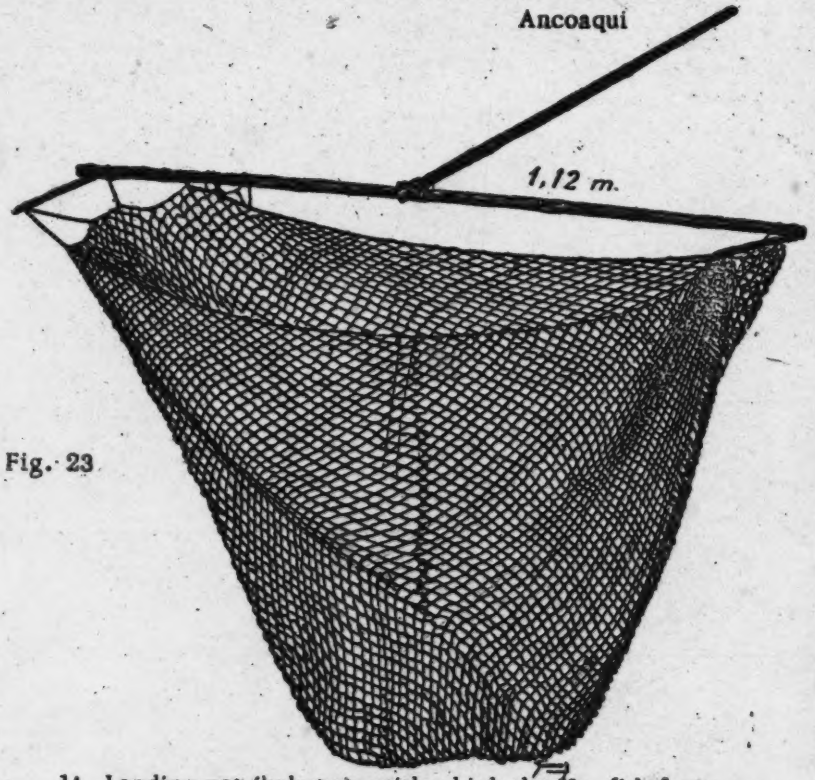
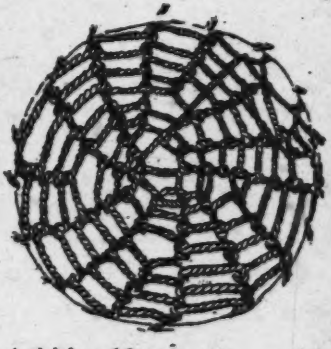


Fig. 23

1: Landing net (kakuna), with which the Uro fish from above their boats

285



2, 3: a wicker basket of spiral design (width: 18 cm.; height: 14 cm.).

/84 cont./

396 The construction of these rafts is rather simple, although
[147] it demands great manual skill and considerable expenditure of strength. The keel is composed of two enormous spindle-shaped sheafs of totora tied together. The natives obtain them by heaping up and intertwining stalks of totora of unequal length (Pl. IV, B /see p. 24/); they take care that the shortest remain inside and they cover these with progressively longer stalks until the total forms a compact mass. The rope which maintains each of these rolls /85/ /Fig. 25 appears here/ /86/ is crossed at each turn with that of the other sheaf. Two padded rims are then fastened to the edge, where they serve as a railing and add to the stability of the craft. The only instrument to which the Indians have recourse in making these rafts is a wooden hook (Fig. 24, 5 /see p. 10/), which they use to lift the straw rope, either to tighten it or to pass the rope which joins one sheaf to the other under it. This alternating play of the ropes obliges the balsa constructors to work always two by
501 two (Pl. IV, C /see p. 24/). For navigating, the Uro have long boathooks, l'okena, the wood for which comes from the eastern slopes of the Andes. The extremity of these poles ends in a sort of trident which prevents them from sinking too deeply in the mud of the lake (Fig. 25, 2 /see p. 15/).

285 Mats. The Uro Indians have several uses for the rush (totora) mats. They make the framework and roofs of their huts from it, their beds, the door of their house, and the sails of their balsas. Making them is not complicated. The totora stalks are spread out on five or six parallel ropes, stretched between stakes, and attached to them in little piles.

283 Rope-making. The Uro are obliged to constantly make rope, the indispensable accessory for the two industries which have just been mentioned. Different types of gramineous plants,
[824] among them the Stipa ichu Kunth, Festucha orthophylla Pilger, and F. dissiflora Griseb (1), furnish them with raw material of

1. Parodi, p. 4.

[text continues on p. 16]

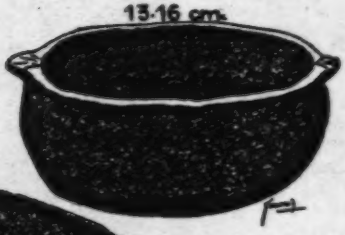
Carangas—
Chipaya

/167/

● 285

[415] →

13-16 cm.



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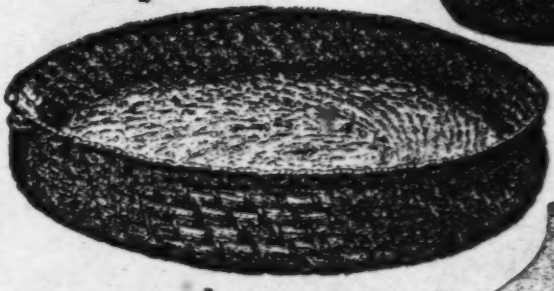
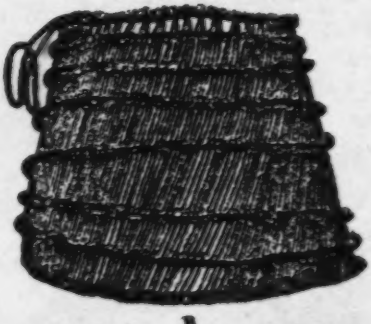


A

415

29cm

[414] ←



B

48cm.

E

[384] →

5cm.

C

F

/See captions on next page./

/167 cont./

Fig. 3. — Čipaya material culture. Basketry and pottery.

285 A: Basket with spiral basketwork used as a winnowing basket by the Čipaya; b: detail of the technique.

224 B: Fish-trap basket of the shore-dwellers of the Poopó marshes, used by the Čipaya to hold small objects.

415 C: Fragments of a broken bowl sewn together.

D: Cipaya bowl (čua).

E: Jug (105) reminiscent of the old aryballus, bought in Chipaya but of Aymara manufacture.

F: Jug (105) of old type (from a sketch).

/179 cont./

283 Rope-making. Ropes (koč, koms) are made of llama wool or straw, the former twisted or braided. To make them, the Čipaya take a bundle of raw wool in the right hand and twist it by hand and gradually roll around a ring held in the left hand. The ropes and cords of wool (kxiya, tuanda) serve as belts for the men or are used to fasten loads on the backs of llamas.

Straw ropes are used practically exclusively in the construction of houses, where they tie the different pieces of the framework of the roof and fasten down the straw which covers it.

[462] These ropes are made by the women: they hammer each handful of straw on the back of their overturned grindstones with a round rock provided with depressions which facilitate handling it. The stalks once softened are moistened. The woman twists some of them to make a strand (pʰit-čekta). She does the same with another pinch, then applies a rotating motion between her palms to these two strands. So that the straw will not dry out during the process, she holds it sheltered under a blanket and herself dampens her hands frequently.

285 Basket-making. Basket-making is a local industry in Chipaya. /180/ Their circular baskets (pats patz) with a small perpendicular rim are all of one type although of different sizes (Fig. 3, A /see p. 155/). They are composed of small coils of straw turned upon themselves in a spiral and held together by leather ties (Fig. 3, A, B). This technique is the one that ethnographers in the English language call "coiled."

297 439 The small openwork baskets (čiñi šepa) are, it appears, fish traps which the Čipaya buy from the people of Orinoca or Andamarca (villages situated near the banks of the Poopó).

/203 cont./

*171 286 2. Montell, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 85, p. 185.

method of stretching the warp is certainly an old process antecedent to that which is used today in Peru and Bolivia. Was it general in the pre-Columbian period? This is what I am inclined to believe without daring to assert it. It is very possible that the idea of planting two stakes to receive the posterior part of the material might be an innovation introduced during the centuries which followed the Conquest.

[415] The coca bags which the Čipaya Indians carry during certain festivals are covered with long hairs slipped between the threads of the material. This technique recalls that of the velvet which was known in ancient Peru, where it appeared on caps or headbands coming from the Ica region. In Santiago, Chile I had the occasion to see several headdresses found in the Atacama zone, the material of which was halfway between plush and velvet.

*171 285 Basketry. I do not know any basket of ancient Peru which resembles those of the Čipaya, yet their coiling technique is not only typical for the whole Andean zone but is certainly very old there. This technique, with different modalities, is still observable in Aymara and Uro baskets and, curiously enough, has survived in Tucumán Province in Argentina.

*171 415 Mugs. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian origin of the mugs known under the name kxeru (3). The Indians

[113] 3. On the pre-Columbian kxeru, cf. A. Posnansky, "Leyendas prehispánicas sobre dos 'kerus' /Pre-Spanish Inscriptions on Two 'kerus'/," Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 1a, 1931, pp. 93-180, and

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF2

edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skillful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946

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SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

[285]

[286]

PLATE 113.—**Uru and Chipaya houses.** *Top (left)*: *Uru* mat-covered house. *Top (right)*: Chipaya sod house. *Bottom (left)*: Uru house. Weavers in foreground. *Bottom (right)*: Door of a Chipaya sod house. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-A]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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[285]

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[287]

PLATE 117.—Uru and Chipaya Indians. *Top (left):* Uru man making a mat. *Top (right):* Chipaya man. *Bottom (left):* Uru man holding a fishing net. *Bottom (right):* Uru man. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P 582-E]

7:Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SP24 Uru SP24
Chipaya

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *oyo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *mallcus;* the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P. 22-B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

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407
501

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285
133

FIG. 1. Uru houses. *Above*, hut with corbelled reed roof; note crude plow at right side of hut and balsa poles by door. *Below*, typical round Uru house with mat roof, Ayaviri style rectangular house to rear; Desaguadero swamps in the background.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *iva* (Aymará *unku*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*makhi*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *alwiña*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulli*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *likara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *likara*), complete the male costume. The belt called *lani* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *wiku*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *tolo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *'ulpas* of Incaica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

(Aymara rectangular houses are ichu-grass thatched, not matted in the Uru fashion). Possibly because of the scarcity of wood, "rafters" in the roof are made of thick bundles of reeds, the main supports laid east and west, with secondary supports arched north and south. Some of the round houses have a roof framework made of bent sticks laid at right angles and grass-rope lashed at their crossings. On this framework of wood or *totora*-bundles, large mats, employing the full lengths of these giant reeds, are laid in two sections, so that there is a sort of pseudo-ridge to the roof, running from over the door to the west wall; this ridge is made by the meeting of the butts of the reeds. Grass ropes are laid over these mats to hold them down in the wind, and tied to wooden pegs in the mud walls of the house. There is no smoke-hole save the door, so the roof mats become speedily coated with soot and are quite waterproof. One must stoop in entering the door, but a man can stand upright in the center of the house. A mud "stove" is placed to the right (north) of the door, in which *Fola* (a kind of grass-brush), *yareta* (woody, turf-like masses of a semi-subterranean shrub), or *taksia* (llama-dung) are burned for fuel, owing to the absence of wood in the region. The cord used on the roof-mats to twine the ends of the single reed elements, is true two-element twisted rope, the torque of the twisted strands of wiry grass holding the whole together. The rope used in binding *balsas*, on the other hand, is of tightly plaited grass, possibly because the more laboriously made plaited grass rope has greater strength and durability than the twisted kind.

Anciently, according to the 18th century writer Alcedo, the Uru lived in caves and holes in the ground, but they share the round type of house with their congeners the Chipaya. The same round house type is seen elsewhere scatteredly in the *altiplano*. Forbes noted "beehive" houses in out-of-the-way places, and in the 16th and 17th century descriptions such as that of Cobo are indications that the round hut was the original Aymara style. Métraux noted round mud houses with corbelled domes like those of the Chipaya, at Kruliri, near Toledo; and villages of round houses may be seen the west of the railroad halfway between La Paz and Oruro.[10]

[10] David Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (Journal Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 2: 193-305, 1870), p. 233. Pentecostky, *op. cit.* p. 68, also says the Uru formerly lived in caves or holes dug in the ground, and roofed with mats. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1890), Vol. 4: pp. 166-167. Métraux (*JSAP* 28: 190-194) says that the rectangular huts of the Aymara are built after Spanish patterns, and that only the chiefs or Chipaya used them, others building the older round type of house. The round style is common, however, for tracing the pervasiveness of the Uru: Bruno noted Quechua storehouses of this kind in southwestern Bolivia, Nordenskiöld the same form among Aymara at Tunari, near Cochabamba (Otto Bruno [Letter to Nordenskiöld in 1913]; Erland Nordenskiöld, *The*

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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knives on the ends of poles, then stacked in shocks like corn, after they have been dried spread out in the sun. Nearly all able-bodied Uru males have quantities of these materials in various stages toward the manufacture of the complete boats. In their houses, even, in spare moments, men are continually braiding *ilu*-grass into tough ropes to bind the boats together.

Though shaped like a boat, the *balsa* is of course actually a raft. A handful of reeds is bound together and repeatedly thickened with more reeds as the middle of the cigar-shaped element is reached, then tapered off again into a point. The only tool used in the manufacture of this is a wooden hook (*kuylu*) with a handle at an acute angle to it, used to tighten the lashing of grass rope. A more tubular and thinner sheaf of reeds forms the keel of the *balsa*, and two of the fat cigar-shaped bundles are separately lashed to it, forming a sort of sea-sled type of hull, which cannot be overturned in a storm; the thinner ends of these cigar-shaped bundles are slightly raised fore and aft of the boat. To form gunwales, a still thinner and tubular sheaf of reeds is lashed (during its own round-and-round binding with braided grass rope) through the original lashing of the hull-elements. One of these gunwales (*pinlu*) is placed on each side of the top of the hull-elements to prevent splashing of water onto the occupants of the boat as it is poled along. The Uru *balsa* thus differs from the Aymára[36] type in that its two large basic elements are lashed to a central "keel" and not to each other (though the bulwark lacings are similarly looped through the lacings of the two hull-elements); it has therefore five instead of four elements. The Uru also rig their *totora*-mat sails with a slight difference from the Aymára. Sails, however, can only be used on the Lake and on the open river "before the wind" since the boat has no center-board and cannot tack. In the narrow swampways a punt pole or gaff (*takxi*) with a stubby trident at its end is used to push the boat along. The wood for these comes from the *yungas* of the Cordillera Real's eastern, tropical slopes. (See Posnansky, Fig. 83.) A complete *balsa* cost in 1937 from ten to sixteen *bolivianos*, then worth about 5¢.

Of Uru textiles we have already noted twined single-element *totora balsa*-sails, twined many-element mattress-mats of reed, fish- and bird-nets (which they themselves make of cord obtained in Guaqui from La Paz), and single-element twined reed mats of *totora*. Métraux has an excellent description (page 86) of the preparation by soaking, pounding, and rolling of the wiry grasses of the region (*Stipa ichu*, *Festucha orthophylla*, and *F. dis-*

[36] Lorenzo R. Parodi, *Los balsas usadas por los Aymaraes en el lago Titicaca* (Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. 11, Buenos Aires, 1937), pp. 145-149. Métraux' description (*JSAP* 27: 86) is of the Aymára type.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

sifiora) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *balsas*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *čawara*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*qawans*) llama-wool (*qawñi*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*waẓ'[i]*) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the heald-rod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymára. The women's wide girdles or *časi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gorros* of the Aymára type (Uru *škara*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.[28] The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymára at Guaqui, Tiahuanacu and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "sogas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Urù *bolas* (Aymará *liwi*, Uru *k'oñi*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

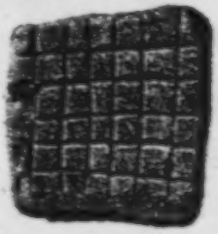
[28] Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the *altiplano* whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lucurmata on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *asiro* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.

286

286 WOVEN FABRICS--textiles; weaving, knitting, and netting techniques; special apparatus (e.g., netting needle, loom); products and their uses; specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

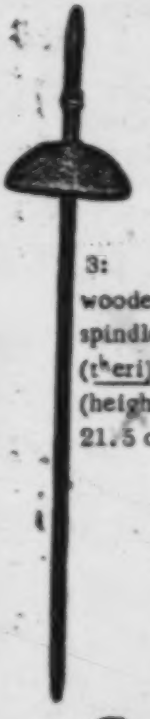
Clothing 39
Spinning 280
Industrial production of textiles 380
Description of power looms 400

/81/

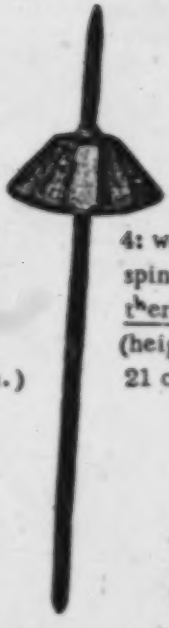


1: Stone polisher to soften leather (height: 7.5 cm. width: 7.2 cm; thickness: 3.5 cm.)

2: perforated stone used as ballast to sink bottom nets (diameter: 9.9 cm.) (GM. 31.44.44)

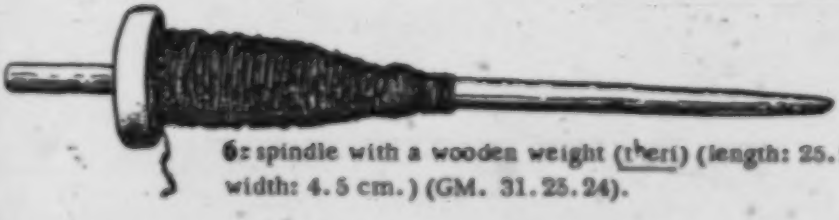


3: wooden spindle (t'eri) (height: 21.5 cm.)



4: wooden spindle t'eri (height: 21 cm.)

5: wooden hook which the Uro use for making their balsas (kaxlu, t'kaxi)



6: spindle with a wooden weight (t'eri) (length: 25.2 cm. width: 4.5 cm.) (GM. 31.25.24).

Fig. 24

/87 cont./

291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[174] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B /see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
291 tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).

286 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is,
[614] unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans, a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, Kunko,
[816] Kama, and Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities: anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai and xanača. These may be translated by their Aymara equivalent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
622 Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoraturčirčki:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čayk čapiti) who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

~~Plate II~~ I

342

A. Round house.

B. Woman sewing.

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[End Plate I]

1 [Plate I accompanied a different article not dealing with the Uru--Abstract]

1:Métraux--23 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uru SF24
Ancoaqui

~~Plate III~~

226
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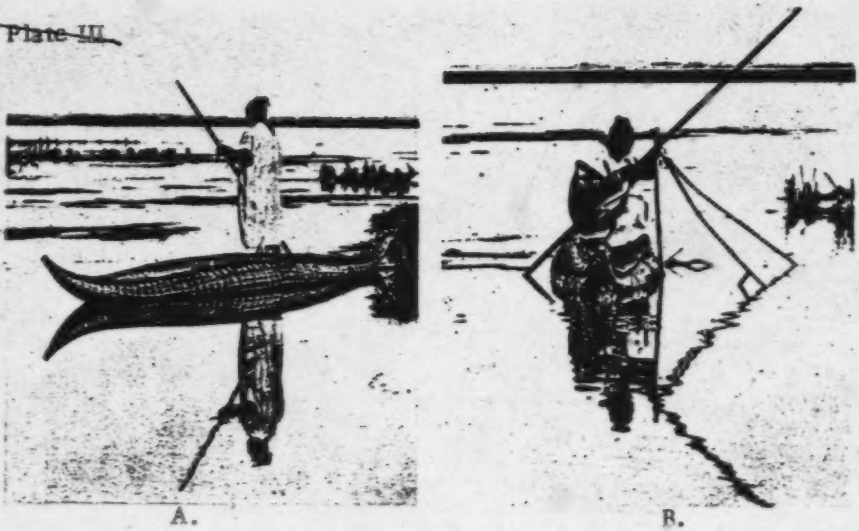
291



A. B.

Indians fishing with landing nets.

C. Woman weaving.

284
302

[End Plate 2]

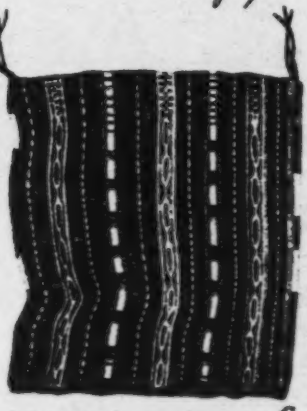
2:Métraux--138 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XVII

415
[531]

A



C

[537]

*[196]
[182]

D

[532]

B

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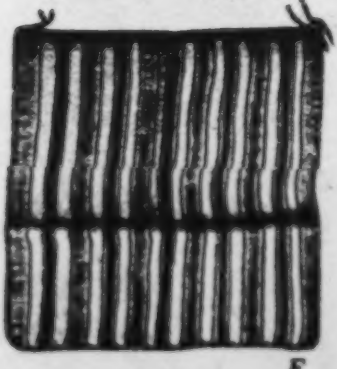

E

/See captions on next page./

2:Métraux--138a E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas–
Chipaya

Plate XVII

415 A. – Bowl used for making libations of chicha. The animals modeled at the bottom are a llama and its young.

B. – Small earthen llama venerated during certain festivals.

C. – Bag with red and yellow motifs (käls).

D. – Wooden mug used during certain religious ceremonies to offer up libations.

E. – Woven bag (käls).

Carangas -
Chipaya

/169/

411
293
415
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172
286
283
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415
411

/See captions on next page./

Carangas—
Chipaya

/169 cont./

Fig. 4.—Čipaya material culture. Weapons and technology.

A: Čipaya sling.

B: Bag (kăls) covered with white, black, and red tufts forming a sort of velvet.

C: Čipaya bola perdida.

D-E: Pre-Columbian bolas.

F: Weaver's dagger (wiña), of bone.

G: Čipaya loom for weaving women's belts (tsai).

H: Spindle with wooden weight /whorl/ (t'eri).

I: Bag (kăls) made from the skin of a llama's neck.

J: Weights of a modern Čipaya bola.

Carangas –
Chipaya

/170 cont./

These shirts are woven on old native looms according to a process which I would not be able to describe in a better way than through the words of the old Spanish chronicler, Cobo (1): "Over the

1. Historia del nuevo mundo,
Vol. IV, p. 160.

guaras (loincloth) the Indians put on an article of clothing without sleeve or collar, which they call uncu and we camiseta because of its resemblance to our shirts. Each of these garments is separately woven, for they do not know about making long strips of cloth as we do and then cutting them. The fabric from which they make this shirt is like a piece of ticking. It is three palmes /handbreadths/ wide and two varas (about 1.65 meters) long. They make the neck opening on the loom itself so that they will not have to cut it; when they take it off the loom they have nothing to do but fold it and sew the sides with the same thread they used for weaving, exactly as if it were a sack. They are careful to leave a space open on the sewn-up sides for the arms. This garment falls down to three or four fingers more or less above the knees." Cobo would have been able to complete his description, otherwise so exact, by adding that from the neck opening (ir(a)-kˣora), the thread of the weft, which has ended up in the middle of the cloth, is made to come back on itself. Proceeding thus on both sides for a certain length, the desired slit is obtained. Among the Čipaya the edges are crudely embroidered with yellow thread, the same moreover as the one which is used to sew the two sides of the shirt. The sewing stitches are treated as ornamentation.

/171/ Early travelers often mention the cloak when they describe the attire of the highlanders of Peru and Bolivia. This garment has completely disappeared from this region, vanquished by the poncho which, in contrast, is not in evidence either in the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries. In Chipaya the cloak (1)

1 [i.e., The men's shirts made of stiff woolen cloth – Ed.]

/171 cont./

this we call it manta, although the name the Indians give it is yacolla." /Cited in Spanish./

In the Museum of Ethnography in Göteborg there is a magnificent piece of fabric from the coast of Peru which presents the same characteristics as the modern Čipaya cloaks and which was certainly used in the same way. The Čipaya ponchos are very short and display no peculiarities. Their only decoration is the strips of colors.

The men's outfit is completed by a knitted wool helmet with two flaps which cover the ears (Fig. 5, C /see p. 163/). This is the famous Aymara chullo. The famous felt hats (skara) worn by both sexes in the entire Andean region has become more and more widespread in Chipaya as well as the pants. They have not yet succeeded in destroying the picturesque archaism of the area. The material for the pants is made in the village of Chipaya on a treadle loom of the European type.

Bags (kāls) are a part of Čipaya clothing because they are never separated from it. These bags, which are worn thrust through the belt, are of various kinds. There are small ones with vivid colors and geometric ornamentation, others which are simpler with black lines on a grey background, and finally large ones covered with a kind of velvet, i.e., with tufts of fine wool slipped into the weave (Fig. 4, B /see p. 157/). The last are the most expensive. I also bought in Chipaya small leather pouches /172/ made of the skin of a young llama's neck pulled off without a side incision and with the fur (Fig. 4, I).

Women's dress. The costume of the women has remained as it was several centuries ago, and it is the main factor which contributes to giving Chipaya its so clearly pre-Columbian look. Here also the general law which will have it that women, as soon as we abandon our urban centers, remain attached to tradition and to old ways more faithfully than men is verified.

/177 cont./

283 it is more advantageous to have thicker ones. With this aim two are twisted together during an operation which is analogous but made up of different movements. The rotation movement communicated to the spindle is carried out with the flat of the hand. The spinner, abandoning the spindle to itself, follows the thread with her right hand until it comes up to the spindle when she stops it to make it turn again.

286 Weaving. The loom (Fig. 4, C /see 157/) is essentially composed of two sticks between which the warp threads run. The latter are not directly fastened to the sticks but to a cord stretched along the latter. To weave, the Indian woman begins by tying the forepart of the loom to two short stakes (pat-kˣena) stuck in the ground in front of which she sits down (Pl. V, C /see p. 214/). Then she holds out the warp while tying the other end to her own body by means of a small cord (skos-koči, činuka) passed around her waist. The automatic raising of the warp threads (kauni) is done, as usual, with the help of small loops of thread placed between two wooden sticks (il'ava). Their crossing is maintained thanks to a stick (tokxura) placed behind this network. The motions of the Indian during the weaving operation can be broken down as follows: with the thumb of the right hand she presses on the warp threads behind the network of small loops to make the upper threads pass under. This motion ended she slides a wooden knife (skuas-para) pointed at both ends behind the network, between the warp threads. She puts it edgewise and with a bone dagger (Fig. 6, F) she packs and presses together the threads which have just crossed. She then darts through her shuttle (kˣos), which is nothing but a cleft stick around which she has rolled the weft thread (kuˣ). To cross the warp threads again, with the bone dagger (wiña, wikuña) she lifts the lower threads over the network, passes her wooden knife through again, and makes /178/ her shuttle again pass through the half-opening between the warp threads and begins again the operation described. The material is begun at the two ends of the loom and ends in the middle of the piece.

Carangas—
Chipaya

/178 cont./

386 To lay out the warp threads for a fabric made up of stripes, of different colors, the Čipaya have recourse to a very quick process. They put each of the differently colored balls /of thread/ into a bowl and pull successively on each of them.

386 394 Women's belts are made using a technique which differs from that of ordinary fabrics. Two weft threads are used. They are crossed alternately on each of the sides of the strip, as shown in Figure 7. A woman who wishes to weave a belt sits down on the ground legs extended, attaches the forepart of the loom (Fig. 4, G /see p. 187/) to her waist, and then stretches out the warp by placing her two feet against the stick at the opposite end.

Fig. 7. — Weaving with two weft threads going in contrary directions.

The Čipaya loom, which is of a very simple type, differs from those of the other Indians of the Sierra only by the absence of the two posterior stakes, for which the body of the weaver is substituted here.

[191] The Čiriguano /Chiriguano/ women use the same process to weave their belts. This system is certainly older than the modern one consisting of stretching the warp threads between four pegs.

The pieces of material used to make pants are woven on a treadle loom of Cerem wood locally made (Pl. V, D /see p. 214/).

[191] This apparatus, the only one of its kind in the whole village, completely resembles those which are to be seen on the pampa of Jujuy (1).

/178 cont./

1. Rosen (Eric von), Archaeological researches on the frontier of Argentina and Bolivia in 1901-1902. Stockholm, 1904. Pl. III. Fig. 1.

[199] Like the latter, it is a rather crude imitation of old Spanish models. In Chipaya it was always a man who used this loom, while those of the native type were strictly reserved for the women. The designs of the cloth produced on these treadle looms very much recall those of our mills: those with stripes, chevrons, and squares and of a dark color oscillating between grey, black, or brown. These materials are only used for cut garments, or European in origin, such as pants and jackets.

/179/ The textile art of the Čipaya is fairly poor, inferior even to that of the Uro of Ancoaqui. We have already seen that the ornamentation of the different pieces of their national costume is limited to white borders or stripes of two or three colors. Most of [197] their coca bags are hardly more varied in their decoration with the exception of a few rather small ones in bright colors which are a faithful imitation of the coca sacks which are widespread among the Aymara. The few rare Čipaya fabrics which have designs are themselves also nothing but bad copies of current Aymara models. The lack of initiative and experience of the Čipaya women is so great in this respect that they will hardly weave pieces of material with such a decoration however uncomplicated unless the latter have been begun in a neighboring Aymara village. They continue them exactly as a little girl who has been made a part of the work. These lessons in weaving given to the Čipaya women by their neighbors of a different race is a peculiar example of the way in which cultural exchanges between tribes can come about. I must add that the fabrics, [204] the weaving of which the Aymara entrust to the Čipaya women do not remain the property of the latter, who work on them only as laborers and badly paid ones at that.

/202 cont./

and Doering (Heinrich).
Kunstgeschichte des alten Peru
/Art History of Old Peru/.
Berlin. 1924. Pls. 99-101.

perpendicular rims, whose external circumference is often decorated with carving in relief. The shape and the stone in which they were often carved (serpentine) seems to exclude the possibility that they could have been used to grind any substance therein. In dimension and appearance they greatly recall the small vessels, also of stone, /203/ in which the Cipaya women husk quinua by treading on it. I am inclined to think that this was also the way in which these so-called circular mortars were also used.

Weaving. The Cipaya method which consists of attaching the loom to the belt instead of fastening it to two stakes as is customary elsewhere on the altiplano is also a survival of pre-Columbian times (1). On a lecythus of Trujillo, often reproduced,

1. This custom is not, however, general. Ronald L. Olson, "Old Empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, p. 11, publishes the photograph of a woman of Maccamachay whose loom is fastened to the waist, and so indicates on what the weavers of the equatorial altiplano still follow the same method.

where one sees some women in the act of weaving, one notices that they have their loom attached to the waist, passed around the body by means of a band covered with geometric designs (2). This

/203 cont./

#171 286

2. Montell, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 85, p. 185.

method of stretching the warp is certainly an old process antecedent to that which is used today in Peru and Bolivia. Was it general in the pre-Columbian period? This is what I am inclined to believe without daring to assert it. It is very possible that the idea of planting two stakes to receive the posterior part of the material might be an innovation introduced during the centuries which followed the Conquest.

[415] The coca bags which the Čipaya Indians carry during certain festivals are covered with long hairs slipped between the threads of the material. This technique recalls that of the velvet which was known in ancient Peru, where it appeared on caps or headbands coming from the Ica region. In Santiago, Chile I had the occasion to see several headdresses found in the Atacama zone, the material of which was halfway between plush and velvet.

#171 285 Basketry. I do not know any basket of ancient Peru which resembles those of the Čipaya, yet their coiling technique is not only typical for the whole Andean zone but is certainly very old there. This technique, with different modalities, is still observable in Aymara and Uro baskets and, curiously enough, has survived in Tucumán Province in Argentina.

#171 415 Mugs. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian origin of the mugs known under the name kxeru (3). The Indians

[173]

3. On the pre-Columbian kxeru, cf. A. Posnansky, "Leyendas prehispánicas sobre dos 'kerus' /Pre-Spanish Inscriptions on Two 'kerus'/," Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 1a, 1931, pp. 93-180, and

2:Métraux--214 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SP94 Uru SP94

Plate V

A. Čipaya woman leaning against a wall and treading quinua seeds to husk them.

B. Čipaya woman spinning.

C. Čipaya woman weaving.

D. Treadle loom for weaving made of cactus wood.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 118, *bot*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock.

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter. Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, soaked, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (*pato-colorado*) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skilled with slings, which are woven and braided of variolored llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden fences for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of *Inguinus* has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Anciently, it is said, the *Uru* went entirely nude, which is quite [291]
incredible in view of the bitterly cold winters in this region. The
essential male costume is like the pre-Columbian *Chipaya* uncu—a
sleeveless, sacklike garment made of an untailored textile, sewed part-
way up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the
top with an opening for the neck. This is woven of llama yarn on a [286] [199]
simple loar loom staked in the ground. Recently, most *Uru* males
have adopted trousers of the *Aymara* style: short, with a slit at the
level, and tailored of native homespun after a Colonial pattern. The
slit permits the trousers to be rolled up more easily when a man fishes
from a balsa or wades in shallow water. Leather sandals are some-
times worn when traveling, but people usually go barefoot. A knit [77]
wool cap, with *Aymara*-style earflaps, is sometimes topped with a
crude, *Aymara*-manufactured felt hat. A belt is sometimes worn,
and occasionally a thick woolen poncho. Caps woven of bird feathers [237]
were known in ancient days.

Uru women wear bleach llama-wool skirts, girdled at the waist, and
untailored bodices pinned at the top over each shoulder with a large-
headed copper pin (*tupu*). When traveling in cold weather, the
women wear woven woolen wimples over the head under the hat.

Women part their hair in the middle and wear it in two braids tied [302]
behind the back with vicuña-wool flats; only a few still wear the
ancient style "Tiahuca braids"—countless small braidlets all over the
head. Women wash their hair in fermented human urine. *Uru* [237]
men wear their hair short in quasi-European fashion or in an all-around
tropical bang.

HOUSES

The *Uru* are famous balsa builders (pl. 118, *bottom*). Their craft, [296]
though actually rafts made of totora reeds, are shaped like boats [301]
and are highly navigable even in narrow, shallow swamp-ways. The [304]
reeds are cut with knives attached to poles, then, after drying, are
stacked in shocks like corn. *Nearly every able-bodied Uru* male has
quantities of this material in all stages of preparation for balsas.
During spare moments in their houses, they are continually braiding
into green twigs into tough ropes to bind the reed bundles. The keel is
formed of a long, thin, tubular bundle of reeds; and separately lashed
to this keel are two thick, cigar-shaped pontoon-bundles. Each of
these pontoons is built up of reeds so arranged as to be very thick in
the middle of the boat and to have upcurved points at each end. An
acute-angled wooden tool with a groove inside one arm is used to
tighten the binding. To keep out small waves, gunwales consisting
of much thinner bundles of totora are lashed to the upper outside

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishgear, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

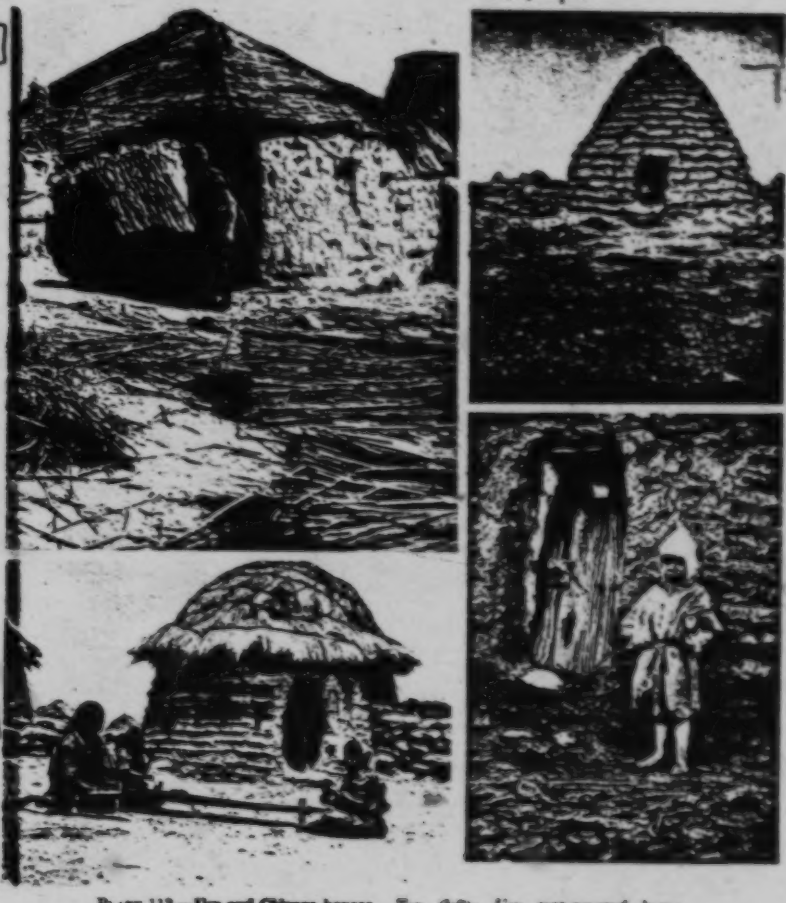
Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Santa de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946

SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

[285]



[286]

PLATE 113.—**Uru and Chipaya houses.** *Top (left): Uru* mat-covered house. *Top (right):* Chipaya sod house. *Bottom (left):* Uru house. Weavers in foreground. *Bottom (right):* Door of a Chipaya sod house. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-A]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya
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PLATE 116.—Uru and Chipaya weaving and spinning. *Top:* Uru woman working at native loom. *Bottom (left):* Chipaya man at upright loom. *Bottom (right):* Chipaya woman spinning. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-D]

Titicaca Ceramics I-3 (no date) 1360 EP34 Tit EP34

to individual families by the head of each society. The altitude and the high salinity make the land infertile, and crops are meager. Sowing is done with a spade or sometimes a pointed stick, pushed into the earth with a strong thrust, forming a dry hole in which the seed is planted.

The people of the Andes have been master weavers for long over a thousand years. Modern Chipaya women carry on the art on looms like the ones their ancestors used, weaving the cloth for the family clothes from hand-spun llama wool. The women dress almost exactly as their ancestors did when the Spanish arrived. The basic garment is a rectangular skirt, woven in one piece with an opening left for the head. The blue sleeves that are sewn on are a modern addition. A black or gray tunic (aruku) with a decorative border is worn over this, covering the whole body from the shoulders to the ankles. This ancient style has been slightly altered under ecclesiastical influence; now most of the women sew up the sides to form a sort of skirt. The sash is woven with black and white geometric designs. An ample mantle completes the costume. Long pins with large flattened heads are used to secure the mantle, and as ornaments in the hair. When the sun is strong, they protect themselves with an unkuña, a folded cloth worn on the head, exactly like the ones shown on Inca pottery.

Perhaps the most striking pre-Columbian survival is the famous "Titicaca coiffure" still worn by many of the

[P21-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *iva* (Aymará *awila*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*suklí*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *alwiña*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanaco Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulli*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *likara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *ckiawa*), complete the male costume. The belt called *lani* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *wika*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *lolo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *'ulpas* of Incaica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

sijkwa) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *halsas*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *lawara*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*pawaw*) llama-wool (*pawâ*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*wal'ja*) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the headrod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymara. The women's wide girdles or *lazi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gowns* of the Aymara type (Uru *lkawa*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.* The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymara at Guaqui, Tiahuanaco and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "sugas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Uru *halsa* (Aymará *lasu*, Uru *K'oki*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

* Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the altiplano whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lacaxaxata on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *waira* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

whereas the *bolas* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a pretextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *luto* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into *gorros*. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.[50]

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toskola* [cf. the term for penis, *sisi-* ("eggs") *skolo*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *Sulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Opdyke, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*kupaña*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *balsa*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *balsa*-making hook (*kaxla* or *'kaxi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[50] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 362, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

I /163 cont./
*651 hiring themselves out for a year. And this livestock, which is
*648 taken when they go to Potosí, is apportioned out in the distribu-
433 tion according to what each one in that subdivision /parçialidad/
I has, and sometimes the livestock of someone and that person will
*651 not go, and for others the reverse, so that, when it is understood,
*648 the system which they have among them has an accounting and a
657 reason and is very exact, for even when they are dealing with one
433 chuco of corn or with two pounds of wool, we see them make different portions when they divide it up, for it is a marvelous thing to see the diligence which they apply in order to insure that no one takes more than his share. I would regard it as very rash to consider changing a system which is so generally in use among new people, for which reason I wish to conclude with the distribution which the repartimiento of Pava /pava/ has made on four different occasions in my presence. These Indians were
I [162] taxed 11,000 pesos in silver, assayed and marked, without count-
U ing the other matters of food and cartage and sown land con-
[162] tained in the tax, and there must be, according to the old count
280 of the first inspection, more than 4,000 Indians, although there
964 is no doubt but that many concealed themselves, because the fishermen, who are what they call huros, cannot be counted and there are a great many of them, and even outside of their lands there are more than 1,000 of them normally hired out to make cloth. Of the huro Indians of this type, there is no doubt but that these are the best of all. I set forth the example in this
I repartimiento /164/ because there are three subdivisions
[631] /parçialidades/, one of these huro fishermen, who must be more than half, and some want to say two-thirds. The others are
U called casayas, and the other subdivision /parçialidad/ is cura
[651] Indians, from all of whom, in order to divide these 11,000 pesos, there assembled about 30 principal Indians and quipocamayos, who are their accountants, or marcamayos, and, when they start off, their representatives keep upon the ground the stones and grains of corn and beans by which they keep count by their customary system. In the end, in less than three hours time, before me,

Carangas-
Chipaya

/381 cont./

[521] [601] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

[342] [676] Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Chipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment • [687] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him [677] [678] enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming • [678] work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[702] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

[342] [678] [702] Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

Carangas - Cajaya

/156 corr./ The framework of the latter is actually formed by fagots

of tola (*Tola*, *Tolua*) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes (*waru*) (Pl. VI. 8 /see p. 215/). They are thrust in the holes of which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1. H /see p. 142/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are superimposed and are fastened at the intersections by solid ligatures. Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cerem wood /157/. /Figure 1 appears here/ /158/ in order to allow the roofers to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum (*pirina*) made of straw (*p'it*) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin covering, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are hoisted up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the faggots by means of a long wooden needle (*kapa*) threaded with straw cord (Fig. 1. A) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to encompass a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence of this thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the interweaving of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross surmounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house from the effects of lightening.

Furnishings. The interior disposition of Cajaya huts is most summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.143]

/86 cont./

000 1. Parodi, p. 4.

293 excellent quality. They pull them up with their roots, then put them in a pile, cutting off the two ends, and let them soak in
293 water. Then they crush them on a slab with hammer blows.
412 The latter is made of a stone put in a leather sheath to which a wooden handle is attached (Fig. 25, 1 /see p. 15/). There is no doubt that this handle is a recent innovation, and that the primitive hammers of the Uro, like all those of the Aymara of the conquest and of the modern Cipaya, were nothing more than a simple pebble with, at the most, somewhat of a depression to facilitate grasping it. Once the straw is flexible through the washing and hammering, it is rolled on the leg with the flat of the hand, following a process common to America as a whole.

291 Dress. The dress of the Uro is identical with that of the
171 Aymara, i.e., with very few exceptions, to that of the poor classes in practically all of Latin America: trousers, a shirt,
295 a felt hat, and a poncho. Almost all the Uro, however, still
[174] keep the "camiseta," the long woolen shirt which was once the /87/ national costume of the Indians who belonged to the Andean civilizations or who were subject to their influence (Fig. 25, 4 /see p. 15/). They rarely put it on nowadays, and only on my express request did those whom I photographed consent to slip this tunic over their ordinary clothes (Pl. V, A /see p. 25/).
291 They cover their heads with a wool helmet, whose pre-Colombian
294 origin is doubtful. The Uro formerly knitted them with thread made from the down of water birds. The Berlin Museum has a sample of these caps, the technique of which Dr. Th. Krickeberg was kind enough to study on my behalf. This examination led
[173] him to the conclusion that although the idea of spinning bird down is ancient, the knitting stitches are clearly European in origin.

291 The women are dressed like the Indian women of La Paz: several colored skirts put on one over the other, a dirty blouse barely hidden by a mantle closed over the chest, a felt hat, and

/87 cont./
sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient, pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B /see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt, which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).

Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

The information I gathered on their social organization is, unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans, a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titihana, Kunko, Kama, and Kuipe. The group is also divided into two moities: anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai and kataño. These may be translated by their Aymara equivalent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is derived from the word which designates this ornament (nerateruñoi: "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (tapk tapni) who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

Tübérose--22 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uro SF24
Abcsaqui

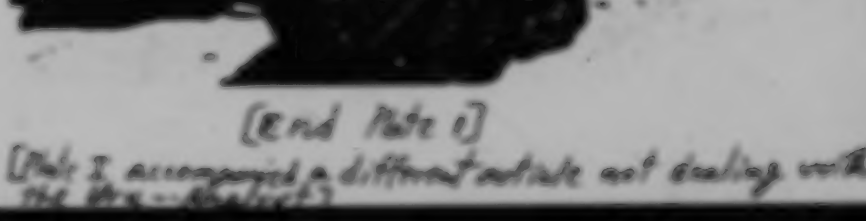
Plate I
A

3HR

A. Bound horse.

B. Warrior dying.

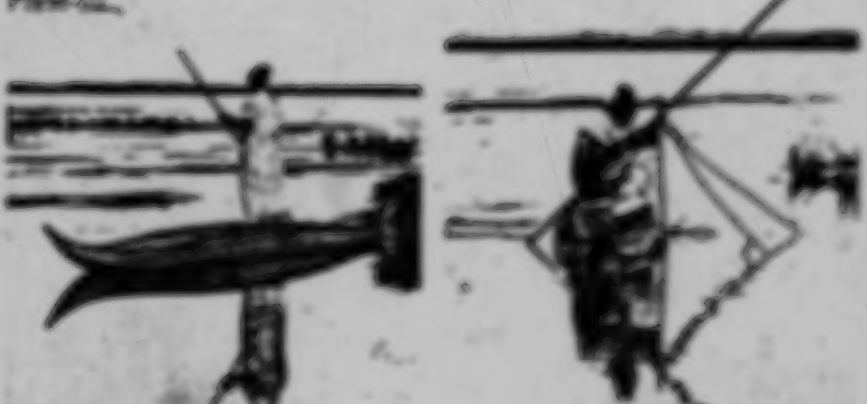
29/
302
2/1



[Read Plate I]

A [Plate I accompanied a different article not dealing with the Mix--Mixtecs]

Plate 41.



A. B.

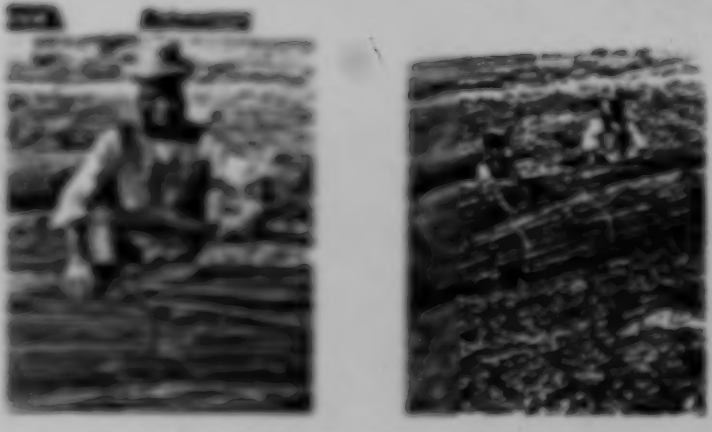
Indians fishing with landing net.

C. Manta wearing.

[End Plate 4]

Lothrop—24 [illegible] 8-6 (1851) 1898 SF24 Uru SF24
"Peru-qu." Ancoaqui

A. A boatyard for balsas at Ancoaqui.



B. Manufacture of balsas.

C. Manufacture of balsas.

1dMétraux--25 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uro SF24
Ancoaqui

A. Male Uro Indian dressed in [illegible] costume.

B. Uro woman.

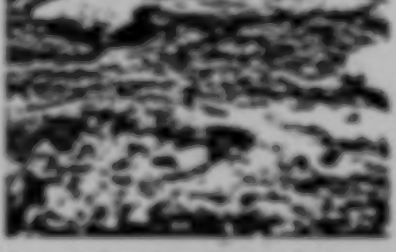
C. Little Uro girl.

D. Uro maiden.

[End Plate 4]

2:066mano--122 E-8 (1930-1931) 1931 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate XI



A.— [illegible] kneeling before a [illegible]

B.— [illegible] of a sheep.

C.— [illegible] of a Hamus libation of alcohol and offering of corn.

D.— [illegible] of a Hamus.

Livingstone—120 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SPG4 Um SPG4

Caranga-
Chipeya

Plate XII

A. —Festival of Cuadlemous Mission as a banner.

B. —Chipeya women feasting the Dry Rot a festival.

Dahomey--135 8-6 (1930-1931) 1931, 1936 SF34 Lev SF34

Plate XIV

Carnaval-
Cipaya

A. — Festival of the Carnaval (February 2). Dance around a hammer.

B. — Festival of the malfeu Indian bearing a drum near the effigy of a demon (malfeu).

C. — Cipaya Indian in prayer before the cupules containing magical substances.

D. — Cipaya Indian in his festival attire (wig, festive clothes, etc.).

Smithsonian--136 E-8 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate XV

Caranga:-
Chipaya

A. —Old Čipaya woman and her daughter.

B. —Čipaya woman spinning.

C. —Čipaya woman.

D. —Čipaya Indian dressed in a camiseta.

Carangas—
Čipaya

/168 cont./

223 411 191 In hunting water birds the Čipaya use a straw rope ending with a knot the size of a fist (Fig. 4, C /see p. 157/). This weapon corresponds exactly to the bola perdida of the ancient Patagonians, with the difference that among the latter the terminal ball was of stone. Aside from this the principle of these two weapons is the same. This is the first time that the bola perdida has been found elsewhere than at the southern end of South America. Its presence among the Čipaya is one more argument in favor of the archaic character of this culture trait.

223 411 The Uro Indians of the Desaguadero hunt the water birds which swarm in the totorales with bolas, two weights of which are wooden, and the third a small pyriform stone. The rope of this projectile is rolled up in very tough black thread. If the weapon does not reach its goal it floats on the water, and the Indians have only to pick it up with their balsas. /169/ /Figure 4 appears here./

/170/ Clothing

● 291 Men's wear. The essential piece of men's wear is a square shirt (ira) made of thick, stiff woolen cloth. It is a kind of sack with openings for the head and arms (Fig. 5, G /see p. 163/). As a result of its width the upper part of this shirt falls on the shoulders practically down to the elbow. The ira was formerly the only garment of the Čipaya, as it still is for young boys up to the age of ten. At a doubtlessly recent date, the Čipaya adopted the pants that they wear under their tunic. By making the latter bunch at the waist on a cord which takes the place of a belt for them, they have transformed it into a blouse, while keeping its original length which was enough to cover them down to mid-leg. The ira is the best product [531] of Čipaya textile art. The decoration of this article of clothing invariably consists of a blue border and small brown and white [386] strips separated by black lines. None of these dyes is aniline.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 158]

Carangas – Chipaya

/170 cont./

294 296 These shirts[1] are woven on old native looms according to a process which I would not be able to describe in a better way than through the words of the old Spanish chronicler, Cobo (1): "Over the

1. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, p. 160.

guaras (loincloth) the Indians put on an article of clothing without sleeve or collar, which they call uncu and we camiseta because of its resemblance to our shirts. Each of these garments is separately woven, for they do not know about making long strips of cloth as we do and then cutting them. The fabric from which they make this shirt is like a piece of ticking. It is three palmes /handbreadths/ wide and two varas (about 1.65 meters) long. They make the neck opening on the loom itself so that they will not have to cut it; when they take it off the loom they have nothing to do but fold it and sew the sides with the same thread they used for weaving, exactly as if it were a sack. They are careful to leave a space open on the sewn-up sides for the arms. This garment falls down to three or four fingers more or less above the knees." Cobo would have been able to complete his description, otherwise so exact, by adding that from the neck opening (ir(a)-kˣora), the thread of the weft, which has ended up in the middle of the cloth, is made to come back on itself. Proceeding thus on both sides for a certain length, the desired slit is obtained. Among the Čipaya the edges are crudely embroidered with yellow thread, the same moreover as the one which is used to sew the two sides of the shirt. The sewing stitches are treated as ornamentation.

291 [illegible] /171/ Early travelers often mention the cloak when they describe the attire of the highlanders of Peru and Bolivia. This garment has completely disappeared from this region, vanquished by the poncho which, in contrast, is not in evidence either in the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries. In Chipaya the cloak (1)

1 [i.e., The men's shirts made of stiff woolen cloth – Analyst]

Carangas-
Cajaya

291 /171 cont./

1. The specimen at the University of Tucumán is 1 meter long and 87 cm. wide.

(yakol'a) of pre-Columbian times still competes with the poncho. This fact thus comes to the support of Montell's thesis (2), which

[113] 2. Montell, Gösta. "Le vrai poncho, son origine post-colombienne /The True Poncho, Its Post-Columbian Origin/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Vol. XVII, 1925; Dress and Ornaments in Ancient Peru. Göteborg, 1929. pp. 237-244.

sees the poncho as a practically modern culture trait, at least for
[394] Peru. The Cipaya cloak is made of two strips of material sewn to-
291 gether and bound with piping. It is point for point the ancient
191 Aymara llacolla of which Cobo (3) has left us a description. In the

[113] 3. Cobo (Bernabé). Historia del nuevo mundo (Published for the first time with notes and commentaries by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada). Seville, 1893. Vol. IV, p. 160: "The cloak takes less work: they make it from two pieces, with a seam in the middle, two varas and a cuarta long, and a vara and three cuarta wide; it ends with four points or corners, like a woolen blanket /manta/ or coverlet, and because of

Curanges—
Chipaya

/171 cont./

this we call it manta, although the name the Indians give it is yacolla." /Cited in Spanish./

In the Museum of Ethnography in Göteborg there is a magnificent piece of fabric from the coast of Peru which presents the same characteristics as the modern Čipaya cloaks and which was certainly used in the same way. The Čipaya ponchos are very short and display no peculiarities. Their only decoration is the strips of colors.

The men's outfit is completed by a knitted wool helmet with two flaps which cover the ears (Fig. 5, C /see p. 163/). This is the famous Aymara chullo. The famous felt hats (skara) worn by both sexes in the entire Andean region has become more and more widespread in Chipaya as well as the pants. They have not yet succeeded in destroying the picturesque archaism of the area. The material for the pants is made in the village of Chipaya on a treadle loom of the European type.

Bags (kǎlis) are a part of Čipaya clothing because they are never separated from it. These bags, which are worn thrust through the belt, are of various kinds. There are small ones with vivid colors and geometric ornamentation, others which are simpler with black lines on a grey background, and finally large ones covered with a kind of velvet, i.e., with tufts of fine wool slipped into the weave (Fig. 4, B /see p. 157/). The last are the most expensive. I also bought in Chipaya small leather pouches /172/ made of the skin of a young llama's neck pulled off without a side incision and with the fur (Fig. 4, I).

Women's dress. The costume of the women has remained as it was several centuries ago, and it is the main factor which contributes to giving Chipaya its so clearly pre-Columbian look. Here also the general law which will have it that women, as soon as we abandon our urban centers, remain attached to tradition and to old ways more faithfully than men is verified.

Cayanga--
Chipaya

/172 cont./

291 Next to the skin the women wear a square shirt (almi'a), which is identical in form to the masculine shirt (ira), although narrower (Fig. 5, B /see p. 163/). It is wide enough to make the shoulder line fall on the arm. Blue sleeves are sewn to the shirt. This accessory is modern as is proved by the name manikam (from the Spanish: manga, sleeve) by which the Indians call it.

The Čipaya women wrap their bodies in a large piece of cloth (uñu) which they pass under the arms and the ends of which, lifted to the shoulders, are held together with a cactus spine or a silver pin (him, păs-him). This tunic is held at the waist by a large belt invariably decorated with brown and black chevrons (Pl. III, C /see p. 212/). Most of the women sew the lower part of this garment from the waist down on the side so as to make a skirt. This [90] innovation, post-Columbian in origin, dates from the beginning of [91] the Conquest and was imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities to safeguard the decency of their flock.

The uñu is made of material woven with great care, brown or black in color and ribbed. It is always adorned above and below with a beige strip with white stripes. A specimen at the Museum of Ethnography at the University of Tucumán measures 1.58 meters by 1.36 meters. Over this tunic is thrown a long brown or black mantle (talu) which falls down the back to the knees and which is pinned at the breast. This garment is still worn by all the women of [91] the Andean region (lliclla), but whereas the Aymara and Quichua [93] Indians like to make it with varied motifs and bright colors alternating, the Čipaya are satisfied to decorate it with a white strip crossed with fine dark stripes (Pl. I, A,B,C /see p. 210/). The mantle of the Čipaya women is, in addition, much longer than that of the other [91] Indian women of the altiplano. It is only on the banks of the Titicaca that I met some women whose lliclla were as long as in Chipaya. These Indian women no doubt came from some distant village in the interior.

/172 cont./

To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Čipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here/ /174/ a folded cloth (unkuña) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric identical to the mantle; like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip.

Style of Wearing the Hair

The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (skuru) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each other by small strings. On these strings are hung small bronze pendants (laurake), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/).

The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kits, pāz-kits, kxola), the round, flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 163/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two culture traits which are completely typical of Andean culture.

The women know no other toilette other than the care given their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity of redoing their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few friends who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kˣara) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig bristles (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in water with

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

Carangas - Calpaya

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/See captions on next page./

Caranga:-
Čipaya

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Fig. 5. – Čipaya material culture. Clothing and accessories.

A: Diadem spangled with glass beads.
B: Woman's shirt of white wool (almil'a).
C: Cap of knitted wool (čyi'ri).
D: Pin (pič-kin) which the Čipaya women stick in their hair.
E: Hairbrush (k'ara or čaxuña) of roots.
F: Hairbrush of pig bristle.
G: Man's tunic (ira).

Archives--193 E-9 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF34 Uro SF34

Cayagar-
Chipaya

Clothing. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian character of the shirt (ira) worn by the Čipaya. This garment was to some extent the national costume of all the Andean Indians, and their neighbors in warmer regions adopted it under their influence. On the altiplano the Uro of Ancoaqui (Desaguadero) are, with the Čipaya, the last Indians who still wear this tunic, whose Spanish name (camiseta) constantly recurs in the accounts of the first conquerors. Among the Uro the ira has been more and more supplanted by a simple jacket, and most of the men of this tribe do not have one any more or if they do, no longer think of wearing it. Within the confines of the Peruvian empire the camiseta is still in use among the Campa of Peru and, for a short time longer, among the Čiriguano. The Museum of Ethnography of the Trocadéro in Paris has a splendid blue cotton tunic which comes from the latter tribe (1).

1. On the subject of the tunic, cf. Montell, Dress and ornament, pp. 193-200; for the cape, ibid., pp. 200-202.

I have already had occasion to speak of the pre-Columbian origin of the cape and of its progressive disappearance provoked by the introduction of the poncho in the post-Columbian period. The wearing of the cape has been retained up to our day in certain remote regions of the Peruvian Sierra (2).

[113]

2. Alvarez (Angélica). "Anococoahua." Revista Universitaria, Cuzco, 15th year, No. 47, 1925, p. 19. — Yabar Palacio (Luis). "El Ayllu de Oqueros (Paucartambo). Revista de la Universidad del Cuzco, Cuzco, 11th year, No. 38, 1922, p. 91.

2bbfrasco--194 E-6 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 1936 Uru 1936

Cayapa-
chipaya
Aymara 1936

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The chuco, or helmet, of the Aymara and Cipaya is in my opinion of post-Columbian origin. From the heads of a good number of mummies in the chullpares in the neighborhood of Incara and Huachacalla I have recovered string caps, the technique of which has no connection with the knitting stitches of modern caps but many analogies with that of spiral basket-work (coiled basketry /Ref. in English/). The authors who make allusion to the Aymara caps of the sixteenth and seventeenth century never speak of the flaps that protect the ears, which is an argument more in favor of a recent date for this type of headgear. Here are the oldest descriptions which we have of the Aymara caps: "They wore on the head what they called in their tongue chucos, a kind of very tall sombrero without a brim, and in order that they could hold the head, they compressed and attenuated it /the head/ as high as they could, in memory, so that they had heads having the tall form of the volcano whence they departed" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 40). /Cited in Spanish./ "...the headdress, which till now has been chucos shaped like the crowns of sombreros without a brim, and for some years in this region all have relinquished them and wear sombreros" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 69). /Cited in Spanish./ (1)

1. On the Aymara cap, cf. Mason, Dress and ornaments, pp. 204-205.

The Uru Indians of Ancoaqui up to recent years spun the feathers of water birds from which they then created caps (2). One

2. Forbes, On the Aymara Indians, p. 282: "Around the lake of Titicaca I have seen socks and gloves for children made of the down of the waterfowl, which had apparently

Reference--155 S-S (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga:-
Chipaya

/156 cont./

been first spun into yarn and then knitted." /Cited in English./

of these has been preserved at the Museum of Ethnography in Berlin. Dr. Kirchberg, who was kind enough to examine it with care upon my request and to study its technique, has assured me that although the idea of spinning feathers is certainly old, the crochet stitch itself is typically European. This circumstance does not authorize us to place the feather fabrics of the Uro in the category of culture traits common to the north and south of the New World.

Minus the sleeves attached to the shirt and the sewing of the lower part of the tunic (uiku), the female costume of the Chipaya is entirely pre-Columbian and identical to that which the women of the Sierra were wearing in the sixteenth century. For evidence I wish to cite the following passages from Cobo (3):

3. Historia del nuevo mundo,
Vol. IV, pp. 161-163.

"The women's clothing, which serves as skirt and cloak, are two mantles: one they wear as a sleeveless cassock, as wide above /157/ as below, which covers them from the neck to the feet; they do not make a neck for the head to go through, and the way they put it on is by wrapping it around the body under the arms, and drawing the ends over the shoulders, they make them meet and fasten them with their pins. From the waist down they bind and constrict the belly with many turns of a wide, thick, and elegant band called chumpi. This shirt, or cassock, is called Anacu; it leaves the arms free and bare and remains open on one side; and thus, although one edge is folded a bit over the other, on walking the edges are turned a bit and opened from the chumpi, or band, downward, revealing part of the leg and thigh. Because of this now that they practice greater modesty as being Christians, they sew and close up the side to avoid such indecorousness. The other mantle is called Lliclla;

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#197 they wear it over the shoulders, and joining the ends over the breast
• 31 fasten them with a pin. These are their mantles, or cloaklets, which reach down to mid-leg, and they remove them to work and while they are at home." ..... "They encircle it (the head) with a ribbon the width of a finger, more or less, painted and odd, which they call Vincha, which hangs down the forehead. As a headdress they wear a piece of rich Cumbi called Pampacona, and they do not wear it stretched out but folded three or four times, so that it gets to be half a tercia in width; they put one end over the forehead, and giving a turn over the middle of the head, leaving the hair uncovered on the sides, the other end falls down the upper back." /Cited in Spanish./ (1)

1. On the clothing of the women of the Sierra during the Inca period. cf. Montell, Dress and ornaments, pp. 226-236.

[332] An aryballus from the Berlin Museum (V.A. 7896) is decorated at the base of the neck with a series of paintings depicting slightly stylized women. One could imagine oneself in the presence of the silhouette of a group of Cipaya women: without difficulty one distinguishes the tunic held at the waist by a large belt, the mantle falling on the back, and the folded napkin on the head in the style of a Neapolitan coif. This coif is also seen in the rather naive drawings of Huaman Poma de Ayala (2) and in some portraits of Inca

2. In Montell, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 83, p. 178; Fig. 97, p. 224; Fig. 98, p. 230.

princesses, wives of conquistadores, who are depicted on a scene in the church of the Jesuits in Cuzco, if I am not mistaken. The felt hat which is never absent from the head of Quichua or Aymara

2:866traus--197 E-6 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 6F24 Uru 6F24
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Chipaya

/197 cont./

women caused the disappearance of the folded napkin with which up to a short time ago they covered their heads exactly as the present-day Čipaya women (3).

3. Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 232.

Even in cases where historical documents may have remained silent on this /198/ subject, archaeology brings us proof that Čipaya female clothing has remained, even in the smallest details, just as it was before the Conquest. /Figure 12 appears here./

The excavations I made in the chullpas near Iscara some 20 kilometers from Chipaya gave me a large number of fabrics identical to those of the present-day Čipaya. The resemblance is such that the Indians themselves thought when they saw my collection that I was amusing myself by collecting rags they had thrown away. They did not hesitate once in identifying the clothing from which each fragment of archaeological fabric came by simply comparing it with their own material. A woman's belt (Fig. 12 /see p. 198/) which I extracted from one of these sepulchers is so completely similar in technique, design, and color to the belts in fashion today in Chipaya (Fig. 13 /see p. 198/) that I defy the most expert ethnographer to indicate the least difference between a modern specimen and an ancient one. Some fragments of urku which I was able to withdraw from the charnel houses which the chullpas are also bear witness themselves to the fact that the principal garment of Čipaya women has not varied since pre-Columbian days from the point of view of color as well as of the nature of the cloth. /Figure 13 appears here./

Are the picturesque little braids of the Čipaya women also a reminiscence of the past? The chullpas of Iscara and Huachacalla gave me a large number of female skulls to which the scalp still adhered. The disposition of the plaits and their number corresponded exactly to the fashion still in existence among our Indians. The small

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Fig. 12.--Fragment of pre-Spanish belt found in a chullpa near Incara (Carangas Province).

pendants depicting a female personage, or ipurake, found in Tiahuanaco bring to proof /191/ that in ancient ages of the Aymara civilization women already had their hair parted into an infinite number of small braids. This hair style was also that of the pre-Spanish populations in the Atacama Desert: Boman has in fact published the skull of a woman from Calama, which he describes in these terms: "The black, stiff hair is divided on top of the head and forms numerous plaits on each side, the ends of which /figure 14 appears here/ are tied with a woolen string. In each of these knots a strong cactus spine has been placed which serves as a hairpin. Certain Indians of the Bolivian Altiplano still arrange their hair in several plaits on each side, in the same manner as the ancient inhabitants of Calama." The women of the Anicocchua (Espinar Province) clan in Peru have kept up to recent years the custom "of dressing the hair in the back and of dividing the hair into a group of small, thin plaits joined together by strings of cotton or woolen thread which end in fringes, which gives them the appearance of a thick material. /200/ This hair style is called zalcapa, without doubt

Fig. 13.--Detail of a belt worn by Cipaya women.

Plate I

A. Young Cipaya girl

B. Cipaya couple in Sunday

C. Cipaya woman come to draw water from a canal and fleeing under a storm.

D. Little Indian girl holding a piglet.

Smithsonian—BAE B-6 (1650-1682) 1681.1936 SF04 Uru SF04

Plate III

A. Little boy 13 or 14 years old, an excellent salesman.

B. Young Čipaya woman.

C-D. Čipaya woman.

Smithsonian--214 E-5 (1930-1931) 1930, 1938 SI94 Uru SI94

Plate V

A. Čipaya woman leaning against a wall and treading quinua seed, to husk them.

B. Čipaya woman spinning.

C. Čipaya woman weaving.

D. Treadle loom for weaving made of cactus wood.

3:Vellard--6c D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

7. Uru with small fish net (tum kaku). Account III, 14 /see p. 12/.

8. Uru with big fish spear (Account III, 20 /see p. 12/).

3:Vellard--22a D, E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

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1. Andrés Vila and Luis Vila.

2. Old Uru woman about 90 years old.

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3. Old Uru woman.

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4. Manuel Inta, 80 to 90 years old.

5. Carlos Kispe, Uru-Aymara, 40 to 50 years old.

3-Vellard--41 D, E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate VIII

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10. Luis Vila, 80 to 90 years old.

11. Luis Vila, 80 to 90 years old.

12. Andrés Vila, 90 to 95 years old.

13. Andrés Vila, 90 to 95 years old.

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

101 between ou and o /French sounds/; or else urito (ourito), an affectionate diminutive, or chana wawa, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of hoslé or huslé, "bastard," without father or master," or on the other hand the very respectful one of haké waka, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives uru, uro, kotá-haké ("men of the Lake"), uma-hake ("water men"), and chaitka-uira ("fishermen") in Aymara; laguneros /"lake men", in Spanish; uru, uru-kuna ("Uru men"), cocha kuna ("men of the Lake"), kocha-la ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Chroniclers

101 175 Morua (Fr. Martin de)

...but since the peoples of Peru are many, very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the bigness of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull, as in Collao and other areas; [131] [262] because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and subsisted on the totora and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Puquinas, some of them or generally most raise livestock, and some live near the said 175 [062] [501] [991] [994] lake, intermixed with the said Uros; and these eat raw fish, which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they made a sort of jacket which they were accustomed to wear; [241] [242] [222] and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make houses, but they merely subsist on plants, although there also exists among them a seed similar to mijo which grows on

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/35 cont./

175 (Juan Alfonso Carrizo, Cancionero popular de Jujuy /Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy/, p. XV, Tucuman, 1935.)

/36/ Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada /Moral Chronicle/ of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

[162] [181] In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor Lorenço de Aldana gave us...; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uro Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscene and dark-skinned /renegrida/ they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. The chief [103] pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Volume I, p. 353.)

[162] [197] [181] This pueblo (of Challacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians who were being catechized by our Order.... These are crude Uro Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned /renegrida/, without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all [206] prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish in the lake of Paria...those who live on land /do so/ in [342] sepultures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails...the [137] Uro Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here [291] they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold [197] land) than some mats of these cattails.... Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion. [103] [197] There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a Priory with a subsidiary church of Uro Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away.... There is another pueblo four leagues

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Anciently, it is said, the *Uru* went entirely nude, which is quite incredible in view of the bitterly cold winters in this region. The essential male costume is like the pre-Columbian *Chipaya* uncu—a sleeveless, sacklike garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This is woven of llama yarn on a simple bar loom staked in the ground. Recently, most *Uru* males have adopted trousers of the *Aymara* style: short, with a slit at the heel, and tailored of native homespun after a Colonial pattern. The slit permits the trousers to be rolled up more easily when a man fishes from a balsa or wades in shallow water. Leather sandals are sometimes worn when traveling, but people usually go barefoot. A knit wool cap, with *Aymara*-style earflaps, is sometimes topped with a crude, *Aymara*-manufactured felt hat. A belt is sometimes worn, and occasionally a thick woolen poncho. Caps woven of bird feathers were known in ancient days.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts, girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at the top over each shoulder with a large-headed copper pin (tupu). When traveling in cold weather, the women wear woven woolen wimples over the head under the hat.

Women part their hair in the middle and wear it in two braids tied behind the back with vicuña-wool filets; only a few still wear the ancient style "Titicaca braids"—countless small braidlets all over the head. Women wash their hair in fermented human urine. *Uru* men wear their hair short in quasi-European fashion or in an all-around tropical bang.

BOATS

The *Uru* are famous balsa builders (pl. 115, *bottom*). Their craft, though actually rafts made of totora reeds, are shaped like boats and are highly navigable even in narrow, shallow swampways. The reeds are cut with knives attached to poles, then, after drying, are stacked in shocks like corn. Nearly every able-bodied *Uru* male has quantities of this material in all stages of preparation for balsas. During spare moments in their houses, they are continually braiding ichu grass into tough ropes to bind the reed bundles. The keel is formed of a long, thin, tubular bundle of reeds; and separately lashed to this keel are two thick, cigar-shaped pontoon-bundles. Each of these pontoons is built up of reeds so arranged as to be very thick in the middle of the boat and to have upturned points at each end. An acute-angled wooden tool with a groove inside one arm is used to tighten the binding. To keep out small waves, gunwales consisting of much thinner bundles of totora are lashed to the upper outside

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

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[226]

[291]
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[505]

PLATE 115.—**Uru fishing and gathering totora reeds.** *Top:* Man putting down a tripod fish net. *Bottom:* Towing bundles of reed with a balsa. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-C]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946

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Chipaya

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[289]

PLATE 117.—Uru and Chipaya Indians. *Top (left):* Uru man making a mat. *Top (right):* Chipaya man. *Bottom (left):* Uru man holding a fishing net. *Bottom (right):* Uru [illegible] (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[582-E]

Le Barr E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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[342]

PLATE 118.—Chipaya women. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-F]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Chipaya

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415
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[534]

PLATE 120.—**Chipaya country and Chipaya Indians.** *Top* (*left*): Chullpa, or ancient burial tower. *Top* (*right*): Woman shelling with feet. *Bottom* (*left*): Dancer. *Bottom* (*right*): Playing a game. (Courtesy Alfred MÉTRAUX.)

[P. 582-H]

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Uros, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *aire*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

6: Ruiz and Roca T-S (ca.1956) 1987 SF24 Urs SF24
Chipaya

mezcla con los kollas, puesto que se encuentran tipos de rasgos característicos de este grupo.

Aparte de sus actividades agrícolas y pastoriles, el rasgo más sobresaliente de este pueblo, es su religión que, si bien básicamente no difiere mucho de las creencias y ritos aymaras, se ha conservado en estado más puro. Su idolatría se caracteriza por la veneración y deifi-

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Mujer Indígena Chipaya.

cación principalmente de los accidentes geográficos como son las montañas, los ríos, las piedras, etc. Y aún parece haberles impresionado la torre de la iglesia, a la que denominan *Mallku Mayor* en el pueblo. Asimismo, desparramados en la población y sus alrededores, se encuentran pequeñas torrecillas o adoratorios llamados también *Mallkus*, que representan indistintamente, demonios y santos de la Iglesia.

Habiendo tenido el privilegio de convivir durante casi un mes con los chipayas, creemos encontrarnos en la obligación de dar algunas recomendaciones a las entidades gubernamentales que corresponda, en vista de la situación real en que se encuentra este valeroso pueblo que

[Spanish text continues on P. 218]

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characteristic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserved in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally

Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation.

[English text continues on p. 219]

Chipaya

Chipaya woman

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymara haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sun-dried brick, they build their houses of cane hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular beehive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called tola. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy wooden blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who need flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into chuño flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of [illegible] which are [illegible] by the heads of each [illegible].

Tribute Committee 1-4 (on deck) LIBRARY Chiapas

to individual families by the head of each society. The altitude and the high salinity make the land infertile, and crops are meager. Sowing is done with a spade or sometimes a pointed stick, pushed into the earth with a strong thrust, forming a dry hole in which the seed is planted.

The people of the Andes have been master weavers for long over a thousand years. Modern Chipaya women carry on the art on looms like the ones their ancestors used, weaving the cloth for the family clothes from hand-spun llama wool. The women dress almost entirely as their ancestors did when the Spanish arrived. The basic garment is a rectangular shirt, woven in one piece with an opening left for the head. The blue sleeves that are worn on are a modern addition. A black or gray tunic (aysu) with a decorative border is worn over this, covering the whole body from the shoulders to the ankles. This ancient style has been slightly altered under acculturational influence; now most of the women sew up the sides to form a sort of skirt. The sash is woven with black and white geometric designs. An ample mantle completes the costume. Long pins with large flattened heads are used to secure the mantle, and as ornaments in the hair. When the sun is strong, they protect themselves with an umbrella, a folded cloth worn on the head, exactly like the ones shown on Inca pottery.

Perhaps the most striking pre-Columbian survival is the famous "Tiwanaku coiffure" still worn by many of the

[P 21-A]

women. The hair is divided into innumerable tiny braids, each decorated with a small flat piece of bone, or a miniature bronze idol exactly like those found at Tiahuanaco.

Chipaya men wear a costume similar to the *ajsu* used by various Indians in eastern Bolivia. It resembles the shirt worn by the women, but is taller because it is square. In former times it was the only garment worn by the men; trousers are a recent addition. Colorful decorated pouches are always slung from the belt. The short striped poncho is known as the Chipaya *sapu*. The hair is cut short all the way around and is covered with a cap similar to the *chullo* of the Aymaras, the distinction lies in the broad ear flaps worn by the Aymaras in contrast to the smaller ones and the mark four cloth of the Chipaya caps.

Every Chipaya family owns at least one drum. These instruments are common in the altiplano, but the square shape of the Chipaya drum makes it unique. It is also unusually small, measuring six to eight inches on a side and about two inches in thickness. It is covered with tanned llama skin, stretched over a wooden frame. This instrument is thought to be pre-Columbian, since its unusual construction is so dissimilar to that of the drums introduced by the Spaniards. The Chipayas make two kinds of flutes. The straight Andean flutes are generally made of bamboo, which is brought from other regions and becomes brittle very quickly in the dry climate here.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-B]

[P. 21-B]

Fashions, hair-styles, and wigs of this Chinese world take an influence from dynasties

[3-18-C]

Chinese Communists [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Chinese

7:Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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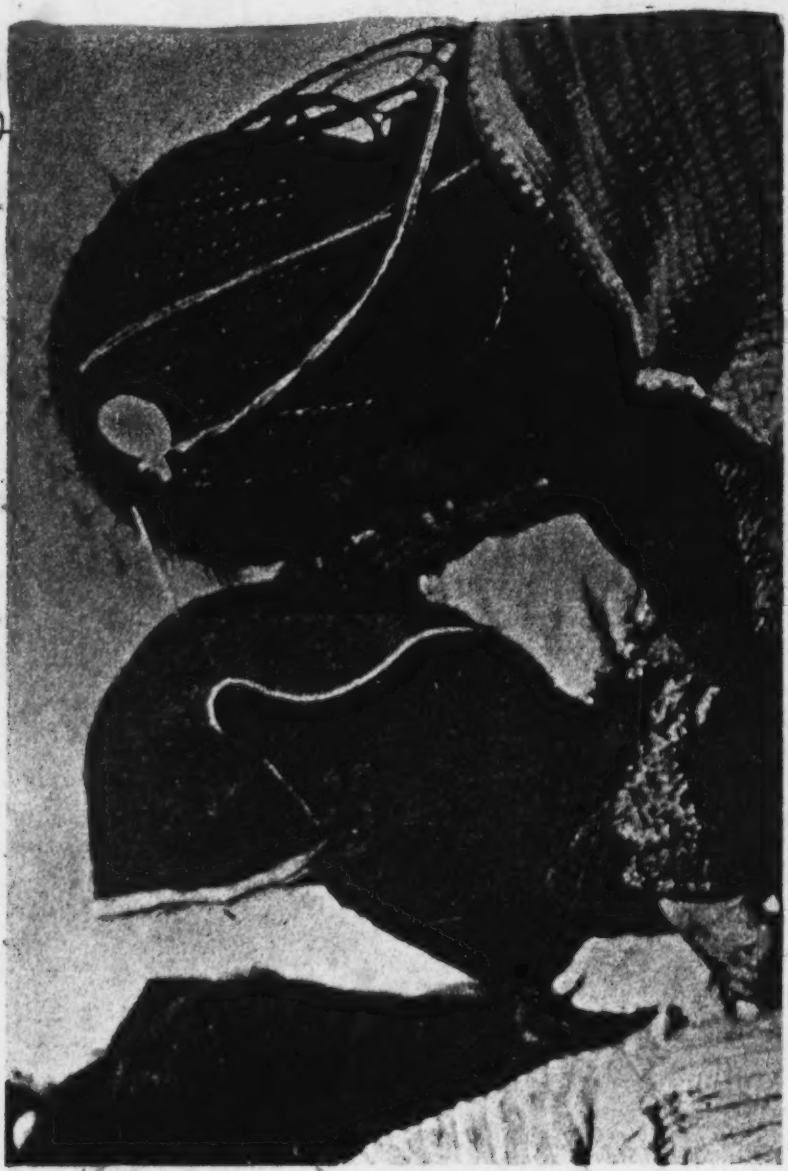

Woman displays braided hair style and pin, another the cloth worn on the head for protection from sun

[P.22-A]

Iru Itu

8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

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Fig. 1: The Uru lady who by unanimous consent had taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate.

[p. 305]

8:Pain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SP24 Uru SP24
Iru Ifu

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Fig. 2: The village church.

115
124
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Fig. 3: Our leading lady and her mother, who was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen.

[P. 306-A]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

Fig. 4:
An Uru fisherman.

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Iru Itu
8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

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Fig. 5: Uru woman sitting in front of her house.

Iru Itu
8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

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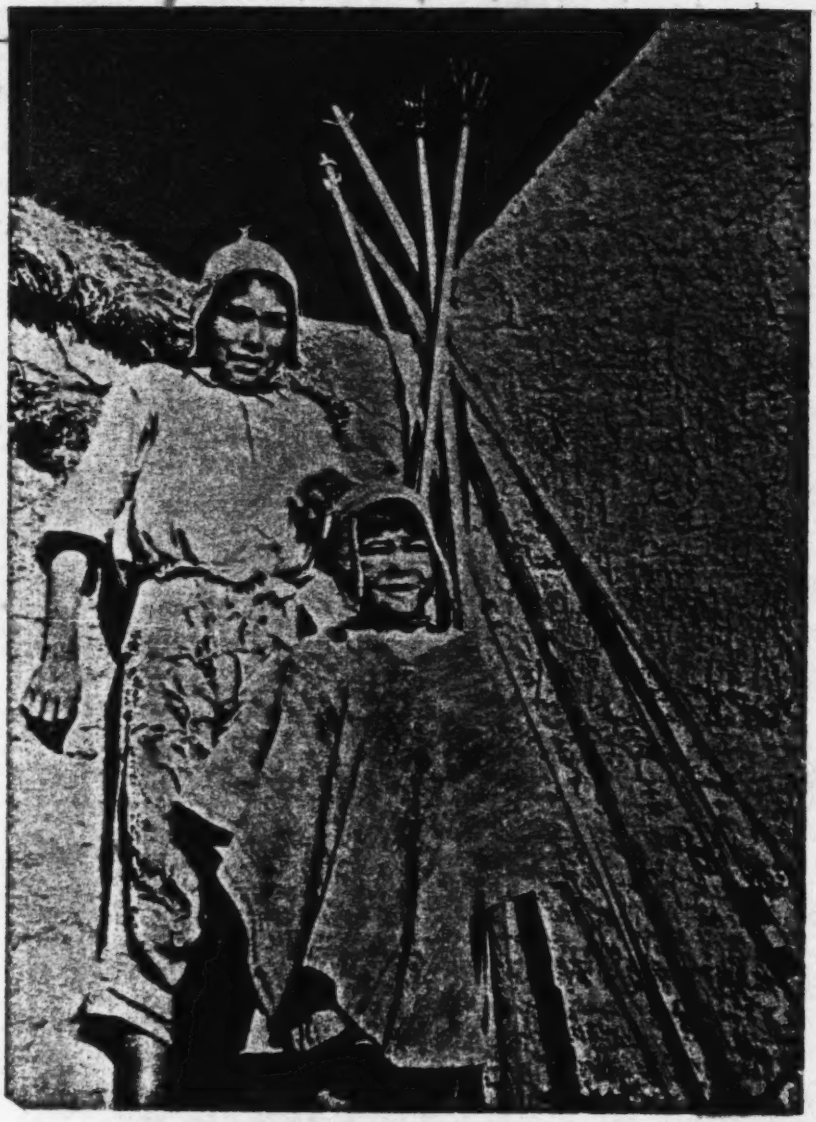

Fig. 6: Leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old.

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

Fig. 8: An Uru house made of adobe and covered with rushes.

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[p. 311-B]

Iru Itu

8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

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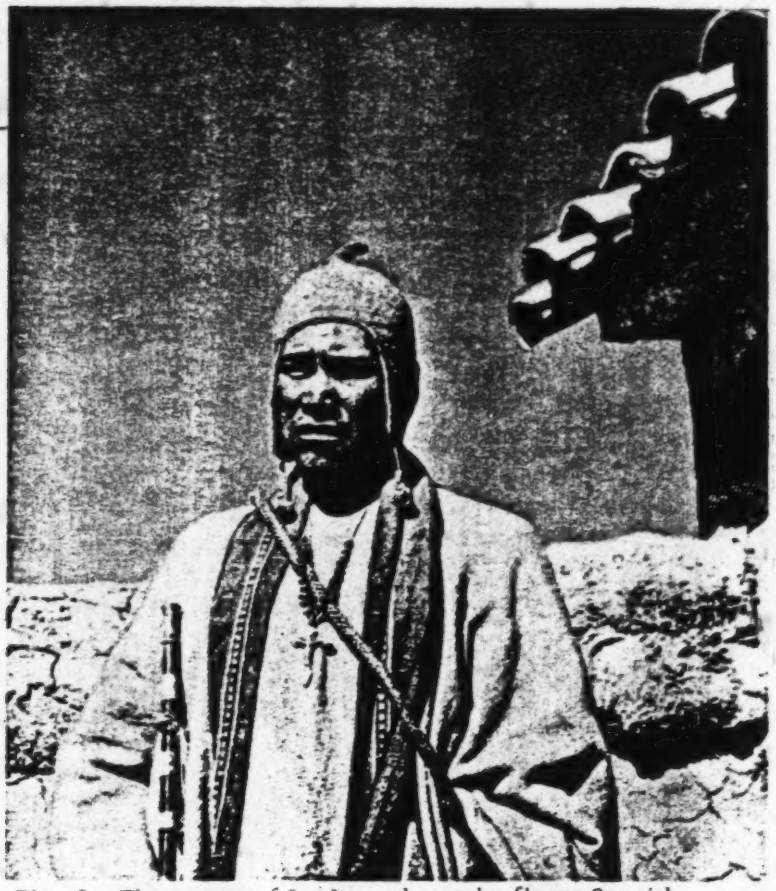

Fig. 9: The mayor of Iru Itu, who spoke fluent Spanish.

[p. 312]

B:Pain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

ANTIQUITY AND SURVIVAL 1 (1955) no. 4

126 angle. The professor was taking chest- and head-
114 measurements and making notes. We lunched,
123 giving the remains to the children, who looked so-
252 mewhat suspiciously at cold ham, tomatoes and cake,
and hid it away in their skirts. As we reached the
car, we saw a thin column of smoke, and, sure
enough, the village cooking fire was alight. Owing
[511] to the poverty of the village, they have only enough
fuel to light about one fire every day or every two
●[091] days. Two girls in scarlet skirts, little cotton jackets
which had once been pink, and dusty battered bow-
ler hats, crouching on all fours, played the part of
[415] bellows. The youngest, remarkably pretty and re-
markably dirty, ran into the house and emerged drag-
114 ging a large iron pot. My thirst for ethnology was
satiated and I felt sure that Vellard had already gone
into the question of Uru cooking, and that further

[p. 314-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

slant. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymára. Walle (page 155) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Posnansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient Amerindian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *čuñu*-consuming Aymára (*čuñu* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fishermen, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymára and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymára-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymára, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymára; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymára is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymára nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymára; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymára, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tututin*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[17] the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the

[17] In Neveu-Lemaire, *Los Lagos*, p. LXI.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *ira* (Aymará *unku*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*makči*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *almiła*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulči*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *škara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *iktara*), complete the male costume. The belt called *časi* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *urku*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *čočo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *kulpas* of Incasica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

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415

FIG. 2. Uru woman of Ancoaqui, Rio Desaguadero, Bolivia. Note *topo* or bodice-pin, Titicaca hair-style braidlet, door, pottery and thatching.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

siłora) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *bolsas*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *čewara*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*ɢawara*) llama-wool (*ɢawâi*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*waʔ[i]*) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the heald-rod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymára. The women's wide girdles or *časi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gorros* of the Aymára type (Uru *škara*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.[25] The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymára at Guaqui, Tiahuanacu and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "sogas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Uru *bolas* (Aymará *liwi*, Uru *kʻoñi*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

[25] Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the *altiplano* whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lucurmata on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *asiro* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

whereas the *balsa* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a protextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *luta* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into *garras*. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.[38]

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toskala* [cf. the term for penis, *sisi-* ("eggs") *skalal*] used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *tulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Opilvie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*kupaña*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *balsa*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *balsa*-making hook (*kayla* or *'kayi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[38] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 262, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

Fig. 25. — 1: Stone hammer (kxaxmaña) (length: 27 cm.); 2: end of the boathook which the Uru use to propel their cane rafts (t'okena); 3: bolas (skuni); 4: tunic of white wool which the Uro wear over their modern clothes for certain occasions (ira) (length: 1.05 m. width: 0.62 m

/86 cont./

1. Parodi, p. 4.

excellent quality. They pull them up with their roots, then put them in a pile, cutting off the two ends, and let them soak in water. Then they crush them on a slab with hammer blows. The latter is made of a stone put in a leather sheath to which a wooden handle is attached (Fig. 25. 1 /see p. 15/). There is no doubt that this handle is a recent innovation, and that the primitive hammers of the Uro, like all those of the Aymara of the conquest and of the modern Cipaya, were nothing more than a simple pebble with, at the most, somewhat of a depression to facilitate grasping it. Once the straw is flexible through the washing and hammering, it is rolled on the leg with the flat of the hand, following a process common to America as a whole.

Dress. The dress of the Uro is identical with that of the Aymara, i.e., with very few exceptions, to that of the poor classes in practically all of Latin America: trousers, a shirt, a felt hat, and a poncho. Almost all the Uro, however, still keep the "camiseta," the long woolen shirt which was once the /87/ national costume of the Indians who belonged to the Andean civilizations or who were subject to their influence (Fig. 25. 4 /see p. 15/). They rarely put it on nowadays, and only on my express request did those whom I photographed consent to slip this tunic over their ordinary clothes (Pl. V, A /see p. 25/). They cover their heads with a wool helmet, whose pre-Columbian origin is doubtful. The Uro formerly knitted them with thread made from the down of water birds. The Berlin Museum has a sample of these caps, the technique of which Dr. Th. Kruckeberg was kind enough to study on my behalf. This examination led him to the conclusion that although the idea of spinning bird down is ancient, the knitting stitches are clearly European in origin.

The women are dressed like the Indian women of La Paz: several colored skirts put on one over the other, a dirty blouse barely hidden by a mantle closed over the chest, a felt hat, and

A. Male Tho Indian ground [illegible]

B. [illegible]

C. [illegible] Tho girl.

D. [illegible]

[End Plate V]

Bodleian--GB E-5 (1830-1831) 1830.1838 MS4 Urs MS4

Carnegie-
Chiquito

/143 cont./

them devoutly when the cacique gave them to them. The latter also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of palms, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the back of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their supplient and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They were offered their alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /144/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never ceased to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the outgoing alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He had inserted a white and black sling around his body, from which long skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, held at a high pitch by some passing Ayoreos, at the level of his forehead, brandishing his white banner, he led the troop of musicians and

Stanford--97 S-S (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SP24 Uru SP24

Caranga: —
CA jaya

/769 cont./

which he added olive leaf and parrot plumules. The women, for their part, attached garlands of bread rings and pieces of cheese and fruit to the festive slings, while keeping watch over the vegetables and grain which they were boiling for the next day's feast. To encourage his helpers the alferez was generously giving an installment of the /???/ festival to come, and, libation after libation, the alferez, Officiant, and friends finally became drunk out of their minds.

During the night I was awakened by strange melodies which sometimes seemed very close to my hut, and sometimes vanished in the silence of the desert. Intrigued by these confused noises, I went outside and saw five or six young girls holding each other by the hand; led by a guitarist they were going through the village at racing speed, circling each hut. In spite of the rain, the cold, and the darkness of the night, they did not pause an instant to catch their breath; ever sadder, ever more monotonous melodies (transcribed below) were followed by intervals of silence and then taken up again a little later in the midst of pants of fatigue. In the huts and in the church, the Indians were offering up their libations, disfigured by their ponchos and heavy coverings. Silent and unmoving, illuminated by the dim lamps of their huts, they had the fantastic aspect of ghosts.

2:Métraux--109 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

/378 cont./

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Fig. 36. — A. Čipaya Indian in festival clothes. Notice the crown of flamingo eggs on the head. B. Čipaya Indian equipped to participate in the Carnival dances. On his back a wild duck secured by means of a festive sling and the straw bola perdida.

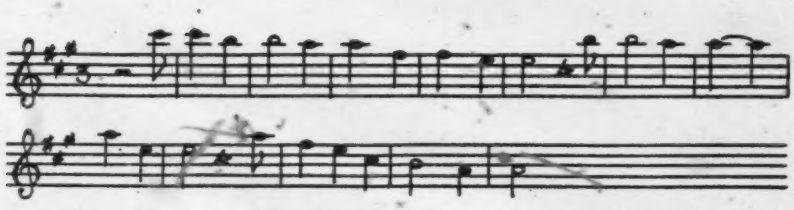
[825]
[824]
[982]

/379 cont./

529 292 301 As I said above religious or magical rites have only an insignificant place in this festival: the important survivals of paganism are displayed in the trappings of the participants (Pl. XIV, D /see p. 135/). The majority had put on around their bodies festive slings, whose fringes fashioned a motley costume for them. Some had encircled their heads with a kind of artificial hair made from horse hair (Pl. XVI, C /see p. 137/) or with crowns of flamingo feathers. The most original headdresses which I noticed were a few crowns made of flamingo eggs threaded together (Fig. 36, A /see p. 109/). A large part of the young people had water birds on their [273] backs, attached by the straw bola which had killed them (Fig. 36, B). The alferez's and alferezas had loaded on their backs the [554] sheaves of straw behind which they had presided at the festivals of the various mal'ku and samiri. The latter were decorated with garlands of fruit, cheeses, and bread. Those who had not had the honor of being alferez were no less decorated with ornaments symbolizing prosperity and abundance.

529 533

Tunes of the Carnival Dances



Carangas—
Čipaya

Plate XIV

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A. — Festival of the Comadres (February 2). Dance around a banner.

B. — Festival of the mal'ku: Indian beating a drum near the effigy of a demon (mal'ku).

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*796
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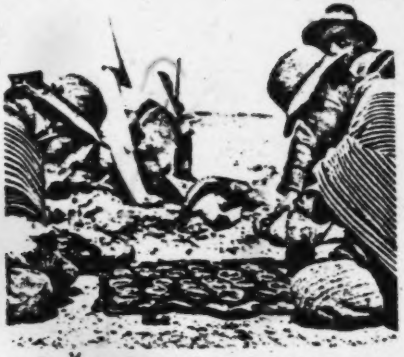

C. — Čipaya Indian in prayer before the cupules containing magical substances.

D. — Čipaya Indian in his festival attire (wig, festive slings, etc.).

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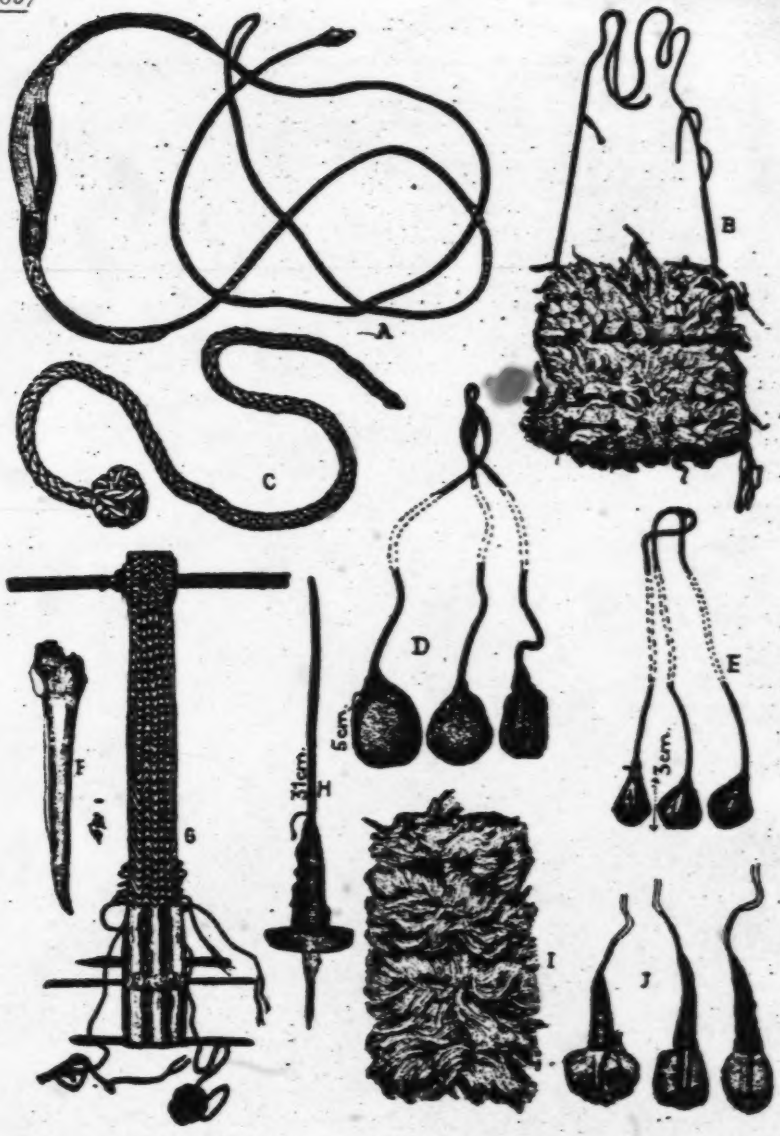

/See captions on next page./

/169 cont./

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Fig. 4.—Čipaya material culture. Weapons and technology.

A: Čipaya sling.
B: Bag (käls) covered with white, black, and red tufts forming a sort of velvet.
C: Čipaya bola perdida.
D-E: Pre-Columbian bolas.
F: Weaver's dagger (wiña), of bone.
G: Čipaya loom for weaving women's belts (tsai).
H: Spindle with wooden weight /whorl/ (t^{h}eri).
I: Bag (käls) made from the skin of a llama's neck.
J: Weights of a modern Čipaya bola.

/171 cont./

this we call it manta, although the name the Indians give it is yacolla." /Cited in Spanish./

In the Museum of Ethnography in Göteborg there is a magnificent piece of fabric from the coast of Peru which presents the same characteristics as the modern Čipaya cloaks and which was certainly used in the same way. The Čipaya ponchos are very short and display no peculiarities. Their only decoration is the strips of colors.

The men's outfit is completed by a knitted wool helmet with two flaps which cover the ears (Fig. 5, C /see p. 163/). This is the famous Aymara chullo. The famous felt hats (skara) worn by both sexes in the entire Andean region has become more and more widespread in Chipaya as well as the pants. They have not yet succeeded in destroying the picturesque archaism of the area. The material for the pants is made in the village of Chipaya on a treadle loom of the European type.

Bags (käls) are a part of Čipaya clothing because they are never separated from it. These bags, which are worn thrust through the belt, are of various kinds. There are small ones with vivid colors and geometric ornamentation, others which are simpler with black lines on a grey background, and finally large ones covered with a kind of velvet, i.e., with tufts of fine wool slipped into the weave (Fig. 4, B /see p. 157/). The last are the most expensive. I also bought in Chipaya small leather pouches /172/ made of the skin of a young llama's neck pulled off without a side incision and with the fur (Fig. 4, I).

Women's dress. The costume of the women has remained as it was several centuries ago, and it is the main factor which contributes to giving Chipaya its so clearly pre-Columbian look. Here also the general law which will have it that women, as soon as we abandon our urban centers, remain attached to tradition and to old ways more faithfully than men is verified.

to individual families by the head of each moiety. The altitude and the high salinity make the land infertile, and crops are meager. Sowing is done with a spade or sometimes a pointed stick, pushed into the earth with a strong thrust, forming a dry hole in which the seed is planted.

The people of the Andes have been master weavers for long over a thousand years. Modern Chipaya women carry on the art on looms like the ones their ancestors used, weaving the cloth for the family clothes from hand-spun llama wool. The women dress almost exactly as their ancestors did when the Spanish arrived. The basic garment is a rectangular shirt, woven in one piece with an opening left for the head. The blue sleeves that are sewn on are a modern addition. A black or gray tunic (*urku*) with a decorative border is worn over this, covering the whole body from the shoulders to the ankles. This ancient style has been slightly altered under ecclesiastical influence; now most of the women sew up the sides to form a sort of skirt. The sash is woven with black and white geometric designs. An ample mantle completes the costume. Long pins with large flattened heads are used to secure the mantle, and as ornaments in the hair. When the sun is strong, they protect themselves with an *unkuña*, a folded cloth worn on the head, exactly like the ones shown on Inca pottery.

Perhaps the most striking pre-Columbian survival is the famous "Titicaca coiffeur" still worn by many of the

[P 21-A]

women. The hair is divided into innumerable tiny braids, each decorated with a small flat piece of bone, or a miniature bronze idol exactly like those found at Tiahuanaco.

Chipaya men wear a costume similar to the *tipoy* used by various Indians in eastern Bolivia. It resembles the shirt worn by the women, but is fuller because it is square. In former times it was the only garment worn by the men; trousers are a recent addition. Colorful decorated pouches are always slung from the belt. The short striped poncho is known as the Chipaya cape. The hair is cut short all the way around and is covered with a cap similar to the *chullo* of the Aymaras; the distinction lies in the broad ear flaps worn by the Aymaras in contrast to the smaller ones and the much finer cloth of the Chipaya caps.

Every Chipaya family owns at least one drum. These instruments are common in the altiplano, but the square shape of the Chipaya drum makes it unique. It is also unusually small, measuring six to eight inches on a side and about two inches in thickness. It is covered with tanned llama skin, stretched over a wooden frame. This instrument is thought to be pre-Columbian, since its unusual construction is so dissimilar to that of the drums introduced by the Spaniards. The Chipayas make two kinds of flutes. The straight Andean flutes are generally made of bamboo, which is brought from other regions and becomes brittle very quickly in the dry climate here.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-B]

[P. 21-B]

7:Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24

Chipaya

291
293
301
302

Woman displays braided hair style and pin, another the cloth worn on the head for protection from sun

[P.22-A]

/86 cont./

000 1. Parodi, p. 4.

283 excellent quality. They pull them up with their roots, then put them in a pile, cutting off the two ends, and let them soak in
283 water. Then they crush them on a slab with hammer blows.
412 The latter is made of a stone put in a leather sheath to which a wooden handle is attached (Fig. 25, 1 /see p. 15/). There is no doubt that this handle is a recent innovation, and that the primitive hammers of the Uro, like all those of the Aymara of the conquest and of the modern Cipaya, were nothing more than a simple pebble with, at the most, somewhat of a depression to facilitate grasping it. Once the straw is flexible through the washing and hammering, it is rolled on the leg with the flat of the hand, following a process common to America as a whole.

291 Dress. The dress of the Uro is identical with that of the
171 Aymara, i.e., with very few exceptions, to that of the poor classes in practically all of Latin America: trousers, a shirt,
292 a felt hat, and a poncho. Almost all the Uro, however, still
[174] keep the "camiseta," the long woolen shirt which was once the /87/ national costume of the Indians who belonged to the Andean civilizations or who were subject to their influence (Fig. 25, 4 /see p. 15/). They rarely put it on nowadays, and only on my express request did those whom I photographed consent to slip this tunic over their ordinary clothes (Pl. V, A /see p. 25/).
291 They cover their heads with a wool helmet, whose pre-Colombian
294 origin is doubtful. The Uro formerly knitted them with thread made from the down of water birds. The Berlin Museum has a sample of these caps, the technique of which Dr. Th. Krickeberg was kind enough to study on my behalf. This examination led
283 him to the conclusion that although the idea of spinning bird
[177] down is ancient, the knitting stitches are clearly European in origin.

291 The women are dressed like the Indian women of La Paz: several colored skirts put on one over the other, a dirty blouse barely hidden by a mantle closed over the chest, a felt hat, and

Carangas — Chipaya

/170 cont./

294 186 These shirts[1] are woven on old native looms according to a process which I would not be able to describe in a better way than through the words of the old Spanish chronicler, Cobo (1): "Over the

1. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, p. 160.

guaras (loincloth) the Indians put on an article of clothing without sleeve or collar, which they call uncu and we camiseta because of its resemblance to our shirts. Each of these garments is separately woven, for they do not know about making long strips of cloth as we do and then cutting them. The fabric from which they make this shirt is like a piece of ticking. It is three palmes /handbreadths/ wide and two varas (about 1.65 meters) long. They make the neck opening on the loom itself so that they will not have to cut it; when they take it off the loom they have nothing to do but fold it and sew the sides with the same thread they used for weaving, exactly as if it were a sack. They are careful to leave a space open on the sewn-up sides for the arms. This garment falls down to three or four fingers more or less above the knees." Cobo would have been able to complete his description, otherwise so exact, by adding that from the neck opening (ir(a)-kˣora), the thread of the weft, which has ended up in the middle of the cloth, is made to come back on itself. Proceeding thus on both sides for a certain length, the desired slit is obtained. Among the Čipaya the edges are crudely embroidered with yellow thread, the same moreover as the one which is used to sew the two sides of the shirt. The sewing stitches are treated as ornamentation.

291 [ins] /171/ Early travelers often mention the cloak when they describe the attire of the highlanders of Peru and Bolivia. This garment has completely disappeared from this region, vanquished by the poncho which, in contrast, is not in evidence either in the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries. In Chipaya the cloak (1)

[1] [i.e., The men's shirts made of stiff woolen cloth — Ansley]

291 /171 cont./

1. The specimen at the University of Tucumán is 1 meter long and 87 cm. wide.

(yakol'a) of pre-Columbian times still competes with the poncho. This fact thus comes to the support of Montell's thesis (2), which

[113]

2. Montell, Gösta, "Le vrai poncho, son origine post-colombienne /The True Poncho, Its Post-Columbian Origin/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Vol. XVII, 1925; Dress and Ornaments in Ancient Peru, Göteborg, 1929, pp. 237-244.

sees the poncho as a practically modern culture trait, at least for [294] Peru. The Čipaya cloak is made of two strips of material sewn together and bound with piping. It is point for point the ancient 291 191 Aymara llacolla of which Cobo (3) has left us a description. In the

[113]

3. Cobo (Bernabé), Historia del nuevo mundo (Published for the first time with notes and commentaries by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada). Seville, 1893, Vol. IV, p. 160: "The cloak takes less work: they make it from two pieces, with a seam in the middle, two varas and a cuarta long, and a vara and three cuarta wide; it ends with four points or corners, like a woolen blanket /manta/ or coverlet, and because of

2:366traux--168 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

/178 cont./

To lay out the warp threads for a fabric made up of stripes, of different colors, the Čipaya have recourse to a very quick process. They put each of the differently colored balls /of thread/ into a bowl and pull successively on each of them.

Women's belts are made using a technique which differs from that of ordinary fabrics. Two weft threads are used. They are crossed alternately on each of the sides of the strip, as shown in Figure 7. A woman who wishes to weave a belt sits down on the ground legs extended, attaches the forepart of the loom (Fig. 4, G /see p. 157/) to her waist, and then stretches out the warp by placing her two feet against the stick at the opposite end.

Fig. 7. — Weaving with two weft threads going in contrary directions.

The Čipaya loom, which is of a very simple type, differs from those of the other Indians of the Sierra only by the absence of the two posterior stakes, for which the body of the weaver is substituted here.

[171] The Čiriguano /Chiriguano/ women use the same process to weave their belts. This system is certainly older than the modern solution consisting of stretching the warp threads between four pegs.

The pieces of material used to make pants are woven on a treadle loom of Cerem wood locally made (Pl. V, D /see p. 214/).

[171] This apparatus, the only one of its kind in the whole village, completely resembles those which are to be seen on the puna of Jujuy (1).

Caranga:-
Chipaya

/178 cont./

1. Rosen (Eric von), Archaeological researches on the frontier of Argentina and Bolivia in 1901-1902. Stockholm, 1904, Pl. III, Fig. 1.

[199] Like the latter, it is a rather crude imitation of old Spanish models. In Chipaya it was always a man who used this loom, while those of the native type were strictly reserved for the women. The designs of the cloth produced on these treadle looms very much recall those of our mills: those with stripes, chevrons, and squares and of a dark color oscillating between grey, black, or brown. These materials are only used for cut garments, or European in origin, such as pants and jackets.

/179/ The textile art of the Čipaya is fairly poor, inferior even to that of the Uro of Ancoaqui. We have already seen that the ornamentation of the different pieces of their national costume is limited to white borders or stripes of two or three colors. Most of their coca bags are hardly more varied in their decoration with the exception of a few rather small ones in bright colors which are a faithful imitation of the coca sacks which are widespread among the Aymara. The few rare Čipaya fabrics which have designs are themselves also nothing but bad copies of current Aymara models. The lack of initiative and experience of the Čipaya women is so great in this respect that they will hardly weave pieces of material with such a decoration however uncomplicated unless the latter have been begun in a neighboring Aymara village. They continue them exactly as a little girl who has been made a part of the work. These lessons in weaving given to the Čipaya women by their neighbors of a different race is a peculiar example of the way in which cultural exchanges between tribes can come about. I must add that the fabrics, the weaving of which the Aymara entrust to the Čipaya women do not remain the property of the latter, who work on them only as laborers and badly paid ones at that.

Zubiaurre--194 E-9 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 5924 Uro 5924

Cayapa-
Chipaya
Aymara 5F5

/196/

The chuco, or helmet, of the Aymara and Chipaya is in my opinion of post-Columbian origin. From the heads of a good number of mummies in the chullpares in the neighborhood of Ivaca and Huachacalla I have recovered string caps, the technique of which has no connection with the knitting stitches of modern caps but many analogies with that of spiral basket-work (coiled basketry /Ed. in English/). The authors who make allusion to the Aymara caps of the sixteenth and seventeenth century never speak of the flaps that protect the ears, which is an argument more in favor of a recent date for this type of headgear. Here are the oldest descriptions which we have of the Aymara cap: "They wore on the head what they called in their tongue chucos, a kind of very tall sombrero without a brim, and in order that they could hold the head, they compressed and attenuated it /the head/ as high as they could, in memory, so that they had heads having the tall form of the volcano whence they departed" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 40). /Cited in Spanish./ "...the headdress, which till now has been chucos shaped like the crowns of sombreros without a brim, and for some years in this region all have relinquished them and wear sombreros" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 69). /Cited in Spanish./ (1)

1. On the Aymara cap. cf. Mansell, Dress and ornaments, pp. 204-205.

The Uro Indians of Ancoaqui up to recent years spun the feathers of water birds from which they then created caps (2). One

2. Forbes, On the Aymara Indians, p. 282: "Around the lake of Titicaca I have seen socks and gloves for children made of the down of the waterfowl, which had apparently

Dinference--190 E-8 (1930-1931) 1930.1936 OFDA Lbr OFDA
Carnegie-
Chaya

/190 cont./

been first spun into yarn and then knitted." /Cited in English./

of these has been preserved at the Museum of Ethnography in Berlin. Dr. Kricheberg, who was kind enough to examine it with care upon my request and to study its technique, has assured me that although the idea of spinning feathers is certainly old, the crochet stitch itself is typically European. This circumstance does not authorize us to place the feather fabrics of the Uro in the category of culture traits common to the north and south of the New World.

Minus the sleeves attached to the shirt and the sewing of the lower part of the tunic (aba), the female costume of the Cipaya is entirely pre-Columbian and identical to that which the women of the Sierra were wearing in the sixteenth century. For evidence I wish to cite the following passages from Cobo (7):

8. Historia del nuevo mundo.
Vol. IV, pp. 181-183.

"The women's clothing, which serves as skirt and cloak, are two mantles: one they wear as a sleeveless camisk, as wide above /191/ as below, which covers them from the neck to the feet; they do not make a neck for the head to go through, and the way they put it on is by wrapping it around the body under the arms, and drawing the ends over the shoulders, they make them meet and fasten them with their pins. From the waist down they bind and constrict the belly with many turns of a wide, thick, and elegant band called chumpi. This skirt, or camisk, is called Anacu; it leaves the arms free and bare and remains open on one side; and then, although one edge is folded a bit over the other, on walking the edges are turned aside and opened from the chumpi, or band, downward, revealing part of the leg and thigh. Because of this new that they practice greater modesty as being Christians, they sew and close up the side to avoid such inconveniences. The other mantle is called Lliella;

Ayacucho-2 D.E-4.5 (no date) 1909-1960 1910s 1920s 1930s
[16th Century]

[illegible] /

101 between *ca* and *a* /French *canard*/ or else *wiña* (*wiñay*). An affectionate diminutive, or *chaca wawa*, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of *huiñi* or *huiñi*, "bastard," without father or master," or on the other hand the very respectful one of *huiñi wiña*, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives *uro*, *uro*, *kotá-kotá* ("men of the Lake"), *uro-kake* ("water men"), and *kuilla-uro* ("fishermen") in Aymará; *kapasuma* /"lake men", in Kjechua *uro*, *uro-kuna* ("the men"), *cocha kuna* ("men of the Lake"), *cocha-ja* ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Chroniclers

[10] Mena (Fr. Martín de)
116 ...but since the peoples of Peru are many very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the regions of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull, as in Collao and other areas, because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and subsisted on the roots and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Pequinas, some in farms or generally most raise livestock, and some live near the said lake, intermixed with the said Uros, and these eat raw fish which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they make a sort of jacket which they wore outermost to water; and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make houses, but they merely remain on plains, although there also people among them, a good number to visit, which [illegible]

9:La Barre E-4,3 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *iru* (Aymará *unku*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, not only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*waikh*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "unisex" (Aymará *alwaña*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanaco Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulli*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *likura*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *ikuna*), complete the male costume. The belt called *kusi* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akse*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *weka*, but clothing in general is called *chiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *kolo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *'olpas* of Incaica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

/174 cont./

U 302 rotten urine. This liquid, which smells horribly of ammonia, is an excellent cutter of grease, the only thing which can give some U [514] suppleness to their greasy mop. This peculiar washing made me understand the reason why there was a receptacle in a corner of all the Čipaya huts which the master of the house used as a chamber pot and whose contents he guarded with care. When I assert that this toilette is the only one which the Čipaya women practice, I U [515] exaggerate nothing. Throughout their lives they never wash and their skin is covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Their clothes U [516] are equally unclean and tattered, and only during festivals do they put on a new urku or mantle. /175/ /Figure 6 appears here./

/176/ Technology

A 323 U 415 Inf [439] Ceramics. The pottery of the Čipaya Indians is not indigenous. It comes to them from the Aymara who trade it (Fig. 6 /see p. 165/). The center of this industry is situated near Parinacota in Carangas Province where banks of clayey earth are found. I shall always regret not having been able to visit this locality to observe the making of ceramics on the spot. Without any doubt I should have discovered there the survival of ancient pre-Columbian techniques since the form of the vessels and jugs coming from this place is exactly that with which we are familiar from Andean archaeology. Aryballus (luč) are still shaped there as in the times of the Inca empire, and other receptacles which reproduce ancient types characteristic of this part of the altiplano (Fig. 3, E-F /see p. 155/). A U 482 It is not only in the style of these ceramics that we ascertain the influence of pre-Columbian models, but in the very manner in which the aryballus is carried on the back is a continuation of old Inca traditions. By means of a rope of llama wool ingeniously interlaced, the women bear the large aryballoid jugs on the back, exactly like the Indian depicted on a Chimu vase.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 166]

/117 cont./

197 had to manifest itself through the intermediary of Aymara. The Uro dialect of the Čipaya is thus an ailing language in the process of disappearing in the future that I believe to have saved from oblivion, if not in its entirety, at least to a great extent.

133 137 The territory. The physical envionment is that of the puna (Pl. VI, A /see p. 30 /) artificially altered by man. If one arrives in Chipaya coming from the north, one traverses for almost a day an uninterrupted succession of sand dunes, to which some tufts of long, hard gramineous plants (iču, Stipa ichu (Jarava) or the black, twisted stalks of tolas (Baccharis Lepidophyllum and other Compositae) cling. Once the dune area has been crossed the terrain becomes completely flat, and the rarer tolares alternate with the mossy swellings of yareta (Azorella). In places the vegetation disappears completely, but the most sterile parts are adorned with some Alpine flowers, which make imperceptible spots of color against the greyness of the ground. The Indians are [301] not disdainful of them. I remember having seen them gather [324] bunches of them during a festival to stick in their hair or to decorate [134] the images of saints. The aridity of this sandy soil manifests itself with an intensity which becomes more and more acute the closer one comes to Chipaya territory. The boundary is marked by the complete disappearance of the plants mentioned above and by the appearance of stunted grass, thinly sown, which hardly [311] reaches a few centimeters in height. These wretched pastures are 312 the product of human industry. The Čipaya obtain them thanks to a system of irrigation that would do honor to their spirit of enterprise were it not the necessary condition of their existence in this environment. Using canals, some of which are almost two meters deep and three meters across, they have diverted a part of the waters of the Lauca River and conducted it by secondary branches across the entire extent of their territory. During the rainy season and the period of great floods, they provoke inundations by raising a few dams here and there. The water fertilizes the sands of the

/119 cont./

133 No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence
182 the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly was credited to it there can be no doubt that Cipaya mythology would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the
[52] Carangas deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness: "these bare plains where we live," such is the expression which
133 most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an impression of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes in a pale stroke.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous without the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Cipaya worship, is not visible from the village itself, Cerro Camacha, hiding it from sight.

136 The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina) (Phoenicopterus andinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly disdained by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining themselves in red against the brilliant blue of the puna sky. The
237 Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the
825 great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated
[182] with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I
● [301] have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of flamingo eggs threaded together.

/343 cont./

*796 them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter
677 also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

692 The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the
692 other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex
516 came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They
[273] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

627 Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the out-
535 going alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He
[292] had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He
[301] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold
824 at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead.
939 Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

/352 cont./

*796 The saints and mal'ku were requested with more insistence to grant the Čipaya a good year, without dry spells or frost, in the course of which the flocks would multiply. At a given moment [824] all left to gather little mountain flowers with which the men [301] decorated their hats and the women their braids. They also spread bouquets on the small tablecloths covered with coca. "The flowers bring luck," they replied to the question I put to them on this subject.

Shortly before sunset all those present knelt in a line before the chapel, whereupon the Officiant took the box containing Santiago /James/ and put it on the head of each of the faithful. He left it there during an entire prayer, doing the same for all, and did not proceed to the next person until the hoofs of Santiago's horse had been respectfully kissed. On the way back they stopped in front of every chapel as before to kneel, this time to the east. Several times I noted that before getting up again, the men, and more especially the women, touched the ground with the hand and then brought it to the mouth.

Espíritu Mamani put a pinch of copal or incense on the east side of the niche with which each oratory is provided.

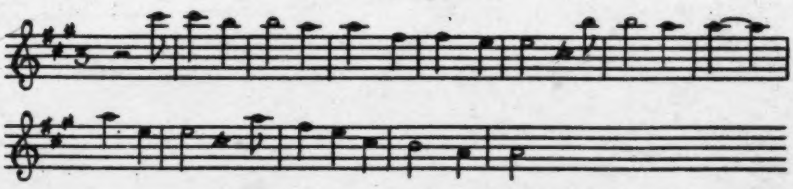
When the group arrived at the village it headed first toward the chapel of the saya tuanta and on their knees went around the cross placed near the threshold. They then reached the church, where they performed the same ceremony, accompanied with prayers and chants. The Officiant, who had armed himself with censers, put them under the noses of the faithful as if to make them inhale the fragrant smoke which was released from it.

[202] On the next day the saya was awakened by the beating of a drum as on the day before. All the inhabitants hastened to reach the surroundings of the alferez' house to take part in the feast that [264] the latter, aided by his relatives, had prepared. The women ate squatting in front of blankets on which various types of hash had been spread out. The men carried off their rations in the flaps of their poncho or their cape. When the feast was finished the

/379 cont./

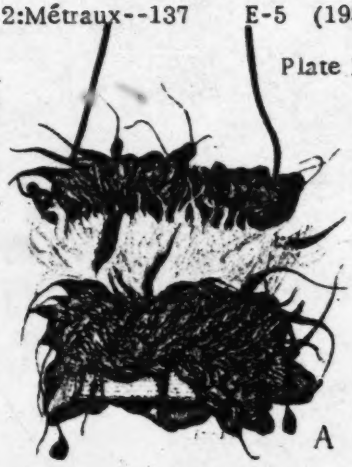
527 292 301 As I said above religious or magical rites have only an insignificant place in this festival: the important survivals of paganism are displayed in the trappings of the participants (Pl. XIV, D /see p. 135/). The majority had put on around their bodies festive slings, whose fringes fashioned a motley costume for them. Some had encircled their heads with a kind of artificial hair made from horse hair (Pl. XVI, C /see p. 137/) or with crowns of flamingo feathers. The most original headdresses which I noticed were a few crowns made of flamingo eggs threaded together (Fig. 36, A /see p. 109/). A large part of the young people had water birds on their [273] backs, attached by the straw bola which had killed them (Fig. 36, [554] B). The alferez's and alferezas had loaded on their backs the sheaves of straw behind which they had presided at the festivals of the various mal'ku and samiri. The latter were decorated with garlands of fruit, cheeses, and bread. Those who had not had the honor of being alferez were no less decorated with ornaments symbolizing prosperity and abundance.

527 533 Tunes of the Carnival Dances



2:Métraux--137 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XVI



A

B

C

D

E

F

A. – Coca bag covered with a sort of "velvet" and used only during festivals.

B. – Festive sling.

C. – Wig worn by the men during festivals.

D. – Sacred stick (kamana-para).

E. – Rope cross hung on the roof of the huts.

F. – Perforated potsherds used as money during the festival of the alasita.

/172 cont./

291 To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Čipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here/ /174/ a folded cloth (unkuña) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European [53] peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric identical to the mantle; like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip.

Style of Wearing the Hair

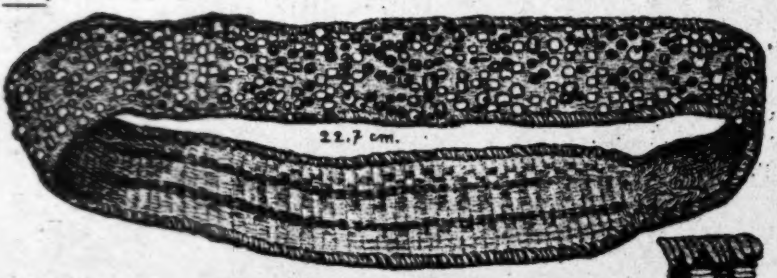
302 The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (skuru) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each 301 other by small strings. On these strings are hung small bronze pendants (laurake), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/).

The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kits, pāz-kits, kxola), the round, flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 163/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass [171] beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two culture traits which are completely typical of Andean culture.

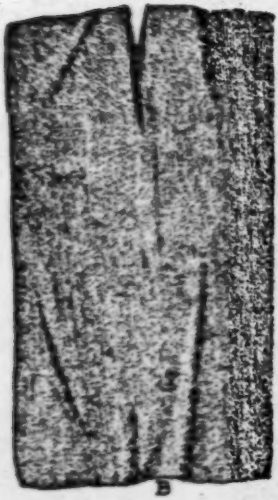
302 The women know no other toilette other than the care given [42] their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity [324] of redoing their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few [339] friends who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kˣara) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig bristles (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in rotten urine. [TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

/173/

301



A



B

C

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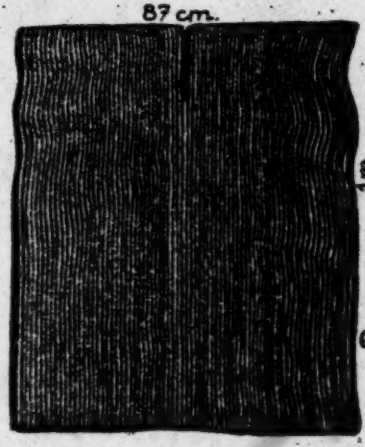

G

E

F

/See captions on next page./

/173 cont./

29
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412
53
824
134

Fig. 5. — Čipaya material culture. Clothing and accessories.

A: Diadem spangled with glass beads.
B: Woman's shirt of white wool (almil'a).
C: Cap of knitted wool (čul'u).
D: Pin (păz-kits) which the Čipaya women stick in their hair.
E: Hairbrush (kˣara or čaxraña) of roots.
F: Hairbrush of pig bristle.
G: Man's tunic (ira).

/187 cont./ With the exception of the
534 bamboo splinters placed against each tube, these syrinxes are very
[191] like the rather similar ones which have been discovered at Arica and also like the Panpipes used by the Indians of the area northeast of the Andes in our day.

As for the small syrinx with two tubes, it is too simple an instrument to be considered at great length. In any case, up to the present its equivalent has been found nowhere.

[192] /188/ Aymara influence and through its medium that of Europeans have been strongly exerted on their musical instruments, just as on the rest of their culture. This penetration can be very simply explained when one thinks that aside from tola, they have no other material out of which they could make a musical instrument, and that they are obliged to import those that they use for their festivals.

Objects for purely ceremonial use

796 There are a certain number of objects which I acquired among the Čipaya, whose use is purely ceremonial and which should be
[126] examined in a special chapter. These are, in the first place, the festive slings, several specimens of which I was able to get (1).

1. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, B.

These slings are passed over the wrist or carried crossed on the chest of individuals participating in the dances during great clan or tribal
[301 337] festivals. Another accessory of the Indians on these occasions is the wig made of horsehair (2).

2. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, C.

/194 cont./

U
*171
A
342

the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and inns were long and square and the wood was brought from the Yungas." /Cited in Spanish./

U
*171
[113]
[114]

On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

U
571
621

The estancias of the Čipaya explain the formation of the small social units also called estancias, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayl'u, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

U
*171
312

Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Čipaya to fertilize their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

U
*171
411
[30]
[178]

Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

U
[964]

Near Iscara, in the chullpares, I found bolas rolled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 157/).

/200 cont./

*191 because of the tripartite division of the hair on the skull (1)."
302

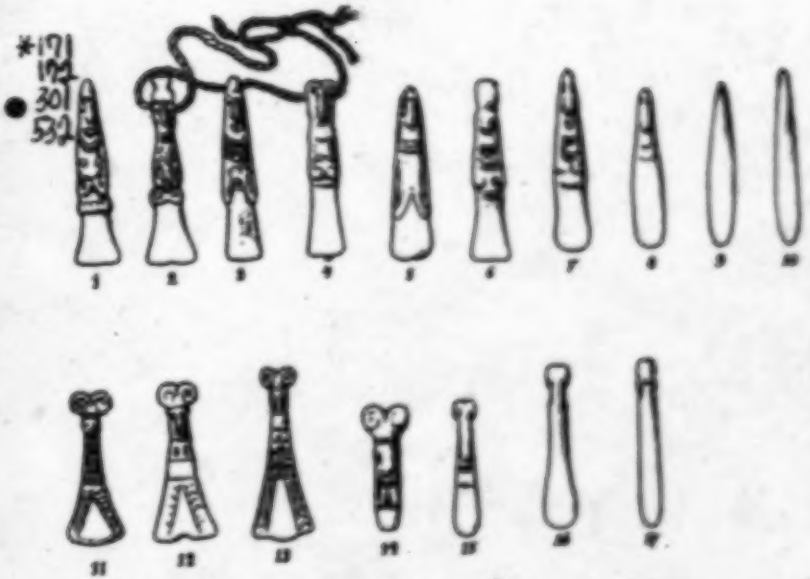


Fig. 14. — Evolution of the laurake from the original, entirely anthropomorphic prototype up to the modern, stylized forms. Each row represents a particular evolution. The laurake Nos. 8 to 10 and 15 to 17 are modern and come from Chipaya; the others were found in the excavations made in Tiahuanaco.

[113]

1. Alvarez (Angélica). "Ankcoccahua," Revista Universitaria, Cuzco, 15th year, No. 47, 1925, p. 18.

*191 Pendants identical to the Chipaya laurake have been found
193 in great number on the shores of Lake Titicaca in the Tiahuanaco
301 [i.e., a small pendant depicting a female personage — Author]

Carangas—
Chipaya

/200 cont./

region. Most of the specimens coming from here are rather similar to those of the Čipaya but more perfect in their workmanship. The features and the costume of the female figure are more easily distinguishable, and one can even observe that the hair style is made up of small plaits. These strange figurines have long been an enigma to the archaeologists: their use was revealed the day the Čipaya were discovered. Taking as a point of departure two slightly different types of old laurake, I have endeavored to indicate their morphological evolution and progressive degeneration (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/). Among the Čipaya the latter has been extended so far that in some cases small, simple metal plaques have been substituted for real laurake.

The Čipaya are the only Indians of the altiplano who have kept this archaic ornament. As they do not practice metallurgy I thought at first that the laurake worn by their wives were not only very old pieces but dated from pre-Columbian times. To verify this hypothesis I had a qualitative analysis made of two of these pendants and some examples coming from Tiahuanaco. The archaeological laurake are of copper alloyed with tin; one of the Čipaya specimens contains zinc as well. This composition is a certain indication of its post-Columbian origin. Unless we assume that the Čipaya formerly practiced metallurgy, which is highly improbable considering their habitat and way of life, we are forced to admit that they received these ornaments from the Aymara. But, as the use of these figurines must have disappeared very early among the latter Indians since no chronicler, not even Cobo, makes illusion to them, the Čipaya examples which were cast during the post-Columbian epoque must be very old nonetheless and have been passed down in the same family for many centuries.

The headband for the forehead, one last specimen of which I was able to obtain, was itself also an integral part of the ancient pre-Columbian costume. Among the Čipaya its wearing must have been reserved for festival days, for the manner in which the Čipaya women dress their hair renders this ornament useless; in contrast,

/200 cont./
it was indispensable to the Quichua women to hold back their flowing hair.

/201/ The spangling was a method of ornamentation which must formerly have been widely diffused on the altiplano, as the following passage from Cobo bears witness (1): "The cloth that they

1. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, p. 206.

embroidered with Chaquira was held to be the most precious of all. This Chaquira were very fine little beads of gold and silver, and it was a wondrous thing to see how it was made; for the whole piece was decorated with these little beads, without the thread showing, in the manner of a very close netting." /Cited in Spanish./ Archaeology amply confirms the assertion of the chronicler.

The distribution of the root brush has been made by Nordenskiöld (2).

[113]

2. Nordenskiöld (Erland). "Analyse ethno-géographique de la culture matérielle de deux tribus du Gran Chaco /Ethno-geographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Tribes of the Gran Chaco/." Études d'ethnographie comparée, I. Paris, 1929, pp. 144-146.

This is one of the numerous South American culture traits which have equivalents in the north of this continent. "I have," he said, "hairbrushes from the Mataco, the Choroti, the Ashluslay, and the Tapiete in my collection. These objects are also known among the Araukans /the Araucanians/, the Patagons /Patagonians/, the Peguenche /Pehuenche/, and the Tehans /Tehgan/. Lehmann-

Cayapa-
Colpaya

/201 cont./

Nitsche gives a drawing of an object from an excavation in the Jujuy puna which probably represents a hairbrush. The hairbrushes of the Chaveti, the Ashluslay, and the Mataco are made from the hair of armadillos. The Tapiete Indians use brushes made either of hair or of roots. They are also rather frequently made with branches or roots. It is interesting to ascertain that Uhle has found some of these hairbrushes in the excavations of very ancient tombs in Arica. He has also discovered some in the excavations, still older, of Pisagua, while in the more recent beds which he attributes to the Tiahuanaco period he has come across combs. The hairbrush is evidently one of the oldest signs of civilization in South America; it is presently more widespread in the southern part of this continent."

I shall complete Nordenskiöld's list by adding the Quichua and Aymara Indians of the altiplano who use both the brush and comb. There is not one stall in Peru or Bolivia where one cannot acquire both of these objects. The Quichua name for brush is uxuma.

The wig is a culture trait which, as archaeology reveals to us, has existed in Peru from remotest times. The Museum of Göteborg has several specimens which come from the Peruvian coast. This false hair is arranged in small plaits and hang from a /200/ string exactly as does the hair in the modern wigs of the Cayapa. Aside from Peru the wig has been discovered among the Jivaro, who perhaps borrowed it from the Andean civilizations, from that of Nazca in particular, with which they have so many features in common. In North America the wig is also no rare culture trait. The Handbook of American Indians assigns the following distribution to its: Crow, Assiniboin, Mandan, Mohave, Yuma, and Pueblo (1).

1. Izikowitz (K. G.). "Une coiffure d'apparat d'Ica /A Festive Headdress from Ica/." Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán. Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

women. The hair is divided into innumerable tiny braids, each decorated with a small bit piece of bone, or a colorful bone bracelet that exactly like those found at Tiahuanaco.

Chipaya men wear a capiaco similar to the ojota used by various Indians in southern Bolivia. It resembles the skirt worn by the women, but is fuller because it is square. In former times it was the only garment worn by the men; trousers are a recent addition. Colorful decorated pouches are always slung from the belt. The short striped poncho is known as the Chipaya cape. The hair is cut short all the way around and is covered with a cap similar to the skulls of the Aymaras; the distinction lies in the broad ear flaps worn by the Aymaras in contrast to the smaller ones and the much finer cloth of the Chipaya caps.

Every Chipaya family owns at least one drum. These instruments are common in the altiplano, but the square shape of the Chipaya drum makes it unique. It is also [illegible] and about two inches in thickness. It is covered with [illegible] tanned llama skin, stretched over a wooden frame. This instrument is thought to be pre-Columbian, since its unusual construction is so dissimilar to that of the drum introduced by the Spaniards. The Chipayas make two kinds of flute. The straight Indian flute are generally made of bamboo, which is brought from other regions and becomes brittle very quickly in the dry climate here.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Tilden Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 s/f24 Uru 8/f24
Chipaya

[P 33-4]

Iru Itu

8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

142
391
301
622

Fig. 9: The mayor of Iru Itu, who spoke fluent Spanish.

[p. 312]

~~Plate II~~ I

342

A. Round house.

B. Woman sewing.

291
302
286

[End Plate I]

I [Plate I accompanied a different article not dealing with the Uru --Analyst]

1:Métraux--23 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uru SF24
Ancoaqui

~~Plate III~~

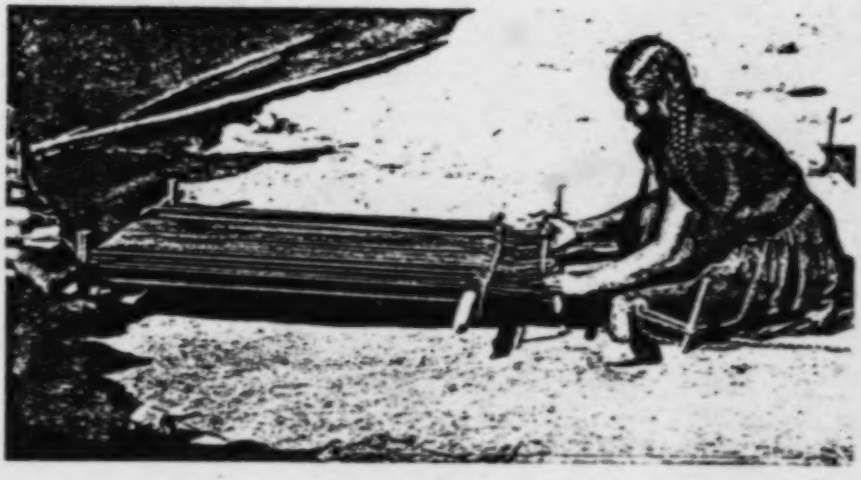
226
501
291

A. B.

Indians fishing with landing nets.

C. Woman weaving.

286
302



[End Plate 2]

2:Métraux--133 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas–
Chipaya

Plate XII

*796
291
342
516
554

A. – Festival of Candlemas: libation to a banner.

142
291
302
342
351
516

B. – Čipaya women feasting the day after a festival.

2:Métraux--136 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

Plate XV

291
142
302
[283]

A. —Old Čipaya woman and her daughter.

B. —Čipaya woman spinning.

142
291
[302]

C. —Čipaya woman.

D. —Čipaya Indian dressed in a camiseta.

/172 cont./

291 To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Čipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here/ /174/ a folded cloth (unkuña) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European [53] peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric identical to the mantle; like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip.

Style of Wearing the Hair

302 The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (skuru) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each 301 other by small strings. On these strings are hung small bronze pendants (laurake), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/).

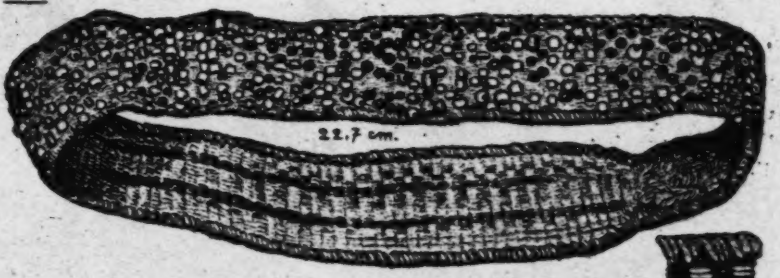
The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kits, pāz-kits, kxola), the round, flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 163/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass [171] beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two culture traits which are completely typical of Andean culture.

302 The women know no other toilette other than the care given their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity [142] [324] [239] of redoing their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few friends who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kˣara) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig bristles (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in rotten urine. [TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

Carangas – Chipaya

/173/

301



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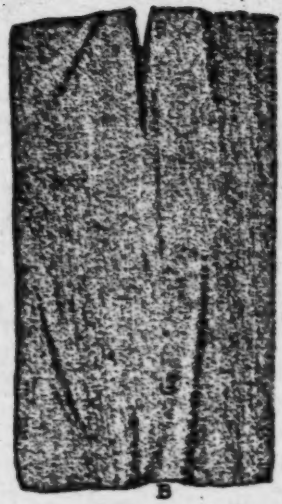

B

C

D

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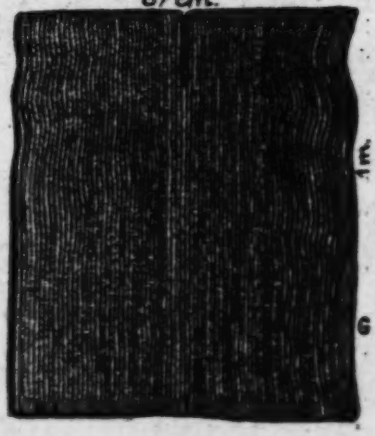

G

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41
82
23
29

E

F

/See captions on next page./

/173 cont./

29
30
302
412
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824
137

Fig. 5. — Čipaya material culture. Clothing and accessories.

A: Diadem spangled with glass beads.
B: Woman's shirt of white wool (almil'a).
C: Cap of knitted wool (čul'u).
D: Pin (paz-kits) which the Čipaya women stick in their hair.
E: Hairbrush (kxara or čaxraña) of roots.
F: Hairbrush of pig bristle.
G: Man's tunic (ira).

/174 cont./
rotten urine. This liquid, which smells horribly of ammonia, is an excellent cutter of grease, the only thing which can give some suppleness to their greasy mop. This peculiar washing made me understand the reason why there was a receptacle in a corner of all the Čipaya huts which the master of the house used as a chamber pot and whose contents he guarded with care. When I assert that this toilette is the only one which the Čipaya women practice, I exaggerate nothing. Throughout their lives they never wash and their skin is covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Their clothes are equally unclean and tattered, and only during festivals do they put on a new urku or mantle. /175/ /Figure 6 appears here./

/176/ Technology

Ceramics. The pottery of the Čipaya Indians is not indigenous. It comes to them from the Aymara who trade it (Fig. 6 /see p. 165/). The center of this industry is situated near Parinacota in Carangas Province where banks of clayey earth are found. I shall always regret not having been able to visit this locality to observe the making of ceramics on the spot. Without any doubt I should have discovered there the survival of ancient pre-Columbian techniques since the form of the vessels and jugs coming from this place is exactly that with which we are familiar from Andean archaeology. Aryballus (lliǩ) are still shaped there as in the times of the Inca empire, and other receptacles which reproduce ancient types characteristic of this part of the altiplano (Fig. 3, E-F /see p. 155/). It is not only in the style of these ceramics that we ascertain the influence of pre-Columbian models, but in the very manner in which the aryballus is carried on the back is a continuation of old Inca traditions. By means of a rope of llama wool ingeniously interlaced, the women bear the large aryballoid jugs on the back, exactly like the Indian depicted on a Chimu vase.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 166]

/197 cont./

women caused the disappearance of the folded napkin with which up to a short time ago they covered their heads exactly as the present-day Čipaya women (3).

3. Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 232.

Even in cases where historical documents may have remained silent on this /198/ subject, archaeology brings us proof that Čipaya female clothing has remained, even in the smallest details, just as it was before the Conquest. /Figure 12 appears here./

The excavations I made in the chullpas near Iscara some 20 kilometers from Chipaya gave me a large number of fabrics identical to those of the present-day Čipaya. The resemblance is such that the Indians themselves thought when they saw my collection that I was amusing myself by collecting rags they had thrown away. They did not hesitate once in identifying the clothing from which each fragment of archaeological fabric came by simply comparing it with their own material. A woman's belt (Fig. 12 /see p. 198/) which I extracted from one of these sepulchers is so completely similar in technique, design, and color to the belts in fashion today in Chipaya (Fig. 13 /see p. 198/) that I defy the most expert ethnographer to indicate the least difference between a modern specimen and an ancient one. Some fragments of urku which I was able to withdraw from the charnel houses which the chullpas are also bear witness themselves to the fact that the principal garment of Čipaya women has not varied since pre-Columbian days from the point of view of color as well as of the nature of the cloth. /Figure 13 appears here./

Are the picturesque little braids of the Čipaya women also a reminiscence of the past? The chullpas of Iscara and Huachacalla gave me a large number of female skulls to which the scalp still adhered. The disposition of the plaits and their number corresponded exactly to the fashion still in existence among our Indians. The small

/198 cont./

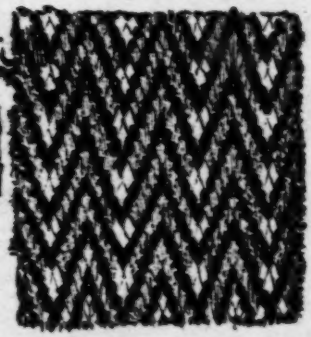

Fig. 12.—Fragment of pre-Spanish belt found in a chullpa near Iscara (Carangas Province).

pendants depicting a female personnage, or laurake, found in Tiahuanaco bring us proof /199/ that in remote ages of the Aymara civilization women already had their hair parted into an infinite number of small braids. This hair style was also that of the pre-Spanish populations in the Atacama Desert: Boman has in fact published the skull of a woman from Calama, which he describes in these terms: "The black, stiff hair is divided on top of the head and forms numerous plaits on each side, the ends of which /Figure 14 appears here/ are tied with a woolen string. In each of these knots a strong cactus spine has been placed which serves as a hairpin. Certain Indians of the Bolivian Altiplano still arrange their hair in several plaits on each side, in the same manner as the ancient inhabitants of Calama." The women of the Ankcoccahua (Espinar Province) clan in Peru have kept up to recent years the custom "of dressing the hair in the back and of dividing the hair into a group of small, thin plaits joined together by strings of cotton or woolen thread which end in fringes, which gives them the appearance of a thick material. /200/ This hair style is called sakcapa, without doubt

Fig. 13.—Detail of a belt worn by Chipaya women.

/200 cont./

*171 because of the tripartite division of the hair on the skull (1)."
302

*171
174
301
532

Fig. 14. — Evolution of the laurake from the original, entirely anthropomorphic prototype up to the modern, stylized forms. Each row represents a particular evolution. The laurake Nos. 8 to 10 and 15 to 17 are modern and come from Chipaya; the others were found in the excavations made in Tiahuanaco.

[113]

1. Alvarez (Angélica), "Ankcoccahua," Revista Universitaria, Cuzco, 15th year, No. 47, 1925, p. 18.

*171
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2
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Pendants identical to the Chipaya laurake have been found in great number on the shores of Lake Titicaca in the Tiahuanaco [i.e., a small pendant depicting a female personage — Ana]

2:Métraux--212 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Caranga-
CAMAYA

Plate III

142
291
●302

[115]
←

A. Little boy 13 or 14 years old, an excellent informant.

B. Young Čipaya woman.

C-D. Čipaya women.

2:Métraux--214 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF94 Unu SF94

Plate V

A. Čipaya woman leaning against a wall and treading quinua seeds to husk them.

B. Čipaya woman grinning.

C. Čipaya woman weaving.

D. Treadle loom for weaving made of cactus wood.

3:Vellard--Zla D.F-S (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate VI

1. Andrés Vila and Lore Vila.

2. Old Uru woman about 90 years old.

3. Old Uru woman.

4. Manuel Inta, 80 to 90 years old.

5. Carlos Kispe, Uru-Aymara, 40 to 50 years old.

3:Vellard--22b D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate VII

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6. Luis Inta. 40 to 50 years old.

7. Luis Inta. 40 to 50 years old.

8. Tomas Inta. 50 to 60 years old.

9. Tomas Inta. 50 to 60 years old.

3-Volland--41 D.F-5 (1939-1944) 1949 M'24 Uru M'24

Plate VIII

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10. Lois Vila., 80 to 90 years old.

11. Lois Vila., 80 to 90 years old.

12. André Vila., 90 to 95 years old.

13. André Vila., 90 to 95 years old.

Plate IX

16. Gastineau Beta., 30 to 35 years old.

15. Gastineau Beta., 30 to 35 years old.

18. Andres Beta., 40 to 50 years old.

17. Celestine Beta., 55 to 60 years old.

4/0 Miami--11 D.S-A.S (per date) 1950-1960 5F3d Uru 5F3d

[19th Century]

[illegible] /Page 1000./ "There is another Pueblo four leagues east-west of Challacollo called Tarapa, whose Indians are resplendent, skillful, courteous.... these Indians came from other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of these Urus, but he could not (as neither could the religious) set eyes to visions as Ethiopians; they are somewhat too crude, but they are still without breeding....

[illegible] ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the darkness of the waves) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town.... These aborigines are to worship the sun and the lake.... They are inclined to steal....they are wolves because they will eat no raw meat and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long and so sharp /?/ that they can tear it up without need of a knife.....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, we must be safe...../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

In the revised volume La Colonia mentions the Uros of Titicaca under the name of Orkosuyos. These Indians were removed to the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Titicaca.

[illegible] ...They are lords of the totora bed, they have it all enfloted, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we shall see later. These Orkosuma Indians, in the safety of this cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and wherever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, west of the navigable of the Paraguas, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of those realms was unsafe...../Translated from the Spanish./

9:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Anciently, it is said, the *Uru* went entirely nude, which is quite incredible in view of the bitterly cold winters in this region. The essential male costume is like the pre-Columbian *Chipaya* dress—a sleeveless, neckless garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This is woven of llama yarn on a simple loom staked in the ground. Recently, most *Uru* males have adopted trousers of the *Aymara* style: short, with a slit at the level, and tailored of native homespun after a Colonial pattern. The slit permits the trousers to be rolled up more easily when a man fishes from a balsa or wades in shallow water. Leather sandals are sometimes worn when traveling, but people usually go barefoot. A knit wool cap, with *Aymara*-style earflaps, is sometimes topped with a crude, *Aymara*-manufactured felt hat. A belt is sometimes worn, and occasionally a thick woolen poncho. Capes woven of bird feathers were known in ancient days.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts, girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at the top over each shoulder with a large-headed copper pin (*tupu*). When traveling in cold weather, the women wear woven woolen wimples over the head under the hat.

Women part their hair in the middle and wear it in two braids tied behind the back with vicuña-wool fibre; only a few still wear the ancient style "Thirteen braids"—countless small braidlets all over the head. Women wash their hair in fermented human urine. *Uru* men wear their hair short in quasi-European fashion or in an all-around tropical bang.

HOUSES

The *Uru* are famous balsa builders (pl. 118, *bottom*). Their craft, though actually rafts made of totora reeds, are shaped like boats and are highly navigable even in narrow, shallow swampways. The reeds are cut with knives attached to poles, then, after drying, are stacked in shocks like corn. Nearly every able-bodied *Uru* male has quantities of this material in all stages of preparation for balsas. During spare moments in their houses, they are continually braiding into grass into tough ropes to bind the reed bundles. The keel is formed of a long, thin, tubular bundle of reeds; and separately lashed to this keel are two thick, cigar-shaped pontoon-bundles. Each of these pontoons is built up of reeds so arranged as to be very thick in the middle of the boat and to have upturned points at each end. An acute-angled wooden tool with a groove inside one arm is used to tighten the binding. To keep out small waves, gunwales consisting of much thinner bundles of totora are lashed to the upper outside

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya
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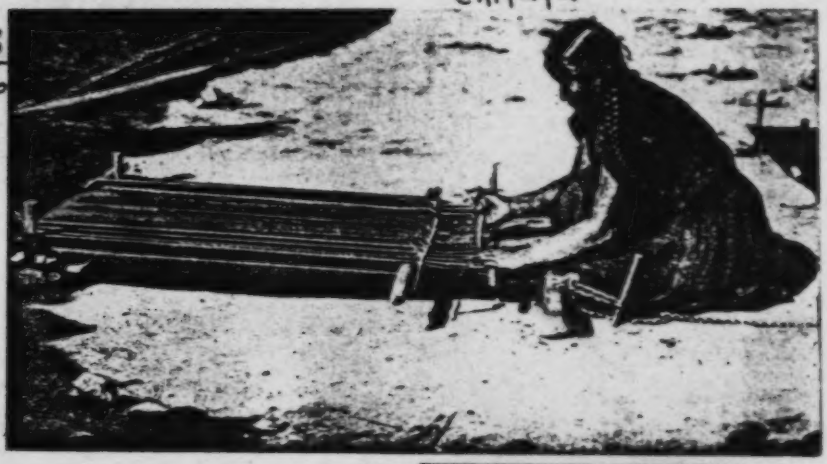

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PLATE 116.—Uru and Chipaya weaving and spinning. *Top:* Uru woman working at native loom. *Bottom (left):* Chipaya man at upright loom. *Bottom (right):* Chipaya woman spinning. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-D]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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[342]

PLATE 118.—Chipaya women. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-F]

6: Ruiz and Roca T-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Uru, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullperia*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *iru*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca.1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

mezcla con los kollas, puesto que se encuentran tipos de rasgos característicos de este grupo.

Aparte de sus actividades agrícolas y pastoriles, el rasgo más sobresaliente de este pueblo, es su religión que, si bien básicamente no difiere mucho de las creencias y ritos aymaras, se ha conservado en estado más puro. Su idolatría se caracteriza por la veneración y deidifi-

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Mujer Indígena Chipaya.

cación principalmente de los accidentes geográficos como son las montañas, los ríos, las piedras, etc. Y aún parece haberles impresionado la torre de la iglesia, a la que denominan *Mallku Mayor* en el pueblo. Asimismo, desparramados en la población y sus alrededores, se encuentran pequeñas torrecillas o adoratorios llamados también *Mallkus*, que representan indistintamente, demonios y santos de la Iglesia.

Habiendo tenido el privilegio de convivir durante casi un mes con los chipayas, creemos encontrarnos en la obligación de dar algunas recomendaciones a las entidades gubernamentales que corresponda, en vista de la situación real en que se encuentra este valeroso pueblo que

[Spanish text continues on P. 218]

Tribes Chimacho J-3 (no date) 1980 E98 Tim E98
Chipaya

to individual families by the head of each society. The altitude and the high salinity make the land infertile, and crops are meager. Sowing is done with a spade or sometimes a pointed stick, pushed into the earth with a strong thrust, forming a dry hole in which the seed is planted.

The people of the Andes have been master weavers for long over a thousand years. Modern Chipaya women carry on the art on looms like the ones their ancestors used, weaving the cloth for the family clothes from hand-spun llama wool. The women dress almost exactly as their ancestors did when the Spanish arrived. The basic garment is a rectangular shirt, woven in one piece with an opening left for the head. The blue sleeves that are sewn on are a modern addition. A black or gray tunic (aruku) with a decorative border is worn over this, covering the whole body from the shoulders to the ankles. This ancient style has been slightly altered under ecclesiastical influence; now most of the women sew up the sides to form a sort of skirt. The sash is woven with black and white geometric designs. An ample mantle completes the costume. Long pins with large flattened heads are used to secure the mantle, and as ornaments in the hair. When the sun is strong, they protect themselves with an awkaña, a folded cloth worn on the head, exactly like the ones shown on Inca pottery.

Perhaps the most striking pre-Columbian survival is the famous "Titicaca coiffure" still worn by many of the

[P21-A]

women. The hair is divided into innumerable tiny braids, each decorated with a small flat piece of bone, or a miniature bronze idol exactly like those found at Tiahuanaco.

Chipaya men wear a costume similar to the *tipoy* used by various Indians in eastern Bolivia. It resembles the shirt worn by the women, but is fuller because it is square. In former times it was the only garment worn by the men; trousers are a recent addition. Colorful decorated pouches are always slung from the belt. The short striped poncho is known as the Chipaya cape. The hair is cut short all the way around and is covered with a cap similar to the *chullo* of the Aymaras; the distinction lies in the broad ear flaps worn by the Aymaras in contrast to the smaller ones and the much finer cloth of the Chipaya caps.

Every Chipaya family owns at least one drum. These instruments are common in the altiplano, but the square shape of the Chipaya drum makes it unique. It is also unusually small, measuring six to eight inches on a side and about two inches in thickness. It is covered with tanned llama skin, stretched over a wooden frame. This instrument is thought to be pre-Columbian, since its unusual construction is so dissimilar to that of the drums introduced by the Spaniards. The Chipayas make two kinds of flutes. The straight Andean flutes are generally made of bamboo, which is brought from other regions and becomes brittle very quickly in the dry climate here.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-B]

7:Ruiz Camacho J -3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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Features, hair style, and cap of this Chipaya mark him as different from Aymara

[P. 21-C]

7:Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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[P.22-A]

Iru Itu
8: Pain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

Fig. 1: The Uru lady who by unanimous consent had taken upon herself the role of [illegible] parliamentary candidate.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

slant. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymára. Walle (page 155) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Posnansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient Amerindian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *ĉuño*-consuming Aymára (*ĉuño* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fishermen, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymára and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymára-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymára, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymára; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymára is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymára nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymára; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymára, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tatatia*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[17] the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the

[17] In Nevro-Lemaire, *Los Lagos*, p. LXI.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *ivu* (Aymará *unku*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*makú*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *alwiña*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kuliti*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *likawa*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *tikawa*), complete the male costume. The belt called *lani* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutu*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *urku*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *lolo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancuaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *chulpas* of Incaica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

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had to manifest itself through the intermediary of Aymara. The Uro dialect of the Cipaya is then an ailing language in the process of disappearing in the future that I believe to have saved from oblivion, if not in its entirety, at least to a great extent.

The territory. The physical environment is that of the puna (Pl. VI, A /see p. 30 /) artificially altered by man. If one arrives in Chipaya coming from the north, one traverses for almost a day an uninterrupted succession of sand dunes, to which some tufts of long, hard gramineous plants (Ich. Stipa ichu (Jarava) or the black, twisted stalks of tola (Baccharis Leptophylla and other Compositae) cling. Once the dune area has been crossed the terrain becomes completely flat, and the rare tolares alternate with the mossy swellings of yareta (Azorella). In places the vegetation disappears completely, but the most sterile parts are adorned with some Alpine flowers, which make imperceptible spots of color against the greyness of the ground. The Indians are not disdainful of them. I remember having seen them gather bunches of them during a festival to stick in their hair or to decorate the images of saints. The aridity of this sandy soil manifests itself with an intensity which becomes more and more acute the closer one comes to Chipaya territory. The boundary is marked by the complete disappearance of the plants mentioned above and by the appearance of stunted grass, thinly sown, which hardly reaches a few centimeters in height. These scorched pastures are the product of human industry. The Cipaya obtain them thanks to a system of irrigation that would do honor to their spirit of enterprise were it not the necessary condition of their existence in the environment. Using canals, some of which are almost two meters deep and three meters across, they have diverted a part of the waters of the Lauca River and conducted it by secondary branches across the entire extent of their territory. During the rainy season and the period of great floods, they provide counterflows by building a few dams here and there. The water fertilizes the seeds of the

Reference--145 S-6 (1930-1931) 1930, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga:-
Chipaya

/130 cont./

Means of Subsistence

Stock raising. The Chipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in describing the environment /146/ where they live, the pastures which cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of cuts from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which encourages a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the ordinary type (Fig. 1, p. Ann p. 145/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for men at lambing time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which enlarge enlarges and deforms them give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large terrestrial city.

The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Chipaya build them anew each time that they have a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Chipaya have their "water houses" (Pas-chipaya), or estancias, (Fig. IV, p Ann p. 313/) of which I have already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history. (97)

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture. (98) 116

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 118, top), 423 secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock. (311)

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a 224 V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter. Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are 251 salted, sealed, bound, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river 223 marshes abound in water fowl, ducks, geese, ibises, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the ibis is not eaten, because of [illegible] hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with (311) slings, which are woven and braided of variebored llama and sheep (306) wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden finials for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of diagrams has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in (309) slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-242 dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

9:La Barre E-4,3 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

342. Another house type, beyond the rectangular-thatched and round-matted forms, is that to be found in several examples on the plain just to the north of Ancoaqui. These have a rectangular ground-plan, and instead of being thatched with grass or totora-mats, have a pyramidal "dome" corbelled of the same turds that the walls are made. One of these photographed was on a slight artificial elevation, and had a shallow "moat" around it, possibly to provide dryness and drainage during the long rainy season. Another has two doors, both east and south, suggesting that shepherds might watch their llamas from these tiny huts, which are too small for family habitation; one of them has a chimney-hole in the roof.

Posnansky[10] says the Uru of Irujoqua built temporary shelters, apparently of reed, "like beavers," and figures a carefully domed *putuku* on the islet of Sinalliaque, as well as a round, stone-roofed house on the Isla of Panza. Uru round houses at Ancoaqui have vertical walls, but some of those of the Chipaya (Posnansky, Figs. 39 and 36) are battened inward, like truncated domes. On islands in the Desaguadero swamps I noticed temporary shelters of totora shaped like an old-fashioned straw beehive with a point, erected to shelter the balsa-builders.

[illegible] *Food.* The Uru have repeatedly been referred to as being chiefly fishermen, but fish are by no means exclusively their diet. Their linguistic congeners to the south, the Chipaya, are chiefly pastoral, and the Uru likewise have pigs, donkeys, some few chickens, sheep, and cows, but no llamas or alpacas. Of the cows Métraux writes:

> these on the border of the Desaguadero [have] become amphibian. They pass the whole day in the water browsing on aquatic plants. From a distance one would take them for buffalo to some fabled marsh.

[illegible] These half-wild creatures are no "pastured" because of the acute lack of land among the Uru, whose agriculture,[11] for the same reason, is thus greatly circumscribed. The Uru have dogs, which they call nobo. Like the Aweikoma and most *altiplano* Indians, the Uru keep domesticated guinea-pigs in their houses. Pigs wander about the village site, but are sometimes placed in

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[illegible] *Ethnography of South America seen from the Mojos of Bolivia* (Comparative Ethnographic Studies 3, Göteborg, 1930), p. 39; see also Bernabé Cobo, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 2 p. 62; Shannon Penn de Ayala, in Murdock, *Dress and Ornament*, p. 198, Fig. 90 (in Métraux loc. cit.).

[illegible] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 108 and Figures 108, 111.

[illegible] George McCutchen McBride, *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia* (American Geographic Society, Research Series 5, New York, 1921), p. 18, says the Uru "have the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them."

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uro SF24

whereas the Aymara have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymara traders) around the cords (see Pomansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a protractile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *lata* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymara, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uro. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into gowns. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krichberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.*

The Uro know no mythology of any kind, though the Aymara of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their mythical cycles. Some of the "tapus" (Uro *mokala* [cf. the term for penis, *ciri* ("eggs") *chuli*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and many may have been recovered from the ancient *Sullpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Ojeda, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a knoll near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uro culture. Plain reddish round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted. These may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymara ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*haquchu*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Pomansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *hola*, and the sinkers for fish nets.

Weaving battens, distaffs and spindles, *hola*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *hola*-making hook (*hoyle* or *'hoyi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

* Forbes, op. cit., p. 382, says the down was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Wilkens (1907 II, pp. 39-47; 56, pp. 192) and Pomansky, op. cit., p. 72.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*pirí*) and *balsa* (*llamo*), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian altiplano.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymara. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *pale* (Aymará *pusiña*, lit. "four holes"), the *qená* (another Aymara flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'ui*). The reeds of which these are made are not cane, but come from a reeded bamboo-like plant in the yungas. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusiña* or *pale* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in connexion with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large totora-mats (or *Reuses*, for carpets in "chulo" huts). These are exchanged for *habas*, corn, sun-dried, *kañawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of totora and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*Reuses* and *Samará*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The [illegible] activity of the sexes in grass rope twisting or braiding (Fernandez, quite unconcernedly, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very incomplete. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: [illegible]

/117 cont./

199 had to manifest itself through the intermediary of Aymara. The Uro dialect of the Čipaya is thus an ailing language in the process of disappearing in the future that I believe to have saved from oblivion, if not in its entirety, at least to a great extent.

133 137 The territory. The physical envionment is that of the puna (Pl. VI, A /see p. 30 /) artificially altered by man. If one arrives in Chipaya coming from the north, one traverses for almost a day an uninterrupted succession of sand dunes, to which some tufts of long, hard gramineous plants (iču, Stipa ichu (Jarava) or the black, twisted stalks of tolas (Baccharis Lepidophyllum and other Compositae) cling. Once the dune area has been crossed the terrain becomes completely flat, and the rarer tolares alternate with the mossy swellings of yareta (Azorella). In places the vegetation disappears completely, but the most sterile parts are adorned with some Alpine flowers, which make imperceptible spots of color against the greyness of the ground. The Indians are [301] not disdainful of them. I remember having seen them gather [324] bunches of them during a festival to stick in their hair or to decorate [134] the images of saints. The aridity of this sandy soil manifests itself with an intensity which becomes more and more acute the closer one comes to Chipaya territory. The boundary is marked by the complete disappearance of the plants mentioned above and by the appearance of stunted grass, thinly sown, which hardly [311] reaches a few centimeters in height. These wretched pastures are the product of human industry. The Čipaya obtain them thanks to 312 a system of irrigation that would do honor to their spirit of enterprise were it not the necessary condition of their existence in this environment. Using canals, some of which are almost two meters deep and three meters across, they have diverted a part of the waters of the Lauca River and conducted it by secondary branches across the entire extent of their territory. During the rainy season and the period of great floods, they provoke inundations by raising a few dams here and there. The water fertilizes the sands of the

/117 cont./

312 puna, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places
[346] lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants,
[33[which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as boars. The
137 Čipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities. As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this assertion. It nonetheless reveals a certain care for precision among the Čipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the scantiness of this flora which a little wetness causes to grow in the
132 midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya
[133] has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate
[346] land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques, the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds draw into strange formations and assume a luster elsewhere unknown. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

[133] Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the existence of the Čipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River, which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the characteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months, threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation
132 of the "canton," the flocks which feed upon it. This is the most
221 crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe
796 are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals of the Čipaya take place at this time and that all have the

/159 cont./

Means of Subsistence

233 433 Stock raising. The Čipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in 233 311 [312] describing the environment /160/ where they live, the pastures which cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 931 343 311 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the second type (Fig. 1, B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at littering time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large lacustral city.

233 417 The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Čipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

342 [361] It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Čipaya have their "water houses" (k^{x}as-k^{x}oya), or estancias, (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have [572] already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

2:Méraux--192 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga-
Cipaya
Aymara SF5

/194 cont./

the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and inns were long and square and the wood was brought from the Yungas." /Cited in Spanish./

On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

The estancias of the Čipaya explain the formation of the small social units also called estancias, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayl'u, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Čipaya to fertilize their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

Near Iscara, in the chullpares, I found bolas rolled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 137/).

Métraux--210 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Čipaya / Carangas

Plate I

A. Young Čipaya girl

B. Čipaya couple in Sunday [illegible]

C. Čipaya women come to draw water from a canal and fleeing under a storm.

D. Little Indian girl holding a piglet.

?Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no desa) 1960 SP24 Uru SP24
Chipaya

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *mallkus*; the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P. 22 - B]

Caranga:-
Chipaya

/184 cont./

534

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Thumb
19.8	22.6	25.7	28.9	31.8	35.0	1.65

The total length of the flute is 39.8 cm.

[199] We do not find the same disposition of the holes on pre-Spanish quena; according to all probability European influence has played a part here.

Flutes with mouthpieces. When the quena is played the current of air is shaped and directed with the lips and must be conducted against the beveled edge of the mouth to break up there and set the column of air in the pipe vibrating. For flutes with mouthpieces (Fig. 11) the formation of the current of air and the direction given to it are produced automatically; it is sufficient to blow and to control the strength of the air current. The air is led through a "vent" (see Figure 10, a /see p. 175/, which shows us a flute with mouthpiece in section) composed of the space between the walls of the pipe and a block of some material inserted in the opening of the flute. The air passes through this channel and strikes against the lower brim (lip).

[194] Čipaya flutes with mouthpieces are made of tola (Baccharis tola). These Indians /185/ make them themselves, [194] taking an old one as a model to give them the distance between the holes. These flutes are made of a branch which is split along its entire length. The two halves are hollowed out and then joined again in such a way that the air cannot escape. [194] Where a perfect joint could not be made, the chinks have been sealed with resin. Since it is difficult with the bushes at the disposal of the Čipaya to come across straight branches, most of the flutes are not straight. Some even have the shape of a segment of a circle, a form which is perhaps intentional (Fig. 8, H /see p. 173/).

Fig. 11. Flute with mouthpiece.

2:46fraux--154 E-5 (1930-1931) 1930, 1936 SP34 Urn SP34
Cayapas—
Chipaya

/166 cont./ When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is firmly bound with a wool rope and left to drip for a certain number of days. These cheeses, white and tasteless, are seasoned with salt which the Čipaya get from the great salt deposits which spread out about 30 kilometers from their village. /167/ /Figure 3 appears here./

/168/ Weapons

The small number of weapons that the Čipaya have is a direct consequence of the insignificance of hunting in their economy. As for war, it is an unknown phenomenon for them. Who would dream of coming to pick a fight with them for possession of the sand dunes or stunted pastures? The only occasions for giving free rein to their bellicose instincts are the festivals. The alcohol they absorb then accentuates the underhand rivalry of the ayllus among themselves, and, awakening passions, leads them to often bloody fights. I do not know if any weapons other than sticks and fists enter into play on this case.

The sling (honowo) (Fig. 4. A /see p. 197/), which is the weapon par excellence of the Indians of the altiplano, has only a peaceable use in Chipaya: it is used to hurl lumps of earth at llamas or sheep to prevent them from straying from the flock or from the route being followed. It is possible that the Čipaya might have recourse to the sling when they have some quarrels with the people of the other ayllu, but I was never able to get particulars on this subject. Another circumstance contributes to making the sling of the Čipaya a harmless instrument: the lack of stones able to serve as projectiles.

The bolas of the Čipaya play a role close to that of the sling: they permit them to catch the sheep. The most common type is the ordinary bola. The stones instead of being caught in a leather sheath, as in the case with the archaeological specimens (Fig. 4. D-F), are furnished with a groove which prevents the rope from slipping (Fig. 4. I).

[Text continues on p. 156]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

Pottery.—Although not now made at Anapaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles.

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone haloed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas.

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara*: the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipis, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-machu, koiko, pinkillu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, sikuchokkle), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukirirle or charanga.

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian choza huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into aylus, named Titicana, Kenko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Jaen* anan-saya), and xanacha (*Jaen* mana-saya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

whereas the *balsa* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymara traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a preinstile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *laka* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

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The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *tankala* [cf. the term for penis, *sisi* ("eggs") *skalel*] used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *Tulpa* graves.

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* Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 362, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (*JSAP N*, pp. 86-87; *M*, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

9:La Barre E-6,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some quina are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

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Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Bittmann:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very incomplete. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me [illegible]

is these dwarf regions. Warning long before an entrance takes the place of a door.

Figs. 11 and 12.—Huts commonly occupied by Aymara herdsmen in the region of the Desaguadero (left bank). The roof is cupola shaped. These dwellings are made of clods of earth (above from a photograph).

An inventory of the furnishings and objects found in these huts can be quickly made. I took note of three mats for sleeping, a clay cook stove, a set of small receivers containing horrible materials, pottery of different shapes and sizes, a mortar, some spindles, balls of wool, woolen fabric which was generally coarsely woven, sometimes very fine, implements, and finally a broom. Passing into the courtyard one generally notices sling, weir, sword, a hoe, and farming implements of European origin.

The vessels are not usually produced. They are imported and Fig. 13 appears here/ come from other indigenous industry of the neighbors. The pots were shaped on a wheel and beat a

323 (78 cont.)
000 potter's mark on the bottom (1). The mortars, or more exactly

323 114 1. My observations in this respect contradict those of one of the authors cited in

342

Fig. III

323 114 [120] note 1, p. 3. As I was trying to make as complete a collection as possible at Annaqui, I gave special attention to all the objects which met my eyes, and the pottery did not seem to me to be of local fabrication. I also did not see any women working at making it, nor did I notice any of the signs which indicate the existence of a ceramic industry in the entire Indian village.

5/12 The mortars, or more exactly the grindstones, are made of a flat or slightly concave stone, against which another, oval in form and polished by use, is rubbed. These mullers are sometimes semicircular; the pressure which the

Smithsonian--1885 E-5 (1880-1892) 1885, 1886 9'94 Uni 9'94

Plate captions on next page../

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Carnegie-
Cayapa
Ayampa 375

/171 comm./

Fig. 6.—Cayapa ceremonial culture. Ceramics

A: Small jug of Aymara origin used by the Cayapa.

B: Acyballoid jug (1/2) imported from Pariamarca (Carangas Province) (from a sketch).

C: Small pot (1/2) imported from Pariamarca.

D: Jar imported from Pariamarca (from a sketch made from life).

E: Large, slightly asymmetrical jar imported from Pariamarca;
e: detail of one of the ornaments on the neck.

F: Small jar made without a potter's wheel (Chipaya).

3:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
BF24 Uru BF24

edge of the gunwales. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the gunwales and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 12 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

SUBSISTENCE

The material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus totora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for balsa-craft, reed mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, baskets, mats, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The Uru make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the cord bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but Uru women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (*gorros*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with variolated diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The Uru also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for hobbling beasts or burden animals.

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Weapons.—To make bolas, the Uru buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A sling-cord bola particle, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The Uru know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

3:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade. 325 [939]

Pottery.—Although not now made at Anroaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles. 323

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone. 324

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas. 322 [939]

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ECONOMICS

The only Uru articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), corn, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes. 439

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas. 462

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian Uru social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve its functioning. The Uru are grouped into aylus, named Titicana, Kotsko, Kana, and Kulpa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Jaan anan-saya*), and anacha (*Jaan mara-saya*). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like 198 421 416 401

?:Blas Cumacho J.-S (no date) 1960 S724 Uru S724
Chipaya

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *oyo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *mallcus;* the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P. 22-B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

whereas the *bolas* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a pretextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *čala* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

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The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toskola* [cf. the term for penis, *siai-* ("eggs") *skolo*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *čulpa* graves.

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Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*ƛupaƛa*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *balsa*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *balsa*-making hook (*kaxlu* or *'kaxi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[58] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 262, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

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9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

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The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymara of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "tupus" (Uru *tsokola* [cf. the term for penis, *sisi* ("eggs") *shalo*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *kulpa* graves.

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Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*kapatu*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's *Figure 81*) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle-end of the *balsa*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *balsa*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *balsa*-making hook (*kayla* or *'kayl*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

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Caranga-
Chipaya

/200 cont./

#17 region. Most of the specimens coming from here are rather similar
17 to those of the Čipaya but more perfect in their workmanship. The
30 features and the costume of the female figure are more easily dis-
530 tinguishable, and one can even observe that the hair style is made up of small plaits. These strange figurines have long been an enigma to the archaeologists: their use was revealed the day the Čipaya were discovered. Taking as a point of departure two slightly different types of old laurake, I have endeavored to indicate their morphological evolution and progressive degeneration (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/). Among the Čipaya the latter has been extended so far that in some cases small, simple metal plaques have been substituted for real laurake.

#17 The Čipaya are the only Indians of the altiplano who have
17 kept this archaic ornament. As they do not practice metallurgy I
14 thought at first that the laurake worn by their wives were not only
30 very old pieces but dated from pre-Columbian times. To verify
305 this hypothesis I had a qualitative analysis made of two of these pendants and some examples coming from Tiahuanaco. The archaeological laurake are of copper alloyed with tin; one of the Čipaya specimens contains zinc as well. This composition is a certain indication of its post-Columbian origin. Unless we assume that the Čipaya formerly practiced metallurgy, which is highly improbable considering their habitat and way of life, we are forced to admit that they received these ornaments from the Aymara. But, as the use of these figurines must have disappeared very early among the latter Indians since no chronicler, not even Cobo, makes illusion to them, the Čipaya examples which were cast during the post-Columbian epoque must be very old nonetheless and have been passed down in the same family for many centuries.

#17 The headband for the forehead, one last specimen of which
30 I was able to obtain, was itself also an integral part of the ancient pre-Columbian costume. Among the Čipaya its wearing must have been reserved for festival days, for the manner in which the Čipaya women dress their hair renders this ornament useless; in contrast,

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus totora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

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Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

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SF24 Uru SF24

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SF24 Uru SF24

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/136 cont./

342 the summit. This incline need only be accentuated to create the conical hut of the second type entirely made of clods.

The wall facings are plastered on the outside and inside with a thin layer of earth which conceals the irregularities of the surface.

The door. The opening (tan) of the door (tawka) which is always framed with a white band is generally larger below than above and its angles are rounded. It does not open at ground level but on a threshold about 30 centimeters high. The door itself is [335] situated inside the habitation. It is made of laths of Cereus joined by leather thongs and by crosspieces, and is articulated by means of two pivots, one of which, the upper one, is stuck into a piece of perforated wood (Fig. 1, C-D /see p. 142/).

919 Figure 1, E to G gives an idea of the ingenious peg lock of
171 the Čipaya and its functioning. It is carved of Cereus wood and is of a type identical with that of the Aymara, who copied it from the old rural Spanis' locks (1).

[113]

1. On this subject see Gennep (A. van). "Études d'ethnographie sud-américaine /Studies of South American Ethnography/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, New Series, Vol. XI, 1914, pp. 121-133.

342 The roof. The straw dome (purna) which covers the Čipaya
335 huts of the first type is complicated and ingenious in construction and certainly represents the most delicate work which these natives undertake. When the walls of the hut are two meters above ground, two rows of clods larger than the others and with perpendicular joints are placed on top. The upper ones are provided with orifices intended to receive the ends of the arches which support the straw cupola. The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots

[See pp. 142-143 -- Analyst]

2:36mrsun--141 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 GF26 Uru GF24
Cavangas -
CA Jaya

/136 cont./ The framework of the latter is entirely formed by bundles
of tola (Tola, Tolas) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes
(waru) (Pl. VI, 8 /see p. 215/). They are thrust in the holes of
which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1, H /see
p. 142/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the
roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are
superimposed and are fastened at the intersections by solid ligatures.
Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cavena
wood /137/. /Figure 1 appears here/ /138/ in order to allow the
roofers to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

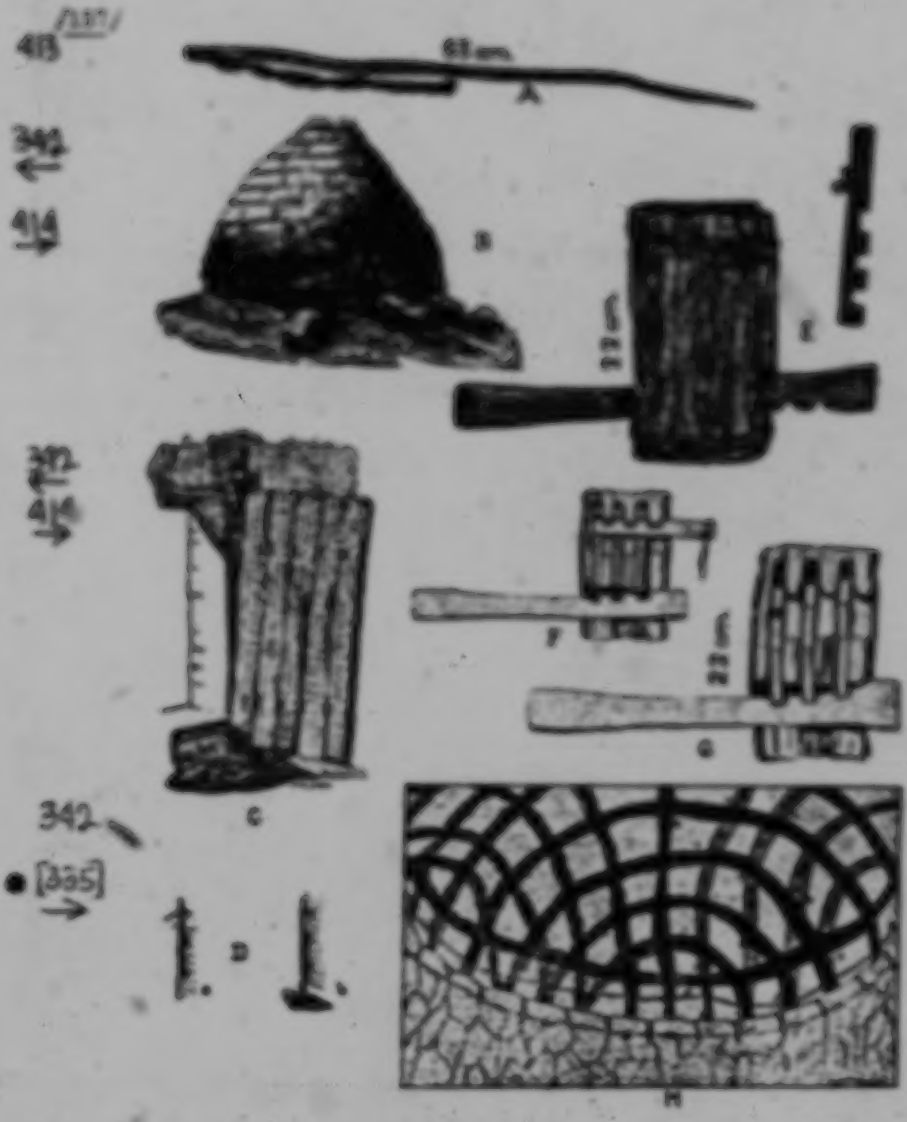
On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum (pirina) made of
straw (ch'it) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible
plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin cover-
ing, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the
straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are
hoisted up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where
they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the
faggots by means of a long wooden needle (kapa) threaded with straw
cord (Fig. 1, A) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and
the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the
linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to
encompass a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged
in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence
of this thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of
wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is
made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of
this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the intercrossing
of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from
below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross sur-
mounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house
from the effects of lightening.

Furnishings. The interior disposition of Cipaya huts is most
summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[Text Continues on p. 143]

Evidence--142 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 9724 thru 9724
Carnegie—
Chicago



/See captions on next page./

[illegible] 0-0 (1930-1950) 1950, 1958 [illegible]

Cayuga

Cayuga

/117 mm./

Fig. 1. – Cayuga memorial posts. The Iroquois.

A: Needle with which the Cayuga sew the cloth to the frame.
B: Barrel of cloth of wool.
C: Door of cornus wood.
D: Detail of the door. a: top; b: bottom.
E: Cayuga lock and key.
F, G: The same lock seen in cross section.
H: Scheme showing the method of constructing the framework of the cupola which covers the roof of the box.

9:La Barre E-4.5 (1938) [94]
RF'26 Uru SF'24

extremely cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *ivo* (Aymará *awalo*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an unwidened textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have lost looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards, as too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, not only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*wadó*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "caricia" (Aymará *alwalo*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanaco Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kuli*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *poro* (Uru *likara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *ikawi*), complete the male costume. The belt called *lani* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*lanis*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*ahoi*), girdled at the waist, and unwidened bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *kawita*, but clothing in general is called *ahoi*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *lulo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *'wiñay* of Incaica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

(Aymára rectangular houses are ilu-grass thatched, not matted in the Uru fashion). Possibly because of the scarcity of wood, "rafters" in the roof are made of thick bundles of reeds, the main supports laid east and west, with secondary supports arched north and south. Some of the round houses have a roof framework made of bent sticks laid at right angles and grass-rope lashed at their crossings. On this framework of wood or *totora*-bundles, large mats, employing the full lengths of these giant reeds, are laid in two sections, so that there is a sort of pseudo-ridge to the roof, running from over the door to the west wall; this ridge is made by the meeting of the butts of the reeds. Grass ropes are laid over these mats to hold them down in the wind, and tied to wooden pegs in the mud walls of the house. There is no smoke-hole save the door, so the roof mats become speedily coated with soot and are quite waterproof. One must stoop in entering the door, but a man can stand upright in the center of the house. A mud "stove" is placed to the right (north) of the door, in which *Fala* (a kind of grease-brush), *yareta* (woody, turf-like masses of a semi-subterranean shrub), or *taksi* (llama-dung) are burned for fuel, owing to the absence of wood in the region. The cord used on the roof-mats to twine the ends of the single reed elements, is true two-element twisted rope, the torque of the twisted strands of wiry grass holding the whole together. The rope used in binding *balsas*, on the other hand, is of tightly plaited grass, possibly because the more laboriously made plaited grass rope has greater strength and durability than the twisted kind.

Anciently, according to the 18th century writer Alcedo, the Uru lived in caves and holes in the ground, but they share the round type of house with their congeners the Chipaya. The same round house type is seen elsewhere scatteredly in the *altiplano*. Forbes noted "beehive" houses in out-of-the-way places, and in the 16th and 17th century descriptions such as that of Cobo are indications that the round hut was the original Aymára style. Métraux noted round mud houses with corbelled domes like those of the Chipaya, at Kxulliri, near Toledo; and villages of round houses may be seen the west of the railroad halfway between La Paz and Oruro.[10]

[10] David Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (Journal Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 2: 193–305, 1870), p. 255. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 99, also says the Uru formerly lived in caves or holes dug in the ground, and roofed with mats. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1895), Vol. 4: pp. 166–667. Métraux (JSAP 28: 190–194) says that the rectangular huts of the Aymára are built after Spanish patterns, and that only the chiefs at Chipaya used them, others building the older round type of house. The round style is useless, however, for tracing the provenience of the Uru: Braun noted Quechua storehouses of this kind in southwestern Bolivia, Nordenskiöld the same form among Aymára at Tunari, near Cochabamba (Otto Braun [Letter to Nordenskiöld in 1931]; Erland Nordenskiöld, *The*

/76 cont./
114 of the natives cannot be an excuse. There are few in America more easily accessible; the Uro are actually only a few hours by car from La Paz, the capital of Bolivia.

Material Culture

The brevity of my stay among the Uro and the small amount of leisure which I had outside of my linguistic investigations prevented me from making any important ethnographic observations on them. I also doubt that deeper inquiries would have been able to lead me to the discovery of sensational, or even /77/ new, 127 facts. The Uro have been "Aymarized" to a much higher degree than the Čipaya, and to this Aymara influence, doubtless a thousand years old, must be added that of the Spanish and of the Bolivian half-breeds. The village of Ancoaqui resembles, down to the last details, all the villages of the altiplano, and the Uro are not distinguishable, either in physical appearance or in dress, from the Aymara, their neighbors. If I consider the few 114 notes I took as worth publishing, it is because of the small amount of information that we possess on these Indians. I shall repeat again, perhaps in vain, the wish that a serious and well-trained ethnographer will want to devote several months of his /Fig. 21 appears here/ life to the study of the natives of the high plateau. If this is not done soon, our only remaining opportunity to know the great South American civilizations better will have disappeared.

342 [361] Dwellings. The village of Ancoaqui is made up of small square huts of "adobe," grouped around a quadrangular courtyard. I remember two houses with rounded corners, although this circumstance was not sufficiently accentuated to permit classifying them as huts of a round design (Pl. II, A /see p. 22/). The roofs of these habitations have only one real style: they are made of matting attached to stays which are also of totora, i.e., matting rolled up and solidly sewn together, replacing beams, which are rare and costly

/78/
342 in these desert regions. Matting hung before the entrance takes the place of a door.

[162] Figs. 21 and 22.—Huts temporarily occupied by Aymara herdsmen in the region of the Desaguadero (left bank). The roof is cupola shaped. These dwellings are made of clods of earth (drawn from a photograph).

35 41 An inventory of the furnishings and objects found in these huts can be quickly made. I took one; there were mats for sleeping, a clay cook stove, a sort of small enclosure containing burnable material, pottery of different shapes and sizes, a mortar, some spindles, balls of wool, textile fabric which was generally coarsely woven, sometimes some fishing equipment, and finally a broom. Passing into the courtyard one generally notices string, weirs, swords, a loom, and farming implements of European origin.

323 [439] The vessels are not locally produced. They are imported and /Fig. 22 appears here/ come from some indigenous industry of the altiplano. . The pots were shaped on a wheel and bear a

323 /78 cont./
000 potter's mark on the bottom (1). The mortars, or more exactly

323
114 1. My observations in this respect contradict those of one of the authors cited in

342

Fig. 22

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114
[126] note 1, p. 3. As I was trying to make as complete a collection as possible at Ancoaqui, I gave special attention to all the objects which met my eyes, and the pottery did not seem to me to be of local fabrication. I also did not see any women working at making it, nor did I notice any of the signs which indicate the existence of a ceramic industry in the entire Indian village.

4/2 The mortars, or more exactly
the grindstones, are made of a flat or slightly concave stone, against which another, oval in form and polished by use, is rubbed. These mullers are sometimes semicircular; the pressure which the

188 cont. / They are as good and as bad
771 Catholics as the Aymara, and the little church constructed in the
171 center of the village is the type which is prevalent on the high plateau. The pagan practices to which they are given seem to be the same as those of the Aymara.

776 The Pačamama, or "Earth-mother," is their principal
[171] divinity, as everywhere else on the high plateau. They also spoke to me about mal'ku and samiri although I was not able to obtain anything specific or any details about the cult rendered them. I noticed on the wall near the entry of all the huts a spot
[782] of blood, a reminder of the sacrifice which had been made to
342 the local spirit at the moment when the house was covered with its roof. A pile of potatoes which had just been grubbed up was
[782] surmounted with a straw cross, a bottle of alcohol, and some coca leaves; these were, no doubt, offerings made to the Pačamama.

782 An old Indian man dictated to me several of the prayers
539 addressed to this divinity on different occasions. She is spoken of as mal'ku, i.e., "chief," as in Chipaya. Here are the prayers:

Samtña Mal'kwa	pičnača	čal'tama.
Holy Divinity	come	let us offer up libation.

Tiča	ti koka	samtña	tača.
Here is	this coca	Holy One	I will give.

K^{w}iškina	koka	taki.
Potato	coca	I give.

Xuala (ρ)	tača	Samtña	Mal'ku.
Llama	I will give	Holy	Divinity.

773 Mythology. I was able to gather fragments of an old
[171] myth at Ancoaqui, of which I possess a more complete version which was narrated by the Čipaya. "In former times there was

~~Plate II~~ I

342

A. Round house.

B. Woman sewing.

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[End Plate I]

½ [Plate I accompanied a different article not dealing with the Uru--Analyst]

/121 cont./

621 616 614 not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality [368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

342 343 Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 0 /). In places the huts are 361 [363] grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long, more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

351 The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts [171] [176] so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

/123 cont./ Aside from one chapel
the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

The Čipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Čipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the saya tuanta overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the homes of the authorities.

The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Čipaya give them: kˣas-kˣoya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancias.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

/124 cont./

Social Organization

622 [616] Exercise of authority. Each saya is under the authority of an alcalde who exercises the functions of a justice of the peace. He intervenes in disputes, arrests and imprisons the guilty, and receives accusations. As we have just seen, the alcaldes preside at the division of arable land and are in addition responsible for directing work done in common, such as the upkeep of canals or the repairing of roads.

692 The corregidor represents the tribe before the government. The one for Chipaya, my friend Paulino Kondori, was so little convinced of the legitimacy of his office, very recently created, that he accompanied me on my return to be presented to the prefect of the department and to obtain from him permission to consider the territory of Chipaya an administrative district independent of Huachacalla. By one of those curious inconsistencies of the Indian character, he did not wait for me at Oruro, where he had preceded me, and I was not able to support his efforts to bring this administrative revolution to a successful conclusion. As long as his title has not been recognized by the government, the corregidor of Chipaya will continue to be subordinate to the one at Huachacalla. During my stay I had the chance to read the letters which his superior sent him and which were often conceived in a comminatory tone. I remember that once he was ordered to have his alcaldes arrest a recalcitrant debtor and another time to conduct to Huachacalla an Indian suspected, mistakenly moreover, of murder.

Paulino Kondori appeared to have some judiciary functions, for the Čipaya made allusion before me to "demandas," i.e. complaints which had been presented to him by Indians who had been injured or believed themselves to have been. It was to him that the Čipaya came to impart their misgivings about my unusual activities and my mysterious investigations. I was lodged in his [123] [341] own hut, which instead of being round like the others had a rectangular plan and a two-pitch roof. This form, seen in two or three

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/124 cont./ This form, seen in Two or Three other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in use among the Aymara.

/125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori, of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves. His authority extended no farther. The Čipaya would have had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their duties.

There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an incident which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya, which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or returning with their [illegible]. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by the timidity of the [illegible]a, let their animals graze on the lands belonging to the latter and irrigated by their efforts. The Čipaya decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he called together the majority of the adult men of the village around his hut and they discu[illegible]d the question all night. The next day the Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

2:Métraux--30 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Chipaya

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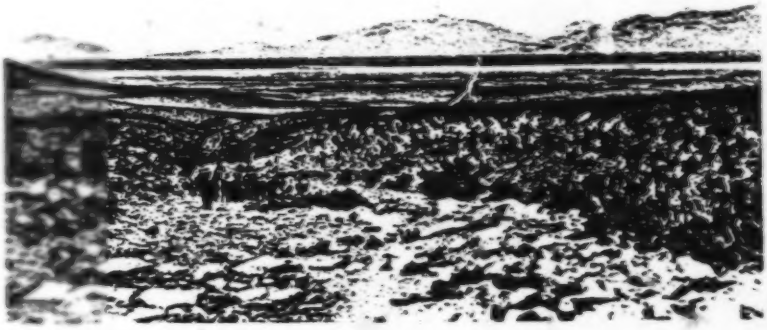
Plate VI



A. — The Carangas puna.

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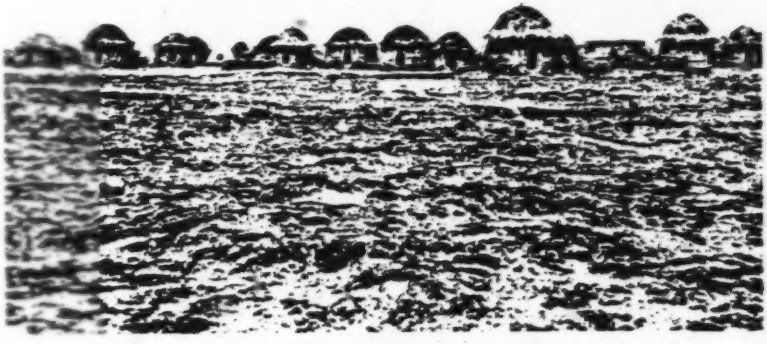

B. — Chipaya village: the western saya (taxata).

/381 cont./

[521] [621] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

● 342 [476] Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Chipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment [287] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him [273] [276] enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother * [078] to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kallana-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[782] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

342 *078 [076] Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

/382 cont./

592 The number of spirits which rule over a household may be
342 even more considerable. In a prayer of Aymara origin which I
*998 recorded among the Čipaya, in the course of a sacrifice made to the demons of the house, the shed and the kitchen are invoked at the same time as the court.

342 Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which re-
971 cur uniformly throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara.
[982] There is no Čipaya hut on which one does not see to the left of the door upon entering the blackish spot of blood with which it was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears
[574] traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the costs of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided
342 him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up
982 many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirits,
539 that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

Ačokžal'a	kžoya	kamantaika	suma	haĭk	wata
Straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

awantil'a (1) kžoya-ki.
endure house this.

1. From the Spanish aguantar, "to endure."

[192] /383/ A beautiful example of the frightful jargon, a mixture of Čipaya, Aymara, and Kičua /Quechua/ words, which the Indians use in their conversations with the divinities.

*708 The titi-mal'ku is honored each time that an Indian returns
982 home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the
[221] number of titi-mal'ku in Chipaya is limited, I would not have

2:Métraux--133 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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Chipaya

Plate XII

*796
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● 342
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A. — Festival of Candlemas: libation to a banner.

142
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302
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516

B. — Čipaya women feasting the day after a festival.

Schöpfung--137 E-5 (1830-1831) 1935, 1936 SP24 Uru SP24
Caranga-
Chipaya

Plate XVI

A. – Coca bag covered with a sort of "velvet" and used only during festivals.
B. – Festive sling.
C. – Wig worn by the men during festivals.
D. – Sacred stick (kamana-para).
E. – Rope cross hung on the roof of the huts.
F. – Perforated potsherds used as money during the festival of the alasita.

2:Mddrnus--139 E-6 (1890-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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Čipaya

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Material Culture

Habitation

340 The habitation problem is one of the hardest that the Čipaya have had to resolve. Nature has refused them any natural shelter and all that seems absolutely indispensable for the construction of a dwelling: not one tree, not the shortest candle cactus on their bare plain, not even earth for adobes. Nothing but sand, and soil that grass roots make compact. Here again, however, human ingenuity has been able to conquer all obstacles and resolve all difficulties. In the same way that the Eskimos cut blocks out of the snow from which they make their round huts, the Čipaya cut clods out of the ground, which piled up on each other create huts of beehive form strangely similar to the "snow houses" of the Arctic peoples. As huts built entirely of clods (Pl. VI, C /see p. 215/) cannot attain any great size, the Čipaya prefer to build cylindrical houses (kˇoya), which they cover with a cupola of thatch. Aside from the roof, the principle of construction in these two types of habitation is the same.

341 The clods (ˇaya) are cut out of the ground by means of a hoe. As the stroke given with this instrument is oblique, the piece of detached earth, which is 70 cm. long, about 30 to 35 cm. wide, and 15 cm. thick, has the form of the trunk of a quadrangular pyramid or of the trunk of a parallelepiped rectangle. Half of the thickness is intermingled with roots which make a sort of very solid adobe of the clump. It is always used turned over, i.e., with the roots in the air.

/139/ The hut stands on a basement which protects it from floods. This platform is made of a series of clods juxtaposed flat or edgewise, which form the floor. After this the clods are simply superimposed without tying or mortar. The wall perfectly circular does not rise perpendicularly, but inclines gently from the base to

/156 cont./

342 the summit. This incline need only be accentuated to create the conical hut of the second type entirely made of clods.

The wall facings are plastered on the outside and inside with a thin layer of earth which conceals the irregularities of the surface.

The door. The opening (lan) of the door (čawks) which is always framed with a white band is generally larger below than above and its angles are rounded. It does not open at ground level but on a threshold about 30 centimeters high. The door itself is [335] situated inside the habitation. It is made of laths of Cereus joined by leather thongs and by crosspieces, and is articulated by means of two pivots, one of which, the upper one, is stuck into a piece of perforated wood (Fig. 1, C-D /see p. 142/).

419 191 Figure 1, E to G gives an idea of the ingenious peg lock of the Čipaya and its functioning. It is carved of Cereus wood and is of a type identical with that of the Aymara, who copied it from the old rural Spanish locks (1).

[113] 1. On this subject see Gennep (A. van). "Études d'ethnographie sud-américaine /Studies of South American Ethnography/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, New Series, Vol. XI, 1914, pp. 121-133.

342 335 The roof. The straw dome (p'urna) which covers the Čipaya huts of the first type is complicated and ingenious in construction and certainly represents the most delicate work which these natives undertake. When the walls of the hut are two meters above ground, two rows of clods larger than the others and with perpendicular joints are placed on top. The upper ones are provided with orifices intended to receive the ends of the arches which support the straw cupola. The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots

[See pp 142-143--/nalyst]

Carangas—
Chipaya

/156 cont./ The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots

of tola (ṭokua, ṭoxua) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes (xxaru) (Pl. VI, B /see p. 215/). They are thrust in the holes of which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1, H /see p. 142/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are superimposed and are fastened at the intersections by solid ligatures. Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cereus wood /157/ /Figure 1 appears here/ /158/ in order to allow the roofers to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum (pirina) made of straw (p'it) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin covering, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are hoisted up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the faggots by means of a long wooden needle (ṭapa) threaded with straw cord (Fig. 1, A) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to encompass a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence of this thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the intercrossing of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross surmounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house from the effects of lightening.

Furnishings. The interior disposition of Cipaya huts is most summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[Text Continues on p. 143]

2366maus--142 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 9924 Uru 9924
Curanga: —
Chijapa

/See captions on next page./

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Carangas--
Cipaya

Fig. 1. – Cipaya material culture. The habitation.

A: Needle with which the Cipaya sew the thatch to the frame.
B: Navel of clods of earth.
C: Door of cactus wood.
D: Detail of the door. a: top; b: bottom.
E: Cipaya lock and key.
F, G: The same lock seen in cross section.
H: Schema showing the method of constructing the framework of the cupola which covers the roof of the hut.

D-048:xxx--143 G-G (1930-1931) 1931. 1936 GP2a Ucu GP2d
Cayapa-
Chipaya

/139 cont./

Means of Subsistence

cattle raising. The Cipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in describing the environment /140/ where they live, the pastures which cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the second type (Fig. 1. B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at kittening time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large industrial city.

The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Cipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Cipaya have their "water houses" (ʰPas-ʰPaya), or estancias (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

/189 cont./

	Men	Women
Transport	+	+
Irrigation	+	-
Cultivation	+	-
Instrumental music	+	-
Basket-making	+	-
Crochet	+	-
Trade	+	+
Fishing	+	-
Bird hunting	+	-

Comparative Study

The comparative study which I am going to make of Uro-Čipaya objects and industries and those of ancient and modern Andean populations could not be exhaustive. I lack too many books to indicate the complete bibliography of the subjects with which I propose to deal, and I fear /190/ that for lack of material many parallels between certain forms of the material life of the Čipaya today and of the old Andean tribes may have escaped me.

Village and huts. I have already indicated the strange similarities which the ordering of the village of these Indians presents to that of an Inca city, Cuzco for example. The taxata and tuanta sayas have an exact equivalent in the Inca suyu, particularly in the two sectors or districts of Cuzco, hanan-suyu and hurin-suyu; as for the alignments of chapels or oratories, they are nothing more than Christianized zeques.

At the time of the Conquest and for a century afterward the Aymara lived in huts similar in every respect to those of the Čipaya with the exception of the chiefs who, like the present-day corregidor of the "canton" of Chipaya, lived in quadrangular houses. It is under Spanish influence that the Aymara hut evolved into its present aspect, which differs little from Creole houses. But even in our day

/190 cont./

the circular hut is not exclusively peculiar to Chipaya. Near Toledo at Kxulliri an agglomeration exists formed of perfectly round huts which from a distance recall those of the Čipaya although much larger. I stopped for a night in this village to study them, but unfortunately having used up my store of film I could not take photographs of them. These huts were architecturally much more perfected than those of Chipaya. The dome which surmounted them although covered with straw did not rest on a frame of tola but on a cupola made of 22 tiers of clods whose perfection I could admire. The clods that composed it were smaller than in Chipaya and fitted with more care. Given the width, the diameter of the hut, and its height, the erection of this roof must have demanded much time and not a little precision. When going through this village so like that of the Čipaya which I had just left, I though that I had discovered a new Uro tribe. My hypothesis was legitimate because the region which I was traversing had formerly been occupied by numerous ethnic islands of this race. I inquired among the inhabitants for the reasons which made them prefer the circular form of the huts to the rectangular plan adopted everywhere else in Aymara territory. They replied that they were obliged to build houses on this model because of lack of wood. The plain where the village of Kxulliri was standing does, in fact, very much recall in its bareness that of Chipaya. This is, I believe, the reason why the Čipaya also have kept the circular hut of their ancestors. To construct a house on a rectangular plan with a double-pitched roof, wood is necessary, /191/ at the very least laths of Cereus, and this cactus does not grow everywhere. The Aymara who have been fortunate enough to have this plant close to them have been able to change the type of their primitive habitation. The others, less favored by nature or too poor to buy the necessary wood, have remained, like it or not, more conservative. Midway between Oruro and La Paz when traveling by train, one sees some villages on the right where the huts are round and of an identical construction with those of Kxulliri. Besides this Forbes (1)

2:Métraux--185 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

U
*171
●342
A
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[113]

/191 cont./

1. Forbes (David), "On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru," The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, London, New Series, Vol. II, 1870, p. 255.

in his classic monograph on the Aymara has left us an excellent description of the conical huts made entirely of stone which he encountered in his wanderings in Bolivia. The lines he devotes to them could be applied word for word to the "water houses" of the second type of the Čipaya Indians. "In the out-of-the-way places I observed circular or oval stone huts; such have been called beehive houses, the stones forming the roof and sides not being arched, but approaching one another little by little until they meet in the form of a dome; I found an excellent example of this construction, well and neatly put together, on the slope of the mountain of Illampu. This measured, internally, 9.5 feet long by 5 feet broad, and 5 feet in height; the door which was on the longer side of the oval was straight, 3 feet high and 18 inches broad; no chimney or other opening for smoke was visible." /Cited in English./ (2)

A
[113]

2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), "The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia," Comparative ethnographical studies, 3, Göteborg, 1924, p. 19. He describes this form of hut among the Aymara of the region of Tunari near Cochabamba.

U
342
554

In the entire village of Chipaya there are only five rectangular huts; they all belong to rich men who have traveled and have brought the cactus joists which support the roof from far away. The rectangular form is naturally considered chic, exactly as after the

Carangas - Chipaya

/191 cont./

342 [554] Conquest it was perfectly natural that the chiefs should be the first to adopt it. In my opinion it would be a mistake to see in the round hut of the Čipaya a culture trait which is characteristic of this ethnic group and capable of furnishing a clue to their origin. The modern Čipaya have retained the round hut solely because it was more practical and the only type which they could erect easily and without too much expense on the wretched plain where they are cantoned. If in place of tola they had had some other tougher shrub, their picturesque hovels would have given way to the dull sheds of the Aymara long ago.

*171 342 /192/ The Uro Indians of Ancoaqui build their huts on the model of those of the Aymara. Up to recent times they must have had to retain the circular hut, for I noticed two or three houses in their village which, without exactly being round, had at least considerably rounded corners. The wretched abodes to be seen among the Uro have exactly the same form as those of the Čipaya and, consequently, the second type of huts, i.e., those which are dispersed in the pastures. In contrast to the Aymara or Čipaya, the Uro cover their huts with totora mats, which they fasten with wooden pegs stuck in the walls.

Facing Ancoaqui on the other bank of the Desaguadero I saw several huts of a type new to me, one which I think has not yet been described. These are cubes with thick walls covered with a masonry dome, a middle term between pyramid and cupola. These huts were grouped exactly like the estancias of the Čipaya. They were, moreover, as it seemed to me, the dwellings of shepherds who certainly had a house in the village. The huts on the Desaguadero recall chullpas much more than do the Čipaya huts which have been compared with these funerary buildings.

*171 172 342 764 Whoever has traveled by mule on the altiplano and ascertained the fabulous number of chullpas left by the pre-Columbian inhabitants must have asked himself what befell the actual habitations where the Indians who are incarcerated in these strange sepulchers lived. It

/192 cont./

seems inexplicable that precisely the funerary houses would have survived, whereas the houses themselves have disappeared without leaving a trace. How could it happen that a people capable of building such remarkable and lasting buildings as the chullpas would not have left a single village behind? Chipaya gives us the key to the problem: the ancient Aymara huts were undoubtedly made of clods, a perishable substance which time has made disappear down to the last vestige. Although the Cipaya have occupied their present habitat since remote times, one cannot find any ancient ruin among them. It is enough that a hut be abandoned for there to be nothing left of it at the end of a few years.

One word more on the distribution of the round hut: this form was formerly much more widespread in the western part of South America than it is in our day. The Relaciones geográficas (1)

1. Xauxa Province, Vol. I, p. 89; Huamanga Province (San Juan de la Frontera), Vol. I, p. 97; Repartimiento /fief/ of Atunsora, Vol. I, p. 176; Collao, Vol. II, p. 62; Corregimiento /district/ of Otavalo (Equator), Vol. III, p. 116; District of Cuenca (Equator), Vol. III, pp. 164 and 176; Region of Quito, Vol. III, p. 94; Region of Chuquimayo, Vol. IV, p. LI; etc., etc.

makes allusions all the time to round houses in regions where they no longer exist.

/193/ The Quichua Indians of Cochabamba in the middle of the last century still had round huts made entirely of earth and stone with dome-shaped roofing. One of them has been reproduced and described by Herndon and Gibbon (1): "The ancient habitations

Carangas-
Chipaya
Manta SD10
Peruvian Indians SE3
Modern Quechua SE24

/193 cont./

way as to form a wall 1.40 to 1.80 meters high, circular in form, confining a space with a three to six meter diameter inside. On this wall 60 to 80 cm. thick a thatched roof rests, shaped into a more or less pointed cone. A small door 60 cm. wide and 80 cm. to 1.20 meters high allows one, stooping, to enter the hut."

The round hut seems formerly to have alternated with that of a quadrangular pattern in northern Peru. I am reproducing a passage from Olson's article (3), which lets us understand that the method

3. Olson (Ronald I.), "Old empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, pp. 10-11.

of constructing these habitations was not very different from that which I described for Chipaya: "Certain villages are composed entirely of circular stone structures some ten to thirty feet in diameter with stone roofs of a corbelled dome type. Other villages show both round and square houses with similarly domed roofs. Since a domed stone roof is more in keeping with a circular than a square house, we may assume the former to be the earlier type." /Cited in English./

Mr. Otto Braun in a letter to Baron E. Nordenskiöld (3-VII-/194/ 1931) remarks that "although the huts of the Quichua of southeastern Bolivia have a square design, their barns or their granaries are always round in form."

For distribution of the round hut in South America I refer the reader to Nordenskiöld's map (1), while making the observation that

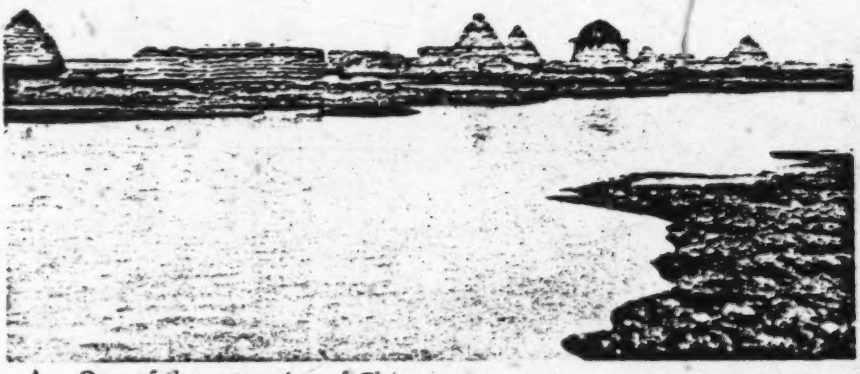
1. The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia, Chapter 1.

it is incomplete.

2:Métraux--213 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

133
342
361

Plate IV



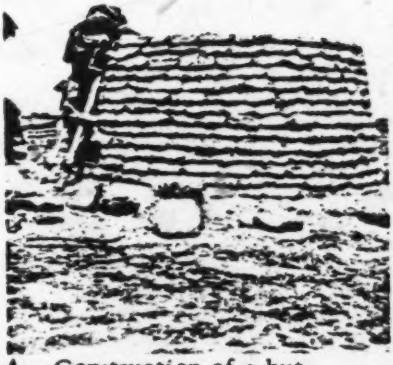
A. One of the estancias of Chipaya.

[346]

B. The little church of Chipaya, between the two "moieties."

2:Métraux--215 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

Plate VI



A. Construction of a hut.

B. Construction of a hut: the faggots of tola are arranged in arches.

C. Čipaya hut made entirely of clods.

D. The Aymara church in Iscara (Carangas Province).

Plate II

342

3. A typical house in Iru-Itu in 1938.

342
356
415

4. The same house in 1942: the high roof of totoras shaped like a keel has collapsed and can no longer be repaired.

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

101 between ou and o /French sounds/; or else urito (ourito), an affectionate diminutive, or chana wawa, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of hosle or huslé, "bastard," without father or master," or on the other hand the very respectful one of haké waka, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives uru, uro, kotá-haké ("men of the Lake"), uma-hake ("water men"), and chaika-uira ("fishermen") in Aymara; laguneros /"lake men", in Spanish; uru, uru-kuna ("Uru men"), cocha kuna ("men of the Lake"), kocha-la ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Chroniclers

101 175 Morua (Fr. Martin de)

...but since the peoples of Peru are many, very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the bigness of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull, as in Collao and other areas; [131] [262] because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and subsisted on the totora and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Puquinas, some of them or generally most raise livestock, and some live near the said 195 lake, intermixed with the said Uros; and these eat raw fish, [262] which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore [501] clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and [291] [294] cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they made a sort of jacket which they were accustomed to wear; [241] and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make [342] houses, but they merely subsist on plants, although there also [222] exists among them a seed similar to mijo, which grows on

4:Vellard--4 D,E-4,5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th Century]

/31 cont./

175 They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes,
[342] which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tule...."

...They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant,
[262] although not very good....They dress badly and eat, aside
[181] from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land;
they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They
[48] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general
[65] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered
in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now
pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some
order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/..., 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua: Juicio de limites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/, Barcelona, 1906, I, 295-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[824] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities
of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and
pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats
[101] and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so
wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they
were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species
of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/..., Madrid, 1601-1615, III, 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[133] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has
only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said
to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a
bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to
cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current,
according to what they say.

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/35 cont./

175 (Juan Alfonso Carrizo, Cancionero popular de Jujuy /Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy/, p. XV, Tucuman, 1935.)

/36/ Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada /Moral Chronicle/ of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

[162] [181] In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor Lorenço de Aldana gave us...; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uro Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscene and dark-skinned /renegrida/ they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. The chief [103] pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Volume I, p. 353.)

[162] [197] [181] This pueblo (of Challacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians who were being catechized by our Order.... These are crude Uro Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned /renegrida/, without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all [226] prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish in the lake of Paria...those who live on land /do so/ in [342] sepultures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails...the [137] Uro Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here [291] they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold [197] land) than some mats of these cattails.... Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion. [103] [197] There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a Priory with a subsidiary church of Uro Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away.... There is another pueblo four leagues

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

224 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

233 **Herding.**—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the
231 swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

241 **Farming.**—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 **Food preparation.**—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white
[262] root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

273 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

276 Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.
171

HOUSES

342 Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed
[284] vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over
[354] the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and
[392] makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The
[184] Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
342
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

[285]

[286]

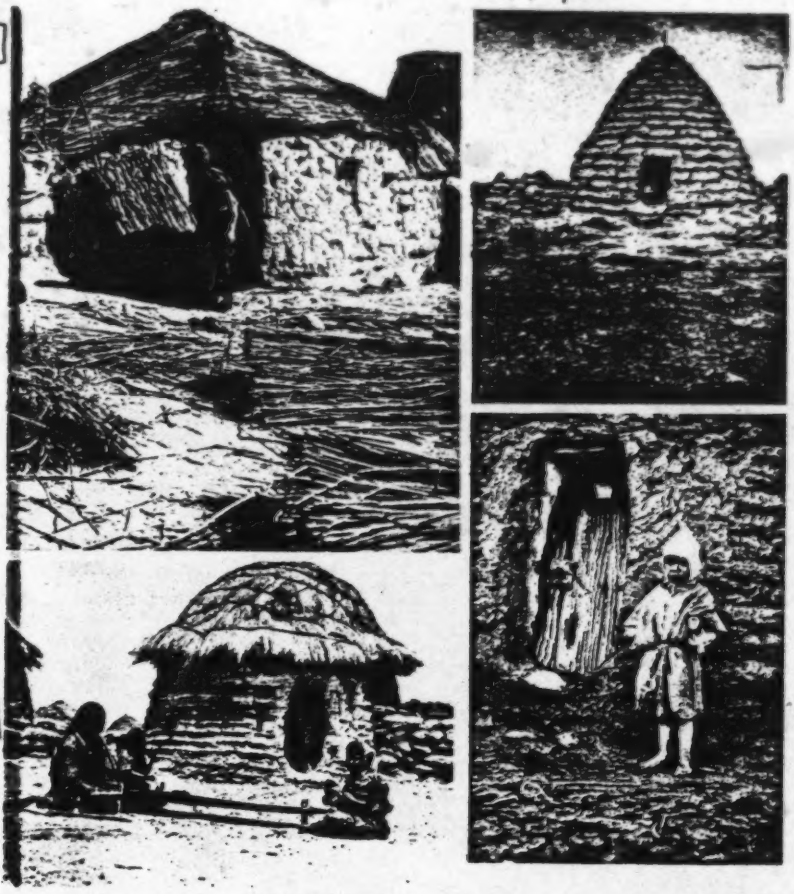


PLATE 113.—**Uru and Chipaya houses.** *Top (left): Uru* mat-covered house. *Top (right): Chipaya* sod house. *Bottom (left): Uru* house. Weavers in foreground. *Bottom (right):* Door of a *Chipaya* sod house. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-A]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya
342

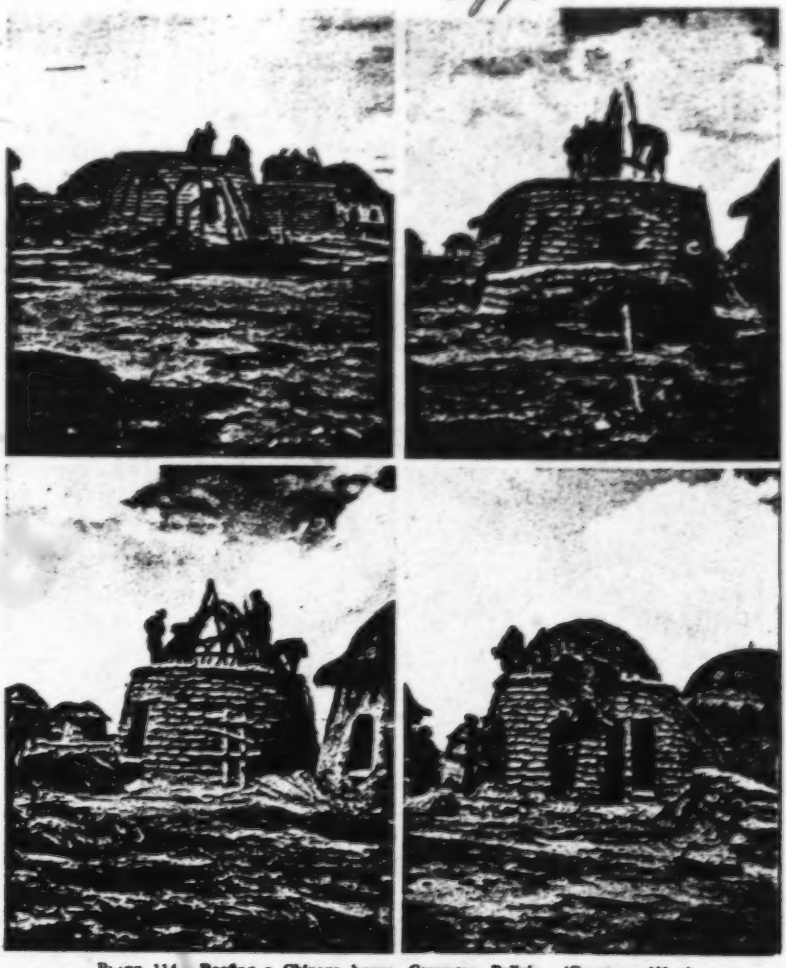


PLATE 114.—Roofing a Chipaya house, Carangas, Bolivia. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-B]

5 La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946

SF2 Uru SF24
Chipaya

286
302
516

286
516

283
342
516

PLATE 116.—Uru and Chipaya weaving and spinning. *Top: Uru* woman working at native loom. *Bottom (left): Chipaya* man at upright loom. *Bottom (right): Chipaya* woman spinning. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-D]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

[421]

[342]

PLATE 118.—Chipaya women. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[p. 582-F]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The maλku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own maλku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant. The cult of the maλku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "sevarios," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the maλku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candies are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

6: Ruiz and Rose Y-3 (ex.1966) 1967 SF34 Un: SF34
Chipaya

300
344
361
978

Población Chipaya del Altiplano boliviano.—*Foto Instituto Lingüístico de Verano de Bolivia.*

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[title page]

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characteristic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally

Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on p. 219]

7:Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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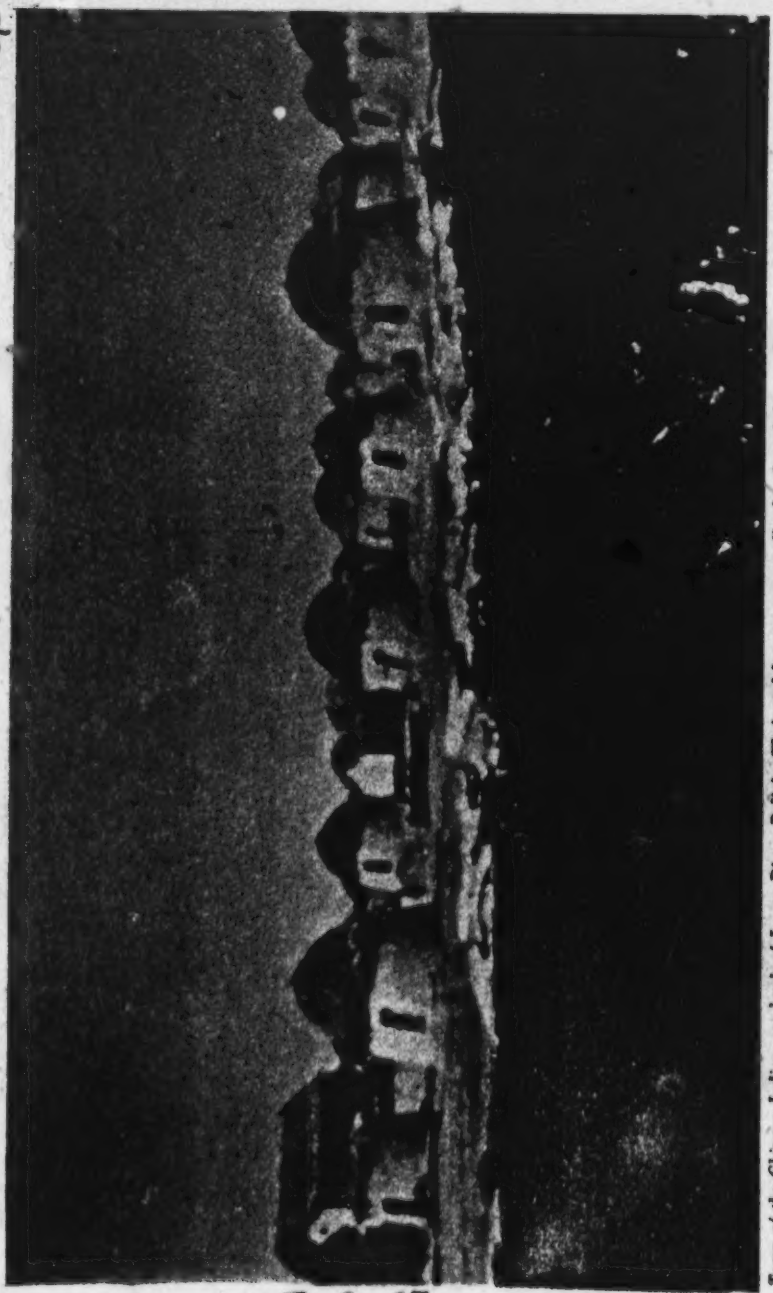


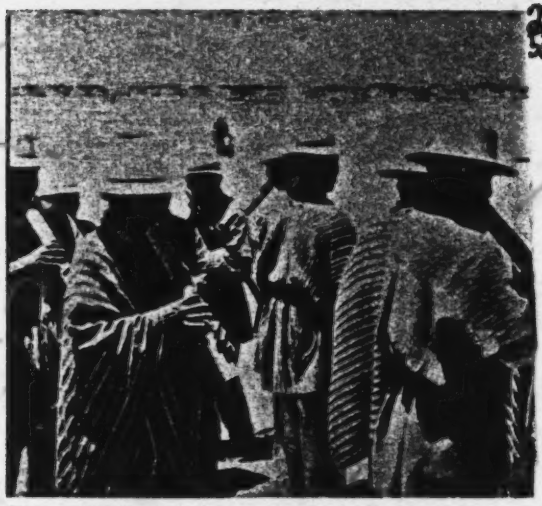
Town of the Chipaya Indians on bank of Lauca River, Bolivia. Their sod houses are usually thatch-roofed

[P.19-A]

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes



Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year to the various families by the head of each moiety.

tains; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Mallcu Mayor*. The other *mallcus* are represented by small conical sod towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; cheeses and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *yatiri*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

Fig. 8: An Uru house made of adobe and covered with rushes.

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9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

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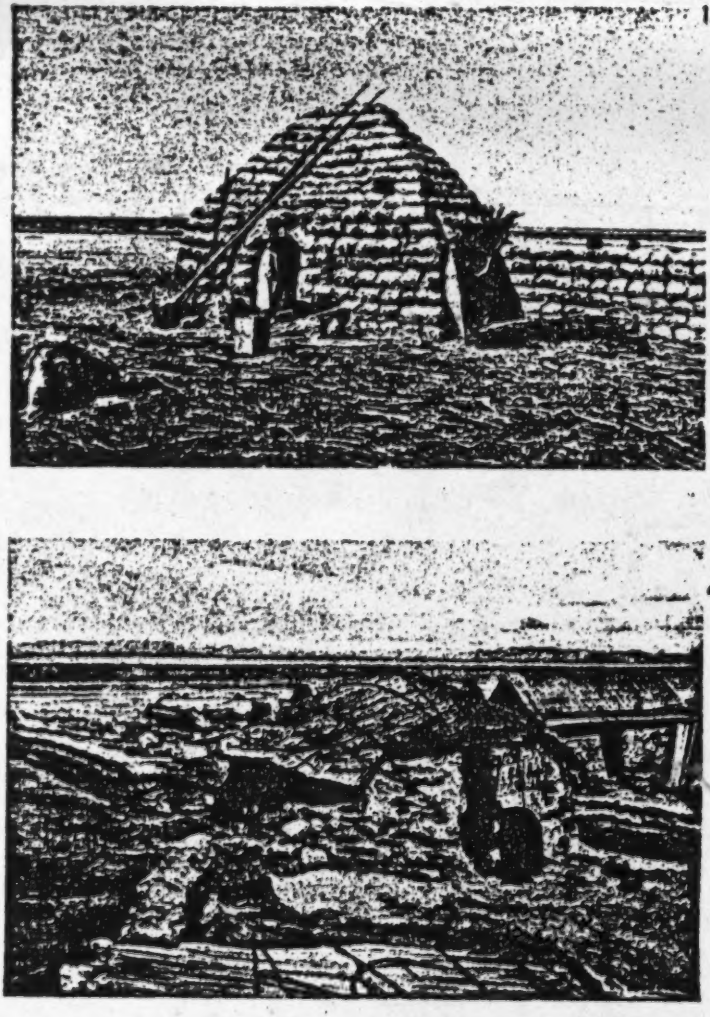

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FIG. 1. Uru houses. *Above*, hut with corbelled sod roof; note crude plow at right side of hut and balsa poles by door. *Below*, typical round Uru house with mat roof, Aymára style rectangular house to rear; Desaguadero swamps in the background.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *ira* (Aymará *unku*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*makči*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *almiļa*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulči*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *škara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *iktara*), complete the male costume. The belt called *časi* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *urku*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *čočo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *ulpas* of Incasica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

(Aymára rectangular houses are *iču*-grass thatched, not matted in the Uru fashion). Possibly because of the scarcity of wood, "rafters" in the roof are made of thick bundles of reeds, the main supports laid east and west, with secondary supports arched north and south. Some of the round houses have a roof framework made of bent sticks laid at right angles and grass-rope lashed at their crossings. On this framework of wood or *totora*-bundles, large mats, employing the full lengths of these giant reeds, are laid in two sections, so that there is a sort of pseudo-ridge to the roof, running from over the door to the west wall; this ridge is made by the meeting of the butts of the reeds. Grass ropes are laid over these mats to hold them down in the wind, and tied to wooden pegs in the mud walls of the house. There is no smoke-hole save the door, so the roof mats become speedily coated with soot and are quite waterproof. One must stoop in entering the door, but a man can stand upright in the center of the house. A mud "stove" is placed to the right (north) of the door, in which *t'ola* (a kind of grease-brush), *yareta* (woody, turf-like masses of a semi-subterranean shrub), or *takia* (llama-dung) are burned for fuel, owing to the absence of wood in the region. The cord used on the roof-mats to twine the ends of the single reed elements, is true two-element twisted rope, the torque of the twisted strands of wiry grass holding the whole together. The rope used in binding *balsas*, on the other hand, is of tightly plaited grass, possibly because the more laboriously made plaited grass rope has greater strength and durability than the twisted kind.

Anciently, according to the 18th century writer Alcedo, the Uru lived in caves and holes in the ground, but they share the round type of house with their congeners the Chipaya. The same round house type is seen elsewhere scatteredly in the *altiplano*. Forbes noted "beehive" houses in out-of-the-way places, and in the 16th and 17th century descriptions such as that of Cobo are indications that the round hut was the original Aymára style. Métraux noted round mud houses with corbelled domes like those of the Chipaya, at Krulliri, near Toledo; and villages of round houses may be seen the west of the railroad halfway between La Paz and Oruro.[18]

[18] David Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (Journal Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 2: 193–305, 1870), p. 255. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 69, also says the Uru formerly lived in caves or holes dug in the ground, and roofed with mats. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1895), Vol. 4: pp. 166–667. Métraux (JSAP 28: 190–194) says that the rectangular huts of the Aymára are built after Spanish patterns, and that only the chiefs at Chipaya used them, others building the older round type of house. The round style is useless, however, for tracing the provenience of the Uru: Braun noted Quechua storehouses of this kind in southwestern Bolivia, Nordenskiöld the same form among Aymára at Tunari, near Cochabamba (Otto Braun [Letter to Nordenskiöld in 1931]; Erland Nordenskiöld, *The*

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Another house type, beyond the rectangular-thatched and round-matted forms, is that to be found in several examples on the plain just to the north of Ancoaqui. These have a rectangular ground-plan, and instead of being thatched with grass or *totora*-mats, have a pyramidal "dome" corbelled of the same turfs that the walls are made. One of these photographed was on a slight artificial elevation, and had a shallow "moat" around it, possibly to provide dryness and drainage during the long rainy season. Another has two doors, both east and south, suggesting that shepherds might watch their llamas from these tiny huts, which are too small for family habitation; one of them has a chimney-hole in the roof.

Posnansky[19] says the Uru of Sojopaca built temporary shelters, apparently of mud, "like beavers," and figures a carefully domed *putuku* on the islet of Simillaque, as well as a round, stone-roofed house on the Isle of Panza. Uru round houses at Ancoaqui have vertical walls, but some of those of the Chipaya (Posnansky, Figs. 39 and 56) are battened inward, like truncated domes. On islands in the Desaguadero swamps I noticed temporary shelters of *totora* shaped like an old-fashioned straw beehive with a point, erected to shelter the *balsa*-builders.

Food. The Uru have repeatedly been referred to as being chiefly fishermen, but fish are by no means exclusively their diet. Their linguistic congeners to the south, the Chipaya, are chiefly pastoral, and the Uru likewise have pigs, donkeys, some few chickens, sheep, and cows, but no llamas or alpacas. Of the cows Métraux writes:

> those on the border of the Desaguadero [have] become amphibian. They pass the whole day in the water browsing on aquatic plants. From a distance one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan marsh.

These half-wild creatures are so "pastured" because of the acute lack of land among the Uru, whose agriculture,[20] for the same reason, is thus greatly circumscribed. The Uru have dogs, which they call *paku*. Like the Aymára, and most *altiplano* Indians, the Uru keep domesticated guinea-pigs in their houses. Pigs wander about the village also, but are sometimes placed in

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Ethnography of South America seen from the Mojos of Bolivia (Comparative Ethnographic Studies 3, Göteberg, 1924), p. 19; see also Bernabé Cobo, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 2: p. 62; Huaman Poma de Ayala, in Montell, *Dress and Ornaments*, p. 188, Fig. 86 (in Métraux *loc. cit.*).

[19] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 108 and Figures 104, 111.

[20] George McCutchen McBride, *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia* (American Geographic Society, Research Series 5, New York, 1921), p. 18, says the Uru "form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them."

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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FIG. 2. Uru woman of Ancoaqui, Rio Desaguadero, Bolivia. Note *tupo* or bodice-pin, Titicaca hair-style braidlet, door, pottery and thatching.

Carangas—
Chipaya

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not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long, more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

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Means of Subsistence

233 433 Stock raising. The Čipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in 233 311 [312] describing the environment /160/ where they live, the pastures which cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts 331 343 311 shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the second type (Fig. 1, B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at littering time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large lacustral city.

233 419 The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Čipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

342 [361] It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Čipaya have their "water houses" (kˇas-kˇoya), or estancias, (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have [592] already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

/117 cont./

312 puna, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places
[246] lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants,
[231] which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as boars. The
137 Čipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities. As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this assertion. It nonetheless reveals a certain care for precision among the Čipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the scantiness of this flora which a little wetness causes to grow in the
132 midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya
[133] has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate
[246] land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques, the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds draw into strange formations and assume a luster elsewhere unknown. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

[133] Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the existence of the Čipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River, which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the characteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months, threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation
132 of the "canton," the flocks which feed upon it. This is the most
221 crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe
196 are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals of the Čipaya take place at this time and that all have the

2:Métraux--21 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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The chapels are surrounded by an enclosure and before the portal stands an oratory or a cross from which emanates a whole series of small chapels and oratories which follow each other in close succession for five or six kilometers. These strings of sacred buildings correspond in every respect to the zeque (1) of Cuzco, the

1. Ondegardo (Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas /Accounts concerning the Religion and Government of the Incas/, Part I, p. 114: "Many others, men and women, have charge of set huacas, of which particular account is given in the general letter about Cuzco, which is common in the whole realm and includes all the places which are distinguished from the others in some way, whether near the town or even as far away as the mountain peaks, if it is rugged country, and which they call apachetas, such as some large stones, and all the puquios and springs of water, or some level places which they build on some slope, or some specific trees, or the places where they sow the maize for the sacrifices, because all of these things are divided off by their ceques and boundaries around every town and are in the charge of persons who make within them different sacrifices for diverse effects, in some so that women may become pregnant, in others because they say that from them come the ice or the hail, and in others so that it may rain. Thus in this way does the Inca teach them this division of places

I 346 778

/122 cont./ in all that was conquered, charging them greatly with the benefit which they would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 3-43.

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succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominiums in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

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U 823 82 [361] [1788]

It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

U [1782]

U [1772]

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*[178] wood and come from the forests of eastern Bolivia. The Indians call them by the half-Aymara, half-Spanish word kamana-para, [171] "house stick." I never saw one in the Aymara huts where I stayed.

Sanctuaries, chapels, and oratories. The Čipaya celebrate their festivals at the foot of the sacred cones of earth, or mal'ku, near the samiris' cellar or in the chapels and the village church. I have already mentioned above the location of the mal'ku in relation to the village, and I have given a complete description of them. Hence note must be taken here only of the edifices of a *[178] • 346 mixed character, i.e., those which are used simultaneously for observances of Christian and pagan worship.

The church falls into this last category. Its belfry is a divinity common to the entire tribe, as the church is situated in the middle of the neutral ground which separates the two saya. Its interior is miserable and does not differ at all from the rural churches in the rest of Bolivia, unless in its poverty. On the altar are a few images [182] made of pasteboard, which receive blood sacrifices, offerings of coca, and libations of alcohol and chicha. Exactly as in other [176] Bolivian churches, one finds in this one an unusual number of boxes containing the image of Saint James on his horse, a saint whom the Indians hold in particular veneration and to whom they have given all the attributes and functions of the ancient god of thunder. One sees there also innumerable small terra-cotta bowls, full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns; these little lamps take the place of candles and are given by the faithful.

[614] Each clan has in addition its chapel, built on the same plan as the church but smaller. The interior decoration is almost the same but even more wretched. In front of the chapel a small enclosure is used for gatherings of the faithful when they assemble to drink or feast together in homage to some Christian or pagan divinity. From the Tuanta chapel a line of chapels and little square edifices, which for want of a better word I shall call oratories or altars, extends in a straight line toward the east, or more precisely toward the southeast. These are small cubes of earth topped with a niche

/339 cont./

*708 and decorated with small earthen cornices which make them vague-
● 346 ly comparable to miniature pagodas. The niche always faces east and generally contains coca leaves, dishes with the remains of offerings, small bottles full of alcohol, morsels of copal, and little lamps /340/ with tallow. Some coins are also to be found there. These curious constructions are carefully painted white and are numerous not only in the village but also in the whole extent of Čipaya territory, where they tend to be distributed in long strings. They alternate with tiny chapels which are within an enclosure and also decorated with cornices. The interior of these chapels is completely bare, and on the earthen altar one rarely finds anything other than the remains of offerings. However, one may make some bizarre discoveries there: tea boxes containing the oddest objects, cheap little mirrors, pious or secular pictures taken from illustrated magazines which have come to be stranded in these distant parts.

*708 Chapels and oratories are particularly abundant in the whole
346 of Carangas Province. They are generally on top of mountains
171 in the middle of the desert. Paths and even superb roads lead to
[487] them in a straight line, without regard for rugged places and
[491] sloping ground. These strange monuments which stand out against the grey of the mountains and which, distorted by mirage, look like temples or churches radiantly white, all contain the remains of offerings and some rare decoration. Near the village of Kala, a day and a half from Chipaya, I saw a whole group of these chapels carefully kept up and, in addition, bearing a small shelter for pilgrims. One could see piles of excrement there, drawn from the entrails of sacrificed animals, and traces of blood. At the foot of the hill there were stone enclosures for llamas. From this place
[491] roads five to six meters wide broke away and led in straight lines to all the points of the horizon. These large avenues, absolutely clean, did not seem to have been used for a long time. I never had the leisure to follow them to the end, but I believe that they would have led me to some village or to some group of houses forming
*708 an estancia or an ayl'u. The Indians never wanted to give me any
171 information about the purpose of these sanctuaries, and the priest

2:Métraux--213 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Plate IV

A. One of the estancias of Chipaya.

[346]

B. The little church of Chipaya, between the two "moieties."

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Remarks

*539 206 The Uru build dams of totoras in a V-form on the Desaguadero, the point oriented toward the direction of the current. A narrow passage contrived at the point is closed at the time of fishing by means of a large circular net, the káku, installed on a balsa. Fishers standing on one or several balsas go downstream, beating the water with long poles furnished with a totora ball, in order to frighten the fish which, descending the river course, enter the enclosure and fall into the net [423] placed at the point. Each Uru family has its fishing enclosure, very far away from those of its neighbors (6-7). The distribution of the location of these enclosures as well as the use of the totora fields which are used to make balsas was ruled by Uru customary law.

*539 193 1. ti- ki or simply -ki, a particle to designate the object about which one is speaking: this enclosure here; this river here (5). 6. ʃíla- ʃíla, literally "one," means "one for each"; the repetition of the adverb háske háske has the value of a superlative; "far, far, very far"; Aymara and Kečwa form the superlative in an identical manner: eg.: Kala- Kala, "rock rock," in Aymara: "many rocks."

VII. The Village of the Uru at Iru-Itu
Comments on photographs by Manuel Inta

(See p. 164 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 [346] 1. Is this your chapel? 2. It is our chapel. 3. These are our houses. 4. The chapel is seen from behind. 5. The chapel is good that way (seen from the front). 6. The totora [824] is kept upright in a heap. /181/ 7. It is kept in a heap so that it will not rot.

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca.1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

342
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361
978

Indigenista

Población Chipaya del Altiplano boliviano.—*Foto Instituto Lingüístico de Verano de Bolivia.*

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[title page]

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

8:Pain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SP24 Urn SP24
Iru Ifu
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Fig. 2: The village church.

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Fig. 3: Our leading lady and her mother, who was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen.

[P. 306-A]

114 retire to our respective quarters. Before leaving, I arranged the remaining provisions, carefully propping up a thermos containing our precious hot coffee for the morning. I have but few manias, the principal one being to brush my teeth. I therefore hunted for a bottle of water and found it empty. My hygienic preocupations vastly amused my companions, and someone offered me a bottle of lager. Not wishing to lose face I accepted, declaring that there was no better mouthwash, but feeling secretly rather sick at the idea of a combination of colgate and beer. But on carrying out the experiment, I found out that there *is* no better mouthwash in existence. By now the moon was high and full, and so strong was the light that finding it impossible to sleep I switched on the engine for heat, as in spite of my vicuña-lined sleepingbag, the cold was intense. I read for an hour or so, which gave me such a headache, that I had to take aspirin with the remaining beer. The next morning Abelot and I wound our way down to the river, which was frozen at the edge. We broke the ice, drew some water and washed, much to the surprise of the villagers. Again I brushed my teeth with the last drops of beer before the astonished gaze of the people who had never seen such a strange exhibition.

Arriving at the mayor's, we found the rest of the company singularly unglamorous and, o tragedy, someone had kicked over the thermos of coffee. We ate some apples and biscuits, but our depression melted away in the brilliant sun. The sky was blue as it is only to be seen on the Roof of the World. While the professor went off to take some sound-
433 recordings, we explored the village. There was prac-
[648] tically no sign of animal life or cultivation. This was normal, as the Aymara peasants refuse to allow the Uru, whom they consider as pariahs, to cultivate
[396] the ground. They have a narrow strip of shore on which to build their *balsas*.

346 We returned by the little church. Very occasionally
1093 a priest comes over from Guaqui on the lake. There

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 313-A]

[p. 310-B]

341 There
[996] were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no
[231] tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony
126 path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him
[396] standing motionless and followed the younger one
[283] down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

824 Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered
[731] from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among
[501] the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the
[964] stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes,
[913] the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

132 Fortunately in these last few years the climatic con-
137 ditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more in-
501 creased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and
396 one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long
283 braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

[p. 313-A]

/178/
3½2 in these desert regions. Matting hung before the entrance takes the place of a door.

[162] Figs. 21 and 22.—Huts temporarily occupied by Aymara herdsmen in the region of the Desaguadero (left bank). The roof is cupola shaped. These dwellings are made of clods of earth (drawn from a photograph).

35 An inventory of the furnishings and objects found in these huts
41 can be quickly made. I took one; there were mats for sleeping, a clay cook stove, a sort of small enclosure containing burnable material, pottery of different shapes and sizes, a mortar, some spindles, balls of wool, textile fabric which was generally coarsely woven, sometimes some fishing equipment, and finally a broom. Passing into the courtyard one generally notices string, weirs, swords, a loom, and farming implements of European origin.

323 The vessels are not locally produced. They are imported
[439] and /Fig. 22 appears here/ come from some indigenous industry of the altiplano. . The pots were shaped on a wheel and bear a

Carangas—
Chipaya

/121 cont./

621 not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could
616 not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have
619 compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality
[368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

342 Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the
343 prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are
361 grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long,
[363] more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

● 351 The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts
[171] so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this
[176] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

2:Métraux--133 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas–
Chipaya

Plate XII

*796
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A. – Festival of Candlemas: libation to a banner.

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B. – Čipaya women feasting the day after a festival.

Iru Itu
8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

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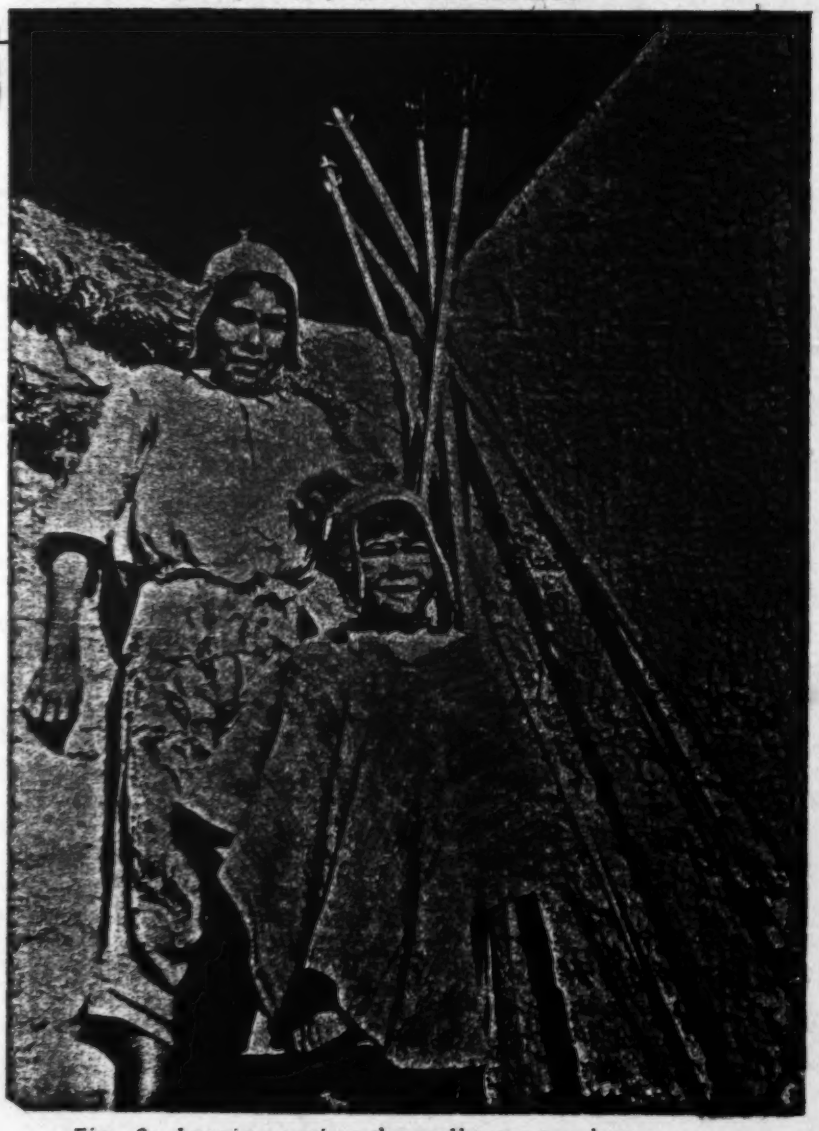

Fig. 6: Leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old.

[p. 308]

Carangas — Chipaya

/156 cont./ The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots
342 of tola (čoksa, čoxsa) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes
335 (kxaru) (Pl. VI, B /see p. 215/). They are thrust in the holes of
[824] which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1, H /see
[883] p. 142/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are superimposed and are fastened at the intersections by solid ligatures. Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cereus wood /157/ /Figure 1 appears here/ /158/ in order to allow the roofers to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

[281] On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum (pirina) made of straw (p^hit) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin covering, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are hoisted up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where
[284] they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the
[413] faggots by means of a long wooden needle (čapa) threaded with straw cord (Fig. 1, A) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to encompass a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged
[132] in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence of this thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is
[284] made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the intercrossing of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

[789] The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross surmounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house from the effects of lightening.

252 Furnishings. The interior disposition of Čipaya huts is most
352 summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[Text Continues on p. 143]

Carangas—
Chipaya

/158 cont./

252 reproduced here (Fig. 2, C /see p. 150/). These stoves are well
352 contained; they are always to the right of the entry against the wall.
252 They are provided with holes for the pots and with a compartment
352 where the stores of taquia, i.e., of dried excrement, are kept. As
372 this substance is the chief fuel on the altiplano and has been through-
235 out time, the use of these stoves, an equivalent of which exists in
no other region of South America, is self-explanatory. This dried
excrement burns with difficulty on an open fire, and like wood
(sup) it is too rare to allow the least heat which emanates from it to
252 be lost. It is hence because of the material and from considerations
352 of economy that the Indians of the altiplano arrived at the idea of
195 constructing these stoves, which are certainly very old since Cobo (1)

[113]

1. Cobo (Bernabé), Historia del nuevo mundo /History of the New World/, for... of the Society of Jesus, published for the first time with notes and other illuatrations by D. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. Seville, 1893. "In all the houses, however small they may be, there is its cook stove behind the door, which is made of a small clay stove no higher than a handbreadth, closed on all sides, with a small mouth through which they feed the fire, and in the upper part, two or three round holes, where they set the pots. With this they use very little fuel, because they never put in more than two small sticks by the ends, and as they are being burned they are fed in, so that there is more fuel used in one of our cook stoves than in 20 stoves of the Indians."

Carangas—
Chipaya

/158 cont./

252 who mentions them seems to consider them as /159/ indigenous.
352 The smoke escapes through the door, but in some huts, not very
[175] many it is true, a hole in the wall facilitates ventilation.

513 Enormous wool blankets (čusi), extremely heavy, take the place of beds. They are warm enough for one to suffice to cover
513 for the night two or three people, who roll themselves in them. At
175 the beginning of the seventeenth century these blankets were in general use on the altiplano. "The bed which the people of the Sierra and the cold lands use," Cobo tells us, "is a large blanket called a chusi, which is spread on the ground. One half serves as a mattress and the other, which they pull up from the foot end, as a
[177] blanket or sheet. All the inhabitants of one house, fathers and sons, sleep in one blanket, although now under the influence of civilization
351 they are beginning to have separate beds." The present-day Andean Indians sleep on earth benches which are altogether lacking in
[174] Chipaya. One might conclude from this that they were unknown in pre-Columbian times and that they are only a crude imitation of European beds.

In some Čipaya huts one can find a wobbly table made of
[178] old boxes. The Čipaya use them only as an altar on which to place the heads of sacrificed animals or coca that they offer their guests when they celebrate a festival at home. Outside of these occasions the tables have no use.

Several wooden pegs thrust into the wall serve as pegs for clothes. The few articles to be seen are arranged in niches contrived in the wall or on small whatnots of earth shaped like swallows' nests (Fig. 2, F /see p. 150/).

354 To illuminate the always very dark interior of their huts, the Čipaya have tallow candles or, more frequently, very primitive small lamps: bowls (čua), full of tallow in which a wick of wool
[179] burns. This apparatus, which gives them only feeble light, has the Spanish name mecha, a practically certain indication that the idea came to them from the Creoles.

A 252 804 35 4 252 412 4 412 4 252 415 4 415 A 412 4 412

/163/

/See captions on next page./

/163 cont./

Fig. 2. –Čipaya material culture. Utensils and tools.

U
252 A: Baked clay stove of the Aymara Indians.
352
412 B: Wooden spoon (wisl'a).
415 C: Čipaya stove (from a sketch).
A D: Adze with T-shaped blade.
252 E: One-livre stone weight used by the Aymara of Carangas to weigh
412 the potatoes and salt they sell in Chipaya.
804 F: Čipaya whatnot.
G: Mortar (t^{w}ax) (from a sketch).
H: Stone hammer.
I: Axe with T-shaped heel and old hafting.
J: Stone vat (takxira) for treading on quinua seeds (from a sketch).
K: Aymara hoe from the village of Belen (Oruro Department).

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year to the various families by the head of each moiety.

SP24 Uru SP24
Iru Itu

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rily to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Roca, not having sleepingbags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies.

Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *puna*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or great-coats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* [4]). This latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to retire to our respective quarters.

[4]) Yarema, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 310-A]

/342 cont./

*796 He lived far from the tribe in a place called Yunguyo. He was never seen in the village. He appeared only for the festivals, strangely dressed and reciting his prayers without stop, kneeling, rising, and offering libations with a half-comical, half-tragic pomposity. He was treated with a certain respect due to his art, and I believe that the Čipaya insisted on having him with them during all their festivals no matter how small. He animated them [781] and gave them the religious character which they would often have lacked without him.

159 /343/ Anacleto Mullu, of whom I previously spoke, was the most intelligent of all the Čipaya with whom I had dealings. His small, lively eyes sparkled with a mocking gleam, and he never missed an opportunity to tell a joke, even an improper one. His facial mobility was such that he could immediately abandon his jovial air to take on a grave and serious expression, as if he were the most respectable of men.

Festivals and Rites

*796 The taking of office of the new authorities (January 1).
602 The first of January, the day on which the transmission of powers is carried out in Chipaya, is the occasion of a festival, the only one in which only rare pagan elements are mingled. I shall mention a few of its details which illustrate the attitude of the [354] Čipaya toward the Catholic religion. That morning the small church of the tribe had been abundantly lighted; lamps or tallow candles were burning on all the altars and fragrant smoke was rising from all the censers. The outgoing alcaldes had gathered beside their successors near the altar, and a kind of sacristan was fumigating [152] them copiously. Some women squatting behind the men were sobbing and sighing as though their hearts were broken. They were only quiet when small baked clay llamas which they had placed on the altar were distributed; they kissed them and fondled

Carangas—
Chipaya

/158 cont./

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513 for the night two or three people, who roll themselves in them. At
175 the beginning of the seventeenth century these blankets were in general use on the altiplano. "The bed which the people of the Sierra and the cold lands use," Cobo tells us, "is a large blanket called a chusi, which is spread on the ground. One half serves as a mattress and the other, which they pull up from the foot end, as a
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In some Čipaya huts one can find a wobbly table made of
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[197] burns. This apparatus, which gives them only feeble light, has the Spanish name mecha, a practically certain indication that the idea came to them from the Creoles.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

Herding.—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

Farming.—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

Food preparation.—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.

HOUSES

Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955

SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

rily to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Roca, not having sleepingbags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies.

Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *puna*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or great-coats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* [4]). This latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to retire to our respective quarters.

[4]) Yarema, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 310-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

(Aymára rectangular houses are *ičʉ*-grass thatched, not matted in the Uru fashion). Possibly because of the scarcity of wood, "rafters" in the roof are made of thick bundles of reeds, the main supports laid east and west, with secondary supports arched north and south. Some of the round houses have a roof framework made of bent sticks laid at right angles and grass-rope lashed at their crossings. On this framework of wood or *totora*-bundles, large mats, employing the full lengths of these giant reeds, are laid in two sections, so that there is a sort of pseudo-ridge to the roof, running from over the door to the west wall; this ridge is made by the meeting of the butts of the reeds. Grass ropes are laid over these mats to hold them down in the wind, and tied to wooden pegs in the mud walls of the house. There is no smoke-hole save the door, so the roof mats become speedily coated with soot and are quite waterproof. One must stoop in entering the door, but a man can stand upright in the center of the house. A mud "stove" is placed to the right (north) of the door, in which *t'ola* (a kind of grease-brush), *yareta* (woody, turf-like masses of a semi-subterranean shrub), or *tokia* (llama-dung) are burned for fuel, owing to the absence of wood in the region. The cord used on the roof-mats to twine the ends of the single reed elements, is true two-element twisted rope, the torque of the twisted strands of wiry grass holding the whole together. The rope used in binding *balsas*, on the other hand, is of tightly plaited grass, possibly because the more laboriously made plaited grass rope has greater strength and durability than the twisted kind.

Anciently, according to the 18th century writer Alcedo, the Uru lived in caves and holes in the ground, but they share the round type of house with their congeners the Chipaya. The same round house type is seen elsewhere scatteredly in the *altiplano*. Forbes noted "beehive" houses in out-of-the-way places, and in the 16th and 17th century descriptions such as that of Cobo are indications that the round hut was the original Aymára style. Métraux noted round mud houses with corbelled domes like those of the Chipaya, at Kxulliri, near Toledo; and villages of round houses may be seen the west of the railroad halfway between La Paz and Oruro.[18]

[18] David Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (Journal Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 2: 193–305, 1870), p. 255. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 69, also says the Uru formerly lived in caves or holes dug in the ground, and roofed with mats. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1895), Vol. 4: pp. 166–667. Métraux (JSAP 28: 190–194) says that the rectangular huts of the Aymára are built after Spanish patterns, and that only the chiefs at Chipaya used them, others building the older round type of house. The round style is useless, however, for tracing the provenience of the Uru: Braun noted Quechua storehouses of this kind in southwestern Bolivia, Nordenskiöld the same form among Aymára at Tunari, near Cochabamba (Otto Braun [Letter to Nordenskiöld in 1931]; Erland Nordenskiöld, *The*

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-Itu, or Angoake, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Itu had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, hispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

3:Vellard--6a D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

342

3. A typical house in Iru-Itu in 1938.

342
356
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4. The same house in 1942: the high roof of totoras shaped like a keel has collapsed and can no longer be repaired.

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them:
68 The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-
728 settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the
579 inhabitants, unable to bear with it, asked Casiracapa to rid them of those people, because they robbed them, ate their livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the Captain advised the Inca of this and he was ordered to return them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it;
[101] these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where
[131] they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small
[269] villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable: they are infidels in addition, Your Excellency would perform a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so
[356] that they and their descendants might become Christians, and giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings defy description. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

175 Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima, 1568/.

[19] This document from the General Archives of the Indies in Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed by Marie Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-150, 1951.

11:Carter E-4,5 (1953, 1960-1961) 1965
SF5 Aymara SF5
Uru SF24

and sweets that could be purchased in La Paz. They could be presented any night when there was a full moon. In order to pay for them, each peasant contributed about eight cents (U. S.) for every cow he owned, for *totora* was the main source of fodder for the hacienda.

The *camana* of the lake received no usufruct rights for his work. His main recompense came from the wild duck eggs he could find among the reeds. At times these amounted to from 80 to 100 per day, and could either be exchanged with other peasants for their products, or sent to La Paz for sale. As a sanctioning arm of the community, the *camana* of the lake could take a forfeit piece of clothing or equipment from anyone who disregarded his rules. He could not keep them, however; they had to be turned over to the *jilakata* who would then release them upon receipt of a ransom of alcohol.

Those drawn into the tribute system just described were principally the heads of households. Except for the *camana* of the lake, they possessed house plots and farm lands in usufruct. Within nearly every hacienda, however, there were a number of mature males who had no usufruct rights. Some of these, called *utaguaguas*, or "house babies," were descended from outside families who had settled there, often in an attempt to escape an unbearable landlord.[1] These were the ones most likely to be selected for the office of *camana* of the lake. Other householders without direct usufruct rights were young people who had married, but who had not been assigned their own plots of land. The *utaguaguas* had no direct obligations whatsoever to the landlord of the hacienda where they settled. They lived off what products they could obtain from other peasants in exchange for labor. The young married couples, however, usually resided with parents or relatives and assumed part of the latter's hacienda obligations.

A person having full usufruct rights was known as a *persona*, or full man. Upon his death, if his usufruct right were divided between two sons, each came to be known as a *sulka persona*, or half-man, and had only half the obligations of a normal householder to the hacienda. If the usufruct right was further divided, it could give rise to *cuarta personas*, or fourth-men, each having one-fourth of the labor obligations of a full householder.

Every full householder had to take his turn at all the major rotative

1. It is possible that these house babies are descendants of the group referred to in colonial days as Urus. Numerous references in the 1567 document formerly cited indicate that the Urus were landless and poor and that they lived in labor-share communities at the sufferance of the other Indians. Because of their poverty, they were often used by the *caciques* as house servants and rent house attendants (5, pp. 140, 146, 209).

/75/

Introduction

It was solely with the intention of obtaining some elements of comparison for my Čipaya dictionary that I, in the company of Professor A. Posnansky, made a one week visit to the Uro of the Desaguadero in June, 1931. These Indians live in the village of Ancoaqui, on the right bank of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from the Bolivian port of Cuaqui. There are only a handful of them, 40 at the very most. Even taking into account those who were absent and the small agglomerations spread throughout the region, I seriously doubt whether the remaining Uro number a hundred. It was, therefore, imperative to record their language. The case of the Uro is typical of the rudimentary and anarchic state of South American ethnography. For a long time these Indians have been considered one of the most interesting ethnic elements of the Andean region. Nevertheless, no one has thought of living among them and devoting a serious and methodical study to them. The excellent monograph of Dr. Rivet (1) and Mr. de Créqui

[Text continues on p. 3]

1. Créqui Montfort (G. de) and Rivet (P.), "La langue uru ou pukina /The Uru or Pukina Language/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, new series, Vol. XVII (1925), pp. 211-244; Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 111-199; Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 57-116. To the texts assembled in this article the following must be added: McCutchen McBride (G.), "The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia," American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 5, New York, 1921, p. 17. "There are the Uros that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains

/76 cont./
/114 of the natives cannot be an excuse. There are few in America more easily accessible; the Uro are actually only a few hours by car from La Paz, the capital of Bolivia.

Material Culture

The brevity of my stay among the Uro and the small amount of leisure which I had outside of my linguistic investigations prevented me from making any important ethnographic observations on them. I also doubt that deeper inquiries would have been able to lead me to the discovery of sensational, or even /77/ new, /177 facts. The Uro have been "Aymarized" to a much higher degree than the Čipaya, and to this Aymara influence, doubtless a thousand years old, must be added that of the Spanish and of the Bolivian half-breeds. The village of Ancoaqui resembles, down to the last details, all the villages of the altiplano, and the Uro are not distinguishable, either in physical appearance or in dress, from the Aymara, their neighbors. /114 If I consider the few notes I took as worth publishing, it is because of the small amount of information that we possess on these Indians. I shall repeat again, perhaps in vain, the wish that a serious and well-trained ethnographer will want to devote several months of his /Fig. 21 appears here/ life to the study of the natives of the high plateau. If this is not done soon, our only remaining opportunity to know the great South American civilizations better will have disappeared.

342 [361] Dwellings. The village of Ancoaqui is made up of small square huts of "adobe," grouped around a quadrangular courtyard. I remember two houses with rounded corners; although this circumstance was not sufficiently accentuated to permit classifying them as huts of a round design (Pl. II, A /see p. 22/). The roofs of these habitations have only one real style: they are made of matting attached to stays which are also of totora, i.e., matting rolled up and solidly sewn together, replacing beams, which are rare and costly

/114 cont./

113 V. Huot, after the work of members of the mission, original unpublished sources, and the most recent documents, on a scale of 1/750,000; Mapa de la red de caminos del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Map of the network of roads in Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1924); Mapa telegráfico y de vialidad del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Telegraphic map and map of accessibility of Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1930).

133 The village of Chipaya properly so called is located about
●361 30 kilometers north of the Coipasa salt marshes and about 20 kilometers from Cerro Camacha, the first spur of the Cordillera to the west. To the east Chipaya is separated by more than 100 kilometers from the marshy banks of the Poopó. The village does not
114 stand on the banks of the Barras River or the Chipaya as shown on
361 the map of the Créqui-Montfort Mission, the best that we have
133 for the Bolivian Altiplano. The Lauca River, which flows to the west, is 10 to 12 kilometers away from it. Since all the maps that I have seen show the Barras River flowing between the Lauca and the village of Chipaya, I undertook several trips from different sides to verify this. Northeast of Chipaya, about seven kilometers away, I found the bed of a dried-up river, which perhaps corresponds to the course of the Barras River as it is drawn on some maps. This river must have taken another direction today, for having crossed it at the same time at the height of the village of Kala, a two-days' trip to the north, I was able to ascertain that it was Passably filled with water.

/114 cont./

114 passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map,
36 undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is
131 located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and 19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate
36 Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will
[179] help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Iscara, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon
[631] which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the
[484] distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission
36 as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Chipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

[113]

1. Bacarreza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor..., comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor..., commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Chipaya tales have a small rodent, the toxo (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), promoted to the rank of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 230 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jímenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

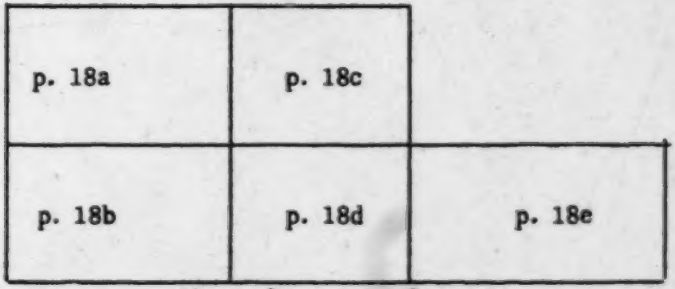

Chart of Positions of Map 2.
[Facing p. 18a]

/120a/

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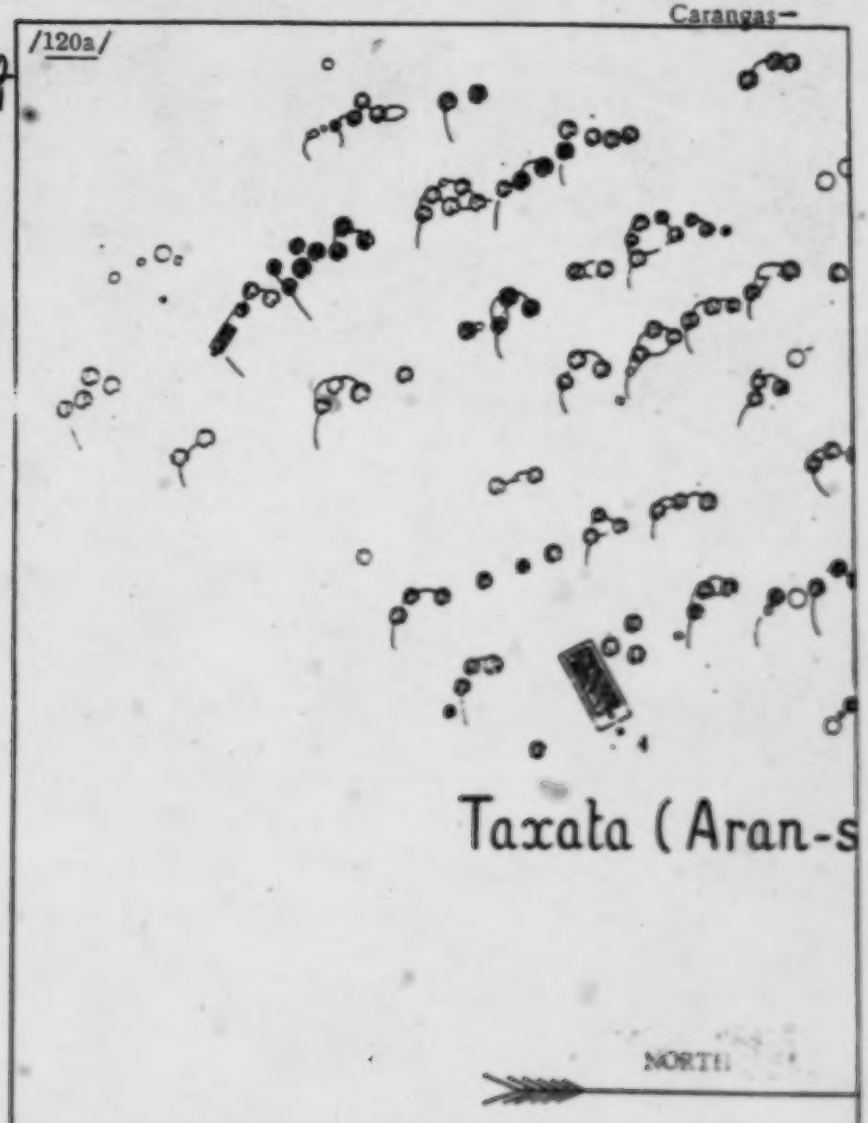

Map 2. Chipaya village and its clans.
1: Church; 2: Prison; 3: Cemetery; 4, 5, 6: Chapels

Carangas-
Chipaya

/120a cont./

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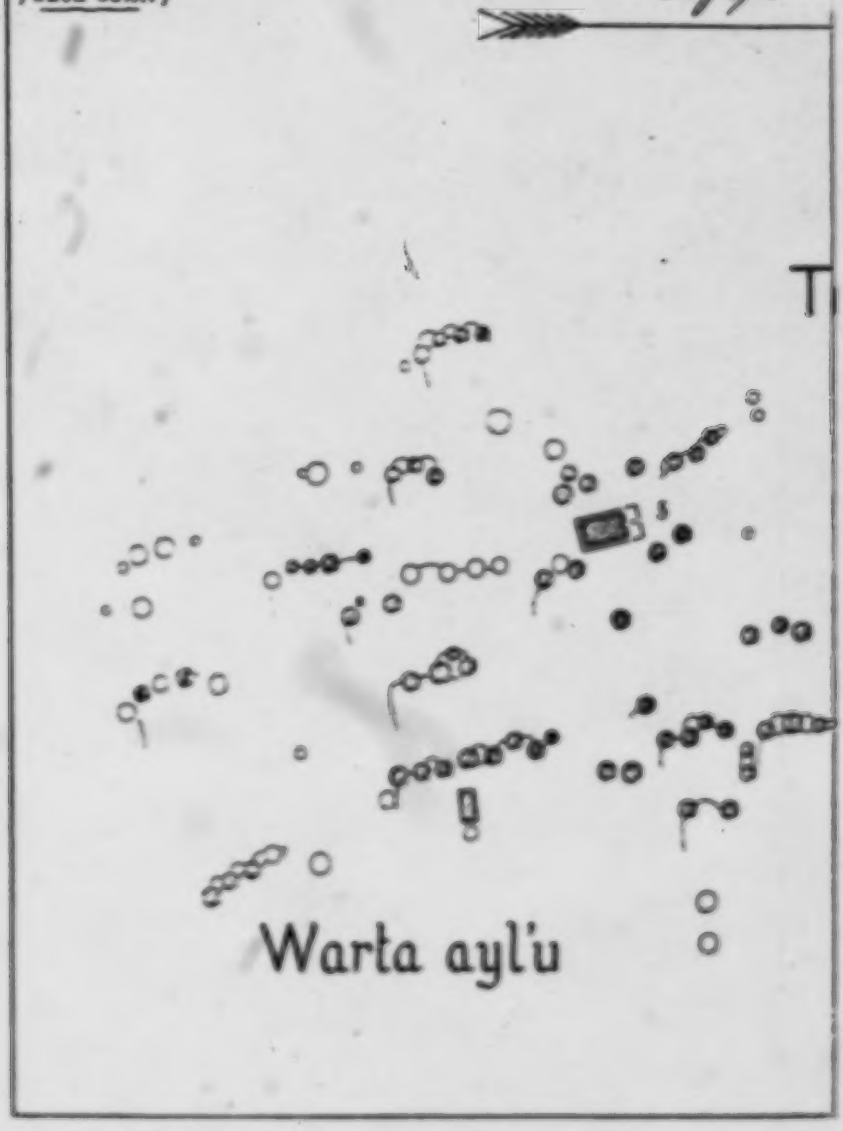

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Carangas—
Chipaya

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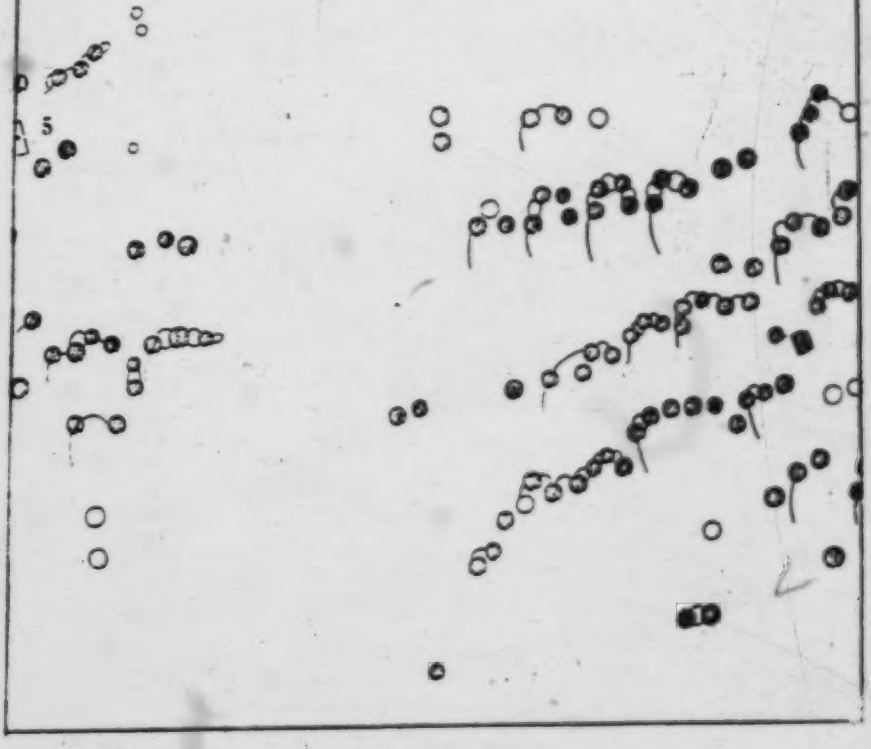
/120a cont./

Tuanta (Manan-saya)



Carangas—
Chipaya

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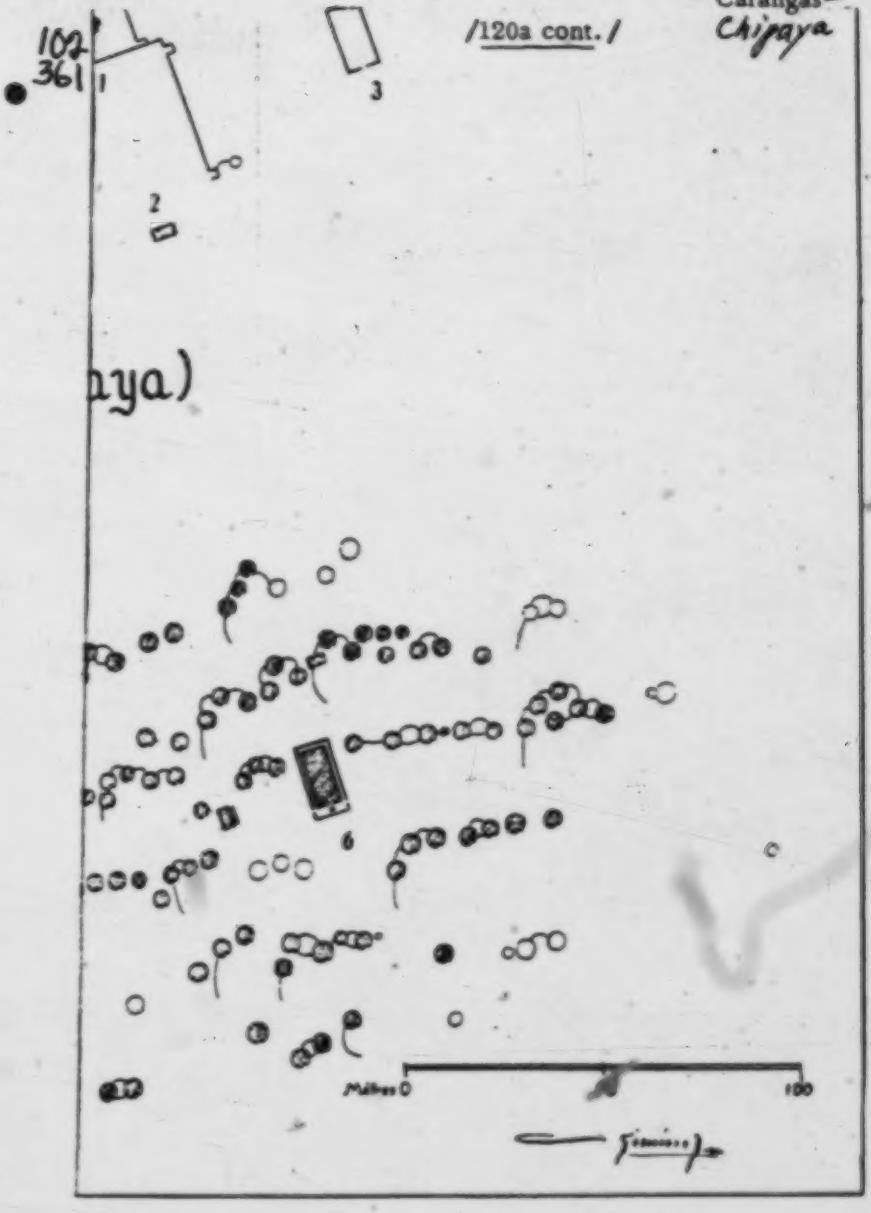

/121 cont./

621 not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could
616 not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have
614 compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality
[368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

342 Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the
343 prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are
361 grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long,
[363] more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

351 The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts
[191] so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this
[196] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

I 346 978

/122 cont./

in all that was conquered, charging them greatly with the benefit which they would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 3-43.

succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominiums in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

Carangas—
Chipaya

/123 cont./ Aside from one chapel

the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

The Čipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Čipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the saya tuanta overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the homes of the authorities.

The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Čipaya give them: kʷas-kʷoya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancias.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

2:Métraux--30 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

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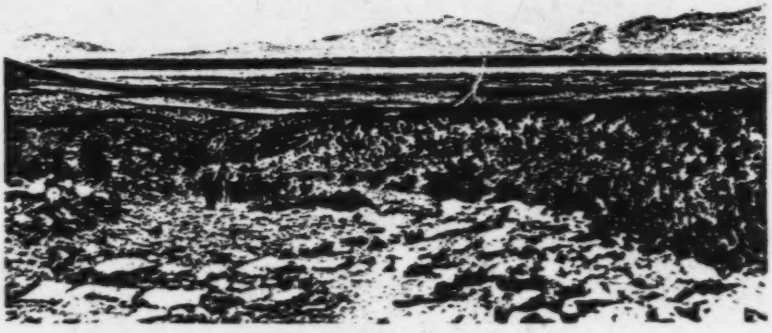
Plate VI



A. — The Carangas puna.

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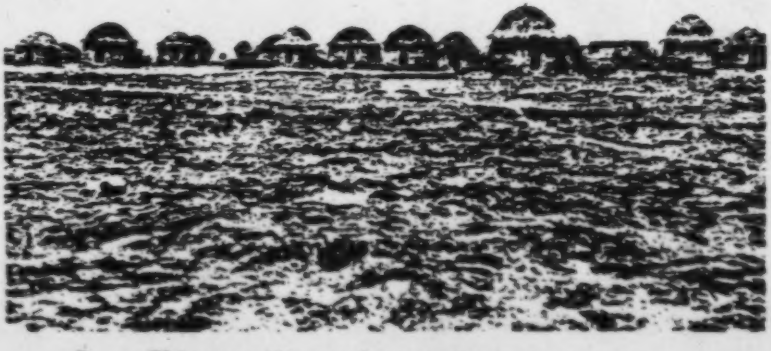

B. — Chipaya village: the western saya (taxata).

/159 cont./

Means of Subsistence

233 433 Stock raising. The Čipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in 233 describing the environment /160/ where they live, the pastures which 311 [312] cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 331 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts 343 shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses 311 of the second type (Fig. 1, B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at littering time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large lacustral city.

233 417 The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Čipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

342 [361] It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Čipaya have their "water houses" (k^{x}as-k^{x}oya), or estancias, (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have [542] already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

2:Métraux--213 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

133
342
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Plate IV

A. One of the estancias of Chipaya.

[346]

B. The little church of Chipaya, between the two "moieties."

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-Itu, or Angoake, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Itu had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, hispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the homes had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

[16th Century]

/32 cont./

175 [491] [824] according to what they say. It[1] is crossed on a remarkable contrivance, peculiar to the Indies, a straw bridge placed on the water itself, which is of such light material that it does not sink, and it is a very safe and easy crossing...there grow large quantities of a type of reed that the Indians call totora, which they use for a thousand things, because it is food for pigs and for horses, and for the people themselves; and with it they make house and fire, and boat and whatever is needed; [101] so much do the Uros find in their totora. These Uros are so brutish that they themselves do not regard themselves as men. It is said of them that when asked what people they were they replied that they were not men but Uros, as though this were [361] another class of animals. Entire pueblos of Uros were found living on the lake, on their totora rafts, joined together and fastened to some large rock, and they may fetch themselves off from there and move a whole pueblo to another location; and thus when sought today where they were yesterday, no trace of them is to be found, or of their pueblo..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia natural y moral de las Indias /Natural and Moral History of the Indies/. 1590. Book II, Chap. VI.)

Noticia sobre los Indios Uros en un Memorial de la Epoca del Virrey Toledo /Note on the Uro Indians in a Memorial of the Epoch of the Toledo Viceroy/.

175 [648] [611] The Inca, being below Lima, sent one of his captains, called Casiracapa, to those heights with many men, to survey the land and recount to him what he saw there, /33/ and while traveling through the land he came across some people whose dwellings were like those of animals, and who lived in them like brutish animals, around a large Lake, naked, and eating nothing but roots of plants that grew in the Lake, and some Fish if they caught it, and when the Captain saw these people, [928] [949] he recounted the fact to the Inca and was sent by him to remove them from the Lake and resettle them among the

[1] [ie., Lake Titicaca outlet--Author]

[19th Century]

/36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town.... Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake.... They are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Simillake.

...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chearaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca.1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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Indigenista

Población Chipaya del Altiplano boliviano.—*Foto Instituto Lingüístico de Verano de Bolivia.*

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[title page]

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SP24 Uru SP24
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Uru, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *iru*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

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[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

Town of the Chipaya Indians on bank of Lauca River, Bolivia. Their mud houses are usually thatch-roofed

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SP24 Uru SP24

Professor VELLARD from the University of San Marco, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.

Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they extended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro, which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru', meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers, DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds them in low esteem, remarking that they have no talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

[p. 303 - B]

SFPdn T-8 (ca.1954) 1955 Aymara SF5
SFP4 Urp SFP4

A 324 [598] We stop for a moment at the village, around which is protected, like our temples in the Far East, by a guardian god in the form of one of the monoliths taken from Tiahuanaco. The early paintings in their charming frames are in bad condition and some much-needed repairs were proceeding on the roof; there is an embossed silver altar as we find them even in small villages in the highlands of Bolivia, and a rather decayed but well-proportioned gilded baroque pulpit. As we were about to leave, an Indian woman entered. She held in one hand her bowler hat and in the other a bottle of alcohol. Having made a deep genuflection she presented the bottle to a statue of the Virgin, crossed herself, kissed her thumb, and was gone.

A 324 353 358

A 782 788

U 114 489 We followed the road towards the lake till we came to a cart-track which seemed to run parallel with the Desaguadero river as it flows out of the lake. After a short distance the track ended. The professor said: "We just go straight ahead keeping the river in sight". The ground was strewn with boulders and clumps of spiky grass, the two cars heaved and rolled; finally we disembarked the photographic material and followed on foot, the professor like the Pied Piper leading the procession. The cinema material represented a considerable weight which at that height seemed twice as heavy. For two hours we gasped and stumbled along; finally nearing the river we heard a dog barking and saw a small adobe house inhabited by a raucous bad-tempered woman of uncertain age who sent us to the devil. We panted up a little hill, and on the other side there appeared a number of small adobe houses. The professor was still in full cry, striding ahead heedless of the panting group to the rear. But fatally realising that there is a limit to human endurance, he gave way gracefully, and we had lunch. The meal being dispatched, we approached the village, where Vellard called on the mayor, and, accompanied by a number of the inhabitants, joined us. He explained that we must go to the house of the local communists, where we should film her, her daughter Juana and her son-

U [361]

U 114

U 123 [illegible]

U 124

[i.e., the village of Tiahuanaco — Author]

[A 309 - A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

American Anthropologist
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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO

By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *totora* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—viz., scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.[1]

Location. According to Pois, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Ahuallamaya*, some 20 km. from Ancoaqui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoaqui*, on the left[2] bank of the Desaguadero, 35 km. from Lake Titicaca *Irunito*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31'40"),

[1] The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uru-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South American ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

[2] Métraux, *Contribution aux folk-lore andins* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 28, p. 73) is in minor error in locating this *communidad* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Nunoa, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Alto-Ilumaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiáqui*, an inlet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sajajaña*, 3 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Uros"; it is an estancia where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro *haciendas* of *Chuvaqui*, *Taquna*, *Tacacatani*, *Chicani-cota*, *Machacamarca*, *Ucuni-cota*, *Huallaquari*, *Calayamjoni*, and *Tacani* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taquna* (W.La.B.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero adhered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.[3]

In March 1938[4] the population of Ancomqui (*kaŋ'o-kaŋ'o*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *comunidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *alcate* (head of the *comunidad*,) from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancomqui and the entire region as well in 1931.[5]

This Aymára *comunidad* of Ancomqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancomqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

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[3] Ignd. Tyrtéiio Polo, *Poblac. Ind. Peru y Bolivia*, [*Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*, 1902, 13: 465-482], p. 466. D. M. Jiménez de la Espada (in Rivero-Lemaire, *Les loges de los Aléphones de la América del Sud*, *Le Pas*, 1908, p. 142) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of Chucuito." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; *Chucuito*, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[4] As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Aymára ethnography.

[5] Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 73. The legal term "comunidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organization of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the altiplano). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Comunidad"—as opposed to the term "hacienda" (= "estancia," "hacienda") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so named.

S: Polo de Ondegardo--168 O-5 (ca. 1545) 1916 SE13 Inca SE13
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/159 cont./

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need be done is to follow the system which the common people have, and what there is to remedy is not very difficult. And I wish to conclude with the following: that by the same token by which it is being pretended that the Indians should be treated fairly, by making a census of them and by apportioning the tribute by individuals or heads for the sake of this sum, this would do them greater injustice and greater harm than any which might be done by leaving them in their communities. And because, were it attempted that they pay equally, it is quite clear that, if one has ten sheep /carneros/ and another has none, the apportionment is unfair when the one pays as much as the other, and if one has a metal mine from which silver can be obtained, so that what he might get out of it in one day would be equal to the distribution for an entire year, the division cannot be equal with one who must work for three or four months to obtain his tribute as a single person, and if he has no ability, and they let him free, perhaps /160/ he will not even find it or earn it in a whole year. If their system were charged for them, however little their tax might be, and if one subdivision /parcialidad/ has fertile lands where normally they harvest more than does another, justice would not be done if they must divide the tribute man for man with another which does not have such. And one who has three sons who help him and several women who join him is to be taxed the same as one who has but one woman, and perhaps an old one, and has nobody to help him plant and harvest. The one who proposed this scheme will not come out well with his estimates. And if in one repartimiento there are both native-born and mytimaes, and they should want them to pay by persons, both the former and the latter, I am convinced that when the harm were seen there would no longer be any chance of remedying it. Or if the repartimiento has fishermen, who are men like the others, and even tradesmen who are for the time better able to weave and to make cloth than others, I do not know what apportionment could be made by individuals among people whom, every time the regiment /tercio/ comes, it will be necessary to put up nets

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/160 cont./ to catch in the water, since it is true that their homes have no other foundation than a few cattails in the water, which is where they may be staying this year, and next year they will probably move, sometimes five leagues away, and it is even true, to be sure, that if you should ask them about one another, they say that they have moved a greater or a lesser distance, and they dissemble a great deal, and they can not be located in a lifetime (132).

132. It is the Uros Indians to whom the Licentiate is referring. For information about these Indians, see what is said in this regard by the chronicler Antonio de Herrera, in his Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos /General History of the Deeds of the Spaniards/, etc., Decade V, Book III, p. 73. See also, concerning the Uros, Basadue, Riquezas Peruanas /Peruvian Wealth/, p. 196, Lima, 1884.

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And if in one repartimiento there is livestock owned by subdivisions /parcialidades/ in addition to what is communal, there is no reason to match those who have a large number with those whose fate is either to have none or to have much less; or if there is someone who considers himself so able and so sufficient that he can affirm that /161/ the tax and the distribution can take all of this into account, when the livestock are often 50 leagues away from the town, and the other things being matters which it would not be possible to verify in 20 years, even were everyone to work to obtain the information about what the Indians have, and each of them in particular, for I do believe, when I take into consideration the state of the World, that there will be no lack of persons bold enough to try it. But there is no reason to pay any attention to the way it may appear, because, even were it possible, it would first be necessary to divide by the number of persons everything which they have in common, which is everything that they

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/121 cont./

not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long, more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

S:Fein T-S (ca.1954) 1955
SF54 Uru SF54
Iru Ifu

in-law of some eighty-odd years. While they talked the parent of pure Uru we could make a sound-recording.

A badly bombed area of London is in good repair compared with the Uru streets. Finally having climbed over crumbling walls and fallen into deep holes, we arrived at the house. Seated against the wall in the sun was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen. The mayor who spoke fluent Spanish said she was well over a hundred. Had she been less deaf and more comprehensible, I am sure we should have discovered that she had waved to General Sucre during the wars of the Liberation. Seated on the low wall was the daughter, a young seventy. The mayor explained what we wanted. The centenarian mumbled, but Roca's efforts with the recorder were unsuccessful. We left her to provide local colour and material for photographs of the most amazing wrinkles. The son-in-law seemed completely inert, so turning to the daughter the mayor asked her to talk. Realising that a unique occasion was offered her probably after a lifetime of oppression, she settled herself firmly on a solid piece of wall, and the floodgates of Uru eloquence opened. She launched forth into what was apparently her life-history, accompanied by the most extraordinary mime. Mother, who was past seeing, hearing and still less, caring, continued to mutter, the husband, when the recital became particularly spirited, would stop chewing his *coca*, lift his head and open his mouth, but no sound issued forth. Apparently the mechanism had definitely run down, and he relapsed again into a state of ruminating coma. Encouraged by the general enthusiasm, our star became more and more expansive. By now most of the inhabitants had arrived on the scene, and judging by the expression on the faces of the other ladies, she had by unanimous consent taken upon herself the rôle of local parliamentary candidate. She held the audience spellbound for one and a quarter hours, when either her vocal cords relaxed or she had come momento-

[p. 309-B]

/121 cont./

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/78 cont./
412 kneeling woman exerts on them is accompanied by gentle rocking, which facilitates the grinding.

372 /79/ The Uro have no combustible material other than dried
[232] animal excrement and tola branches, which they go far to seek.
[128] These things are precious, and the Uro, like the Cipaya and the Aymara, are sparing in their use.

231 Near the huts a type of earth niche is sometimes erected which is rather similar to the huts around the village of Chipaya; these are pigutyn.

226 Fishing. The Uro, in our age as in pre-Colombian times,
[212] draw their main subsistence from the lake. They are excellent
[439] fishers. The fish they catch is partly consumed by themselves and partly sold to the Aymara and to the half-breeds of the capital. I did not have the opportunity to be present on a real fishing expedition, only at several demonstrations made at my request. They first taught me the way in which they use the landing net shown in Fig. 23, 1 /see p. 9/. The wooden frame which holds the stretched-out net is fastened to the end of a pole. The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or seated on his balsa until he sees an interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net delicately, then pulls it out of the water with a sudden motion.

227 There is another type of landing net which is much larger. It is composed of a circle from which wooden sticks joined at one end go out. This skeleton, conical in form, is covered with a net. Another net, as large as a hand, is stretched across the opening to make the escape of the fish even more difficult. This apparatus is often of considerable dimensions; some are more than three meters in diameter. They are always equipped with a handle by which they are held in the water and lifted up as soon as the fish have ventured in (Pl. III, B /see p. 23/).

The Uro Indians also possess bottom nets, which I regret not having seen employed. I have, however, acquired a perforated stone (Fig. 24, 2 /see p. 10/) which corresponds to our weights or ballast.

Carangas—
Chipaya

.394 cont./

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The few tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

2:Méraux--143 E-9 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Caranga-
Chipaya

/158 cont./

reproduced here (Fig. 2, C /see p. 150/). These stoves are well contained; they are always to the right of the entry against the wall. They are provided with holes for the pots and with a compartment where the stores of taquia, i.e., of dried excrement, are kept. As this substance is the chief fuel on the altiplano and has been throughout time, the use of these stoves, an equivalent of which exists in no other region of South America, is self-explanatory. This dried excrement burns with difficulty on an open fire, and like wood (bosp) it is too rare to allow the least heat which emanates from it to be lost. It is hence because of the material and from considerations of economy that the Indians of the altiplano arrived at the idea of constructing these stoves, which are certainly very old since Cobo (1)

[173]

1. Cobo (Bernabé). Historia del nuevo mundo /History of the New World/. Ms.... of the Society of Jesus, published for the first time with notes and other illustrations by D. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. Seville, 1893. "In all the houses, however small they may be, there is its cook stove behind the door, which is made of a small clay stove no higher than a handbreadth, closed on all sides, with a small mouth through which they feed the fire, and in the upper part, two or three round holes, where they set the pots. With this they use very little fuel, because they never put in more than two small sticks in the oven, and as they are being burned they are fed in, so that there is more fuel used in one of our cook stoves than in 20 stoves of the Indians."

Nordenskiöld--15 D.F-9 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/178/

V. Nocturnal Fishing
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 182 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. All is ready; we can leave now in the balsa. 2. This balsa has a very raised prow so that the very strong waves will not submerge it. 3. We are going to erect the mast. 4. We are going to hoist the sail. 5. The wind is coming from another side; let us change (the orientation) of the sail. 6. The sail is swelling very much; the wind is strong. 7. We are going to lower the sail. 8. We are going to put a rock on the sail so that the wind does not carry it away. 9. We are going to place a piece of wood vertically. 10. We are going to hang a pot (from it). 11. We are going to spread (on the water) (a bed) of totoras to light a fire (above). 12. The fire is burning; the water is going to boil and we shall drink.

Remarks

In the first part of this text (1-6) the narrator describes the departure for fishing and the maneuvering of a balsa with a sail of the type used in certain parts of the Desaguadero with a simple mast; their raised prow permits them to withstand rather strong waves. The balsas on Lake Titicaca are larger, with a prow which is also raised, but with a double mast and a larger sail.

The second part (7-12) shows the preparations of the Uru for spending the night on the water. The balsa is halted in shallow water; the sail held by a large stone shelters the fishers from the wind. A limit hook placed in the mud is used to hang a pot above /178/ a fire of totoras, lighted on a thick bed of reeds thrown on the water.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

224 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

233 **Herding.**—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the 231 swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

241 **Farming.**—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 **Food preparation.**—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white [262] root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

273 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

276 Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.
191

HOUSES

342 Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed [284] vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 112, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over [354] the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and [342] makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The [184] Sojopata *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the Isle of Similaque. On the Isle of Pomata there are round, stone-roofed houses.

8:Pein T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
EP34 Urs EP34
Ivm. Ivu

[24] rily to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

[14] By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's

[03] quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Roca, not having sleeping-bags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies.

[54] Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty pena, the last was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The

[53] five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or greatcoats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* *). This

[51] latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to

[5-] RETIRE TO OUR RESPECTIVE QUARTERS.

*) Yareta, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up, sun dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 310-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

(Aymara rectangular houses are tile-grass thatched, not matted in the Uru fashion). Possibly because of the scarcity of wood, "rafters" in the roof are made of thick bundles of reeds, the main supports laid east and west, with secondary supports arched north and south. Some of the round houses have a roof framework made of bent sticks laid at right angles and grass-rope lashed at their crossings. On this framework of wood or totora-bundles, large mats, employing the full lengths of these giant reeds, are laid in two sections, so that there is a sort of pseudo-ridge to the roof, running from over the door to the west wall; this ridge is made by the meeting of the butts of the reeds. Grass ropes are laid over these mats to hold them down in the wind, and tied to wooden pegs in the mud walls of the house. There is no smoke-hole save the door, so the roof mats become speedily coated with soot and are quite waterproof. One must stoop in entering the door, but a man can stand upright in the center of the house. A mud "stove" is placed to the right (north) of the door, in which *Fola* (a kind of grass-brush), yareta (woody, turf-like masses of a semi-subterranean shrub), or *tolola* (llama-dung) are burned for fuel, owing to the absence of wood in the region. The cord used on the roof-mats to twine the ends of the single reed elements, is true two-element twisted rope, the torque of the twisted strands of wiry grass holding the whole together. The rope used in binding *balsas*, on the other hand, is of tightly plaited grass, possibly because the more laboriously made plaited grass rope has greater strength and durability than the twisted kind.

Anciently, according to the 18th century writer Alcedo, the Uru lived in caves and holes in the ground, but they share the round type of house with their conquerors the Chipaya. The same round house type is seen elsewhere universally in the altiplano. Forbes noted "beehive" houses in out-of-the-way places, and in the 16th and 17th century descriptions such as that of Cobo are indications that the round hut was the original Aymara style. Mitrani noted round mud houses with corbelled domes like those of the Chipaya, at Kenlliri, near Toledo; and villages of round houses may be seen the west of the railroad halfway between La Paz and Oruro.*

* David Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (Journal Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 2: 193-305, 1870), p. 222. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 48, also says the Uru formerly lived in caves or holes dug in the ground, and roofed with mats. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1890), Vol. 4 pp. 188-207. Mitrani (*BAAF* 20: 185-194) says that the rectangular huts of the Aymaras are built after Spanish patterns, and that only the Aleño or Chipaya used them, others building the older round type of house. The round style is useless, however, for tracing the precedence of the Uru. Round mud Quechua storehouses of this kind in southwestern Bolivia, Nordenskiöld (he says from among Aymara at Tocori, near Corbalanche (Otto Bonn *Letter to Nordenskiöld* in 1903), Erland Nordenskiöld, *The*

[113]

Smithsonian--136 9-0 (1970-1971) 1970, 1976 SF2N Uru SF24

Caranga:—
Chipaya

/100 cont./

In hunting water birds the Čipaya use a straw rope ending with a knot the size of a fist (Fig. 4, C *here* p. 157/). This weapon corresponds exactly to the bola perdida of the ancient Patagonians, with the difference that among the latter the terminal ball was of stone. Aside from this the principle of these two weapons is the same. This is the first time that the bola perdida has been found elsewhere than at the southern end of South America. Its presence among the Čipaya is one more argument in favor of the archaic character of this culture trait.

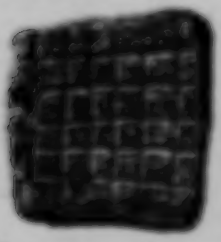
The Uro Indians of the Desaguadero hunt the water birds which swarm in the lagoons with bolas, two weights of which are wooden, and the third a small pottery stone. The rope of this projectile is rolled up in very rough black thread. If the weapon does not reach its goal it flies on the wing, and the Indians have only to pick it up with their bolas. /*Figure 4 appears here.*/

/170/ Clothing

Men's wear. The essential piece of man's wear is a square shirt (ira) made of thick, stiff woolen cloth. It is a kind of sack with openings for the head and arms (Fig. 5, C *here* p. 163/). As a result of its width the upper part of the shirt falls on the shoulders practically down to the elbow. The ira was formerly the only garment of the Čipaya, as it still is for young boys up to the age of ten. At a doubtlessly recent date, the Čipaya adopted the pants that they wear under their ponchos. By making the latter touch at the waist on a cord which takes the place of a belt for them, they have transformed it into a blouse, while keeping its original length which was enough to cover them down to mid-leg. The ira is the best product of Čipaya textile art. The decoration of this article of clothing invariably consists of a blue border and small brown and white strips separated by black lines. Some of these ira is aniline.

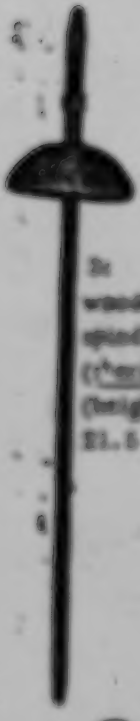
[Text continues on p 63]

Ancorage

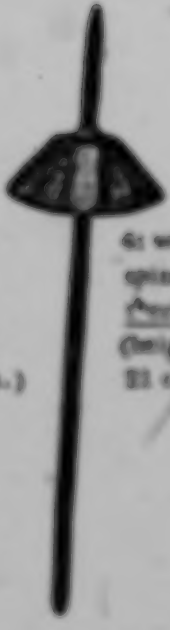


1: Stone polisher to soften leather (height: 7.5 cm. width: 7.2 cm; thickness: 3.5 cm.)

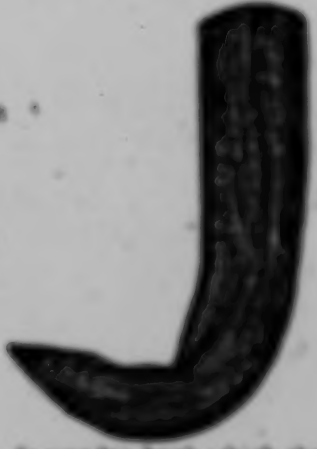
1: perforated stone used as ballast to sink herring nets (diameter: 9.9 cm.) (GM. 31.44.44)



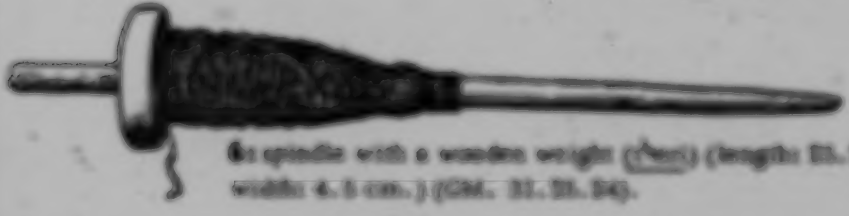
1: wooden spindle (ʔhaxi) (height: 21.5 cm.)



4: wooden spindle ʔhaxi (height: 21 cm.)



1: wooden hook which the Ute use for making their twines (kaxin, ʔkaxi)



1: spindle with a wooden weight (ʔhaxi) (length: 33.2 cm. width: 4.5 cm.) (GM. 31.33.34).

Fig. 24

/83 cont. /

231 Animal raising. They raise *guinea pigs* on their huts, which renders habitation there even more disagreeable. They have several flocks of sheep, pigs, and cows; those of the latter along the shores of the Desaguadero have become amphibious. They spend the entire day in the water and graze on water plants. From afar one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan swamp.

242 252 Cooking. The diet of the Uro is that of all the Indians of the altiplano: potatoes cooked in water, chuño (potato ferula), boiled or roasted meat, maize, broad beans, quinua, cañaza, etc. The Uro add to this a dish of their own creation: the juicy pith of the totora. The edible part of this plant is the base of the stalk. It does not need to be prepared in any way.

252 (179) The Uro have preserved a method of cooking which is very old and whose distribution in South America, completely unusual, corresponds perhaps to a very archaic cradle of civilization: this is the subterranean oven, or Polynesian oven. "These ovens, which the Uro call wasaña, consist of a hole dug in the earth whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 80 centimeters. The rounded edge juts out at the level of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uro light a fire inside and put in stones which are more or less flat. When the rocks are incandescent they are withdrawn, with the exception of those on the bottom. On top of them is laid a bed of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a second bed of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is then closed with rocks which are covered with rushes. The fish thus cooks by steaming" (Paleoveicos).

251 They preserve fish by drying it on mats after having /but/ salted it. They do the same with the birds, whose flesh is cut up and exposed to the rays of the sun.

273 They make a beer called cavinabacio from cañaza seeds (Paleoveicos).

Manufacture of balsas. The most important industrial activity of the Uro is the manufacture of rafts of totora, or balsas, to be provided with which particularly all the shore-dwellers on the Titicaca come to them. As these small craft deteriorate rapidly

(cont.)

the Uru are obliged to keep up with an increasing demand. They have workable maritime shipyards on the steep bank of the Desaguadero, where constant activity reigns (Pl. IV, A /see p. 34/).

Each family owns a portion of the totora, whose knots are marked by small walls. Within these enclosures they keep the totora from which the balsas are made. This plant (Cyperaceae, of the genus Scirpus) (Scirpus totora, Kunth.) forms actual fields in the swamps which line the Titicaca. The Indians come to cut it as they need it. "Every family that owns a field near the shore considers itself the owner of a certain expanse of these totoras. It is the only family to exploit this area, and its rights are respected by the neighbors (1)."

1. French (Lorenzo R.). "Las balsas usadas por los aymaras en el lago Titicaca /The balsas used by the Aymaras on Lake Titicaca/." Physis. Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales. Vol. XI (Buenos Aires, 1933), pp. 161-168.

It is a picturesque spectacle to see the Indians who went in search of totora return; the cut stalks have been tied together into huge bundles which are allowed to float like a train of wood when being towed to the rear of the balsa (Pl. III, A /see p. 33/).

The totora can be used only when it is dry. Hence, after having gathered it the Indians' first concern is to spread it out in their enclosures. They also make faggots out of it by standing the stalks upright to expose them to the wind and sun. It is only when it has lost all dampness that the totora can be used to construct balsas. Its thickness is thereby diminished, its immediate decay prevented, and, above all, the possibility that the bundles which constitute the balsa might disintegrate because of a loss in volume is avoided.

/84 cont./

The construction of these rafts is rather simple, although it demands great manual skill and considerable expenditure of strength. The keel is composed of two enormous spindle-shaped sheafs of totora tied together. The natives obtain them by heaping up and interweaving stalks of totora of unequal length (Pl. IV, 3 /see p. 24/); they take care that the shortest remain inside and they cover these with progressively longer stalks until the total forms a compact mass. The rope which maintains each of these coils /83/ /Fig. 25 appears here/ /86/ is crossed at each turn with that of the other sheaf. Two padded rims are then fastened to the edge, where they serve as a railing and add to the stability of the craft. The only instrument to which the Indians have recourse in making these rafts is a wooden hook (Fig. 24, 5 /see p. 15/), which they use to lift the straw rope, either to tighten it or to pass the rope which joins one sheaf to the other under it. This alternating play of the ropes obliges the balsa constructors to work always two by two (Pl. IV, C /see p. 24/). For navigating, the Uro have long bamboos, /cheqo/, the wood for which comes from the eastern slopes of the Andes. The extremity of these poles ends in a sort of trident which prevents them from sinking too deeply in the mud of the lake (Fig. 25, 2 /see p. 15/).

Mats. The Uro Indians have several uses for the rush (totora) mats. They make the framework and roofs of their huts from it, their beds, the door of their house, and the sails of their balsas. Making them is not complicated. The totora stalks are spread out on five or six parallel ropes, stretched between stakes, and attached to them in little piles.

Rope-making. The Uro are obliged to constantly make rope, the indispensable accessory for the two industries which have just been mentioned. Different types of gramineous plants, among them the /cheqo ichu/ Kunth, Festuca orthophylla Pilger, and F. dasyphylla Griseb (1), furnish them with raw material of

p. Bernal, p. 9.

[text continues on p. 16]

396
[50]

A. A boatyard for balsas at Ancoaqui.

[291]
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B. Manufacture of balsas.

396
291

C. Manufacture of balsas.

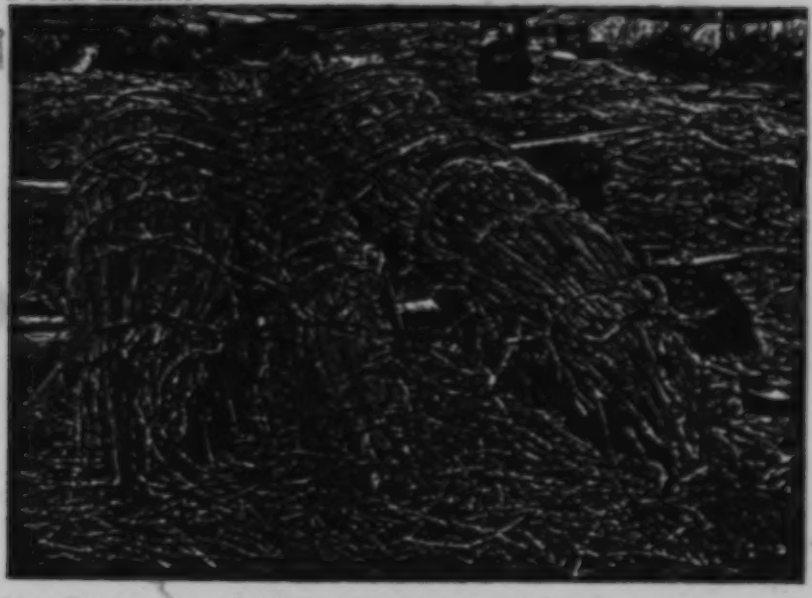
[End Plate 3]

3:Vellard--6d D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

283
412

9. Fisher preparing straw ropes to make a balsa. He is using a stone hammer.

396
824



10. Construction of a balsa: preparation of the three totora cylinders: the heart and the two side parts.

/171 cont./

#539 191 193 1. píni means "many"; with hána it may be rendered by "no more"; uč̌úmi, exclusive personal pronoun /172/ for the first person plural. 2. ʒaĺák, probably the Spanish chacra, "cultivated field"; the Uru do not have their own word to designate fields. 4. The ending ʒay added to a root gives it [136] the verbal form. 6. xui, interrogative particle. 7. suche, small kind of sheatfish from the Titicaca region; it is the [824] Trichomycterus dispar. 8. totora, Scirpus totora, the reeds of Lake Titicaca used by the Uru to build their balsas, cover their houses, and for other uses. 12. ke-, particle of repeti- [101] tion. 14. ɨ̀ɔxɬa, literally "other persons," designates all men other than the Uru; nak' for nɬ́ka, plural form of pronouns.

#539 392

II. Manufacture of Balsas from Totoras
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 154 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. Let us go, as is our custom, to find totoras to make a [283] balsa. 2. We are accustomed to go far to make the straw ropes /necessities/. 3. Three days are needed to dry (the straw ropes). 4. The straw ropes are well dried now. 5. Now all these totoras are well dried. 6. Let us make the balsa. 7. A man cuts the totora. 8. The totora is tied (in bunches). 9. Three have to be made (bunches of totora): the heart (the middle spindle) and the two side spindles of the balsa. 10. We tie (the spindles); now we are going to squeeze them together very tightly, at first it takes two men to squeeze it together. 11. We have the custom of sprinkling (the totora) with water so that it does not dry. 12. Now we are going to tighten; to tighten we are accustomed to use a hook. 13. We beat (the totora) with /173/ a rock (in order to compress it).

/173 cont./

14. We are going to place a rim of totoras. 15. He attaches the rim of the balsa. 16. He tightens the rim of the balsa. 17. We are going to finish. 18. (The totora) is still a bit loose; we are going to tighten it a bit more. 19. All is finished. 20. Now the balsa is ready. 21. Let us go fishing with the new balsa. 22. We are not going to hoist a sail? 23. We are not accustomed to use a sail; there is too little water. 24. We always use a boat hook manipulated by hand. 25. Here is the stone which is attached to the large net so that the fish can enter. 26. The fish is going to enter (the net); now we are going to lift (the net) up and put it in the balsa.

Remarks

This text is divided into two parts. The first, 1 to 20, describes the making of balsas from totoras. The second is a succinct description of fishing with a net in the swamps of the Desaguadero.

To build their balsas the Uru use the Scirpus totora, which used to grow in abundance in the swamps of the Desaguadero and at numerous points on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Two Indians work at the same time on the construction of a balsa. First they lay out the bunches of totoras on the ground, from which they make three spindles the length of the balsa, two large side ones and a middle one which is shorter and thinner; this middle cylinder, the "heart of the balsa," used to stabilize the craft, has passed unnoticed by practically all the authors who have concerned themselves with the Uru. Only the fishers on the lagoon of Arapa, to the north of Lake Titicaca, who speak Kelwa, build balsas, small and rather narrow, formed with two cylinders.

The totora of three cylinders is held in place with the aid of thin straw plaits (2-4), which hold the cylinders evenly between them. These straw ropes are tightened in a progressive and methodical fashion by two /174/ men, working alternately

/174 cont./

*539 37 39 on each side of the balsa (10, 12, 17) in order to make the two large side cylinders equal in weight, bulk, and compression. This is the delicate part of the manufacture, on which the stability and quality of the craft depend. The Uru use wooden hooks for this job (12). At the same time they compress the totora with a stone hammer (13), adding or removing totora as necessary; they water it from time to time to prevent it from drying. When the work is finished the middle cylinder, the heart of the balsa, completely hidden between the side [241] cylinders, is invisible. Depending on the size, the construction *536 of a balsa takes an average of three to six days. The life of a 23 50 balsa is short; after having been wet they become heavy and rot inside; they are good for six months to one year in general.

The balsas used on the Desaguadero and on the low parts of the lake in the neighboring lagoons which are not very deep (Arapa, Umamayo) do not have sails (23), or only a very small sail, in contrast to the balsas on the large lake which they propel by sail. The Uru steer them with the help of a boat hook ending in three teeth, which they push against the muddy [211] bottom (24). These boat hooks are identical to those of the Guatos of upper Paraguay, who belong to the Nu-Arwak /Nu-Aruak/ linguistic group.

*539 193 From the point of view of grammar, note the frequent use of the repetitive particle -ʔu-, indicating that the action expressed by the verb is habitual. Also note the repetitions of words or roots to reinforce the idea expressed (3-12, etc.)

The verb kiñi' ʔay expresses the idea of carrying off, of lifting up, of raising (22-23); compare it with 4-5 of text III.

9:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Anciently, it is said, the *Uru* went entirely nude, which is quite incredible in view of the bitterly cold winters in this region. The essential male costume is like the pre-Columbian *Chipaya* uncu—a sleeveless, sacklike garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This is woven of llama yarn on a simple loom staked in the ground. Recently, most *Uru* males have adopted trousers of the *Aymara* style: short, with a slit at the heel, and tailored of native homespun after a Colonial pattern. The slit permits the trousers to be rolled up more easily when a man fishes from a balsa or wades in shallow water. Leather sandals are sometimes worn when traveling, but people usually go barefoot. A knit wool cap, with *Aymara*-style earflaps, is sometimes topped with a crude, *Aymara*-manufactured felt hat. A belt is sometimes worn, and occasionally a thick woolen poncho. Caps woven of bird feathers were known in ancient days. 291 [286] [179] [177] [237]

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts, girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at the top over each shoulder with a large-headed copper pin (tupu). When traveling in cold weather, the women wear woven woolen wimples over the head under the hat.

Women part their hair in the middle and wear it in two braids tied behind the back with vicuña-wool filets; only a few still wear the ancient style "Titicaca braids"—countless small braidlets all over the head. Women wash their hair in fermented human urine. *Uru* men wear their hair short in quasi-European fashion or in an all-around tropical bang. 302 [237]

BOATS

The *Uru* are famous balsa builders (pl. 115, *bottom*). Their craft, though actually rafts made of totora reeds, are shaped like boats and are highly navigable even in narrow, shallow swampways. The reeds are cut with knives attached to poles, then, after drying, are stacked in shocks like corn. Nearly every able-bodied *Uru* male has quantities of this material in all stages of preparation for balsas. During spare moments in their houses, they are continually braiding ixtle grass into tough ropes to bind the reed bundles. The keel is formed of a long, thin, tubular bundle of reeds; and separately lashed to this keel are two thick, cigar-shaped pontoon-bundles. Each of these pontoons is built up of reeds so arranged as to be very thick in the middle of the boat and to have upturned points at each end. An acute-angled wooden tool with a groove inside one arm is used to tighten the binding. To keep out small waves, gunwales consisting of much thinner bundles of totora are lashed to the upper outside 396 [501] [824]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

396 edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

501 The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pon-[502] toons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. [935 861] Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

824 *Uru* material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for ani-325 mals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been 323 198 abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets 285 are made.

286 **Textiles.**—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women [283] spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's sling-283 shots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond [911 531] designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

286 An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region 291 southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

41 **Weapons.**—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders [431 284] and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

325 **Metals.**—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

S.Pain T-S (ca.1954) 1955
SP24 Uru SP24
Tour 24a

retire to our respective quarters. Before leaving, I arranged the remaining provisions, carefully propping up a thermos containing our precious hot coffee for the morning. I have but few maxims, the principal one being to brush my teeth. I therefore hunted for a bottle of water and found it empty. My hygienic preoccupations vastly amused my companions, and someone offered me a bottle of lager. Not wishing to lose face I accepted, declaring that there was no better mouthwash, but feeling secretly rather sick at the idea of a combination of colgate and beer. But on carrying out the experiment, I found out that there *is* no better mouthwash in existence. By now the moon was high and full, and so strong was the light that finding it impossible to sleep I switched on the engine for heat, as in spite of my vicuña-lined sleepingbag, the cold was intense. I read for an hour or so, which gave me such a headache, that I had to take aspirin with the remaining beer. The next morning Abelot and I wound our way down to the river, which was frozen at the edge. We broke the ice, drew some water and washed, much to the surprise of the villagers. Again I brushed my teeth with the last drops of beer before the astonished gaze of the people who had never seen such a strange exhibition.

Arriving at the mayor's, we found the rest of the company singularly unglamorous and, o tragedy, someone had kicked over the thermos of coffee. We ate some apples and biscuits, but our depression melted away in the brilliant sun. The sky was blue as it is only to be seen on the Roof of the World. While the professor went off to take some sound-recordings, we explored the village. There was practically no sign of animal life or cultivation. This was normal, as the Aymara peasants refuse to allow the Uru, whom they consider as pariahs, to cultivate the ground. They have a narrow strip of shore on which to build their *balsas*.

We returned by the little church. Very occasionally a priest comes over from Guaqui on the lake. There

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 313-A]

[p. 310-B]

B.P.Bib. T-6 (ca.1954) 1955

BP54 Urn BP54
Env. 2 No.

were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him standing motionless and followed the younger one down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe drought. The watersheet of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Urus as the llamas among the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, the roots or *kauwas* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

Fortunately in these last few years the climatic conditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more increased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, entwined and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

[J. 313-A]

R.Pein T-6 (ca.1904) 1905

BPM Dlg BPM
T-n 274

tightening the braids with little wooden knots, taking care that the two parallel cylinders have exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a third man waters the cylinders, so that the reed remains slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fisherman holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsa measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a pole-pole when circulating among the rushes. The life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the raucous lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the previous day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards, and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every

9 La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24
Aymara SF5

wooden balls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.[8] They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking, spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yuñuna*), and kill with their *balsa* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*huñi*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *ch'arki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña*; *wakaña*, a word obviously related to Aymará *kaja*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold[9] small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lassoed, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the viscacha (*chiñi*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, roof-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails; and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymára neighbors with them in the south-western region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

[8] An Uru hola from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

[9] The Aymara have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "bean-monkey" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *lakaya* ("to split"), *wari* (vicuña), *q'aseya* ("makes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-wooled vicuña scream. The Aymára schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "chulo" interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") yell of this familiar phrase: *q'ala lakaya wari* (*"stone, split, deer"*)

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

396 knives on the ends of poles, then stacked in shocks like corn, after they have been dried spread out in the sun. Nearly all able-bodied Uru finales have quantities of these materials in various stages toward the manufacture of the complete boats. In their houses, even, in spare moments, men are continually braiding *ilu*-grass into tough ropes to bind the boats together.

Though shaped like a boat, the *balsa* is of course actually a raft. A handful of reeds is bound together and repeatedly thickened with more reeds as the middle of the cigar-shaped element is reached, then tapered off again into a point. The only tool used in the manufacture of this is a wooden hook [413] (*kayda*) with a handle at an acute angle to it, used to tighten the lashing of grass rope. A more tubular and thinner sheaf of reeds forms the keel of the *balsa*, and two of the fat cigar-shaped bundles are separately lashed to it, forming a sort of sea-sled type of hull, which cannot be overturned in a storm; the thinner ends of these cigar-shaped bundles are slightly raised fore and aft of the boat. To form gunwales, a still thinner and tubular sheaf of reeds is lashed (during its own round-and-round binding with braided grass rope) through the original lashing of the hull-elements. One of these gunwales (*pisla*) is placed on each side of the top of the hull-elements to prevent splashing of water onto the occupants of the boat as it is poled 501 along. The Uru *balsa* thus differs from the Aymára[36] type in that its two [191] large basic elements are lashed to a central "keel" and not to each other (though the bulwark lacings are similarly looped through the lacings of the two hull-elements); it has therefore five instead of four elements. The Uru also rig their *totora*-mat sails with a slight difference from the Aymára. [502] Sails, however, can only be used on the Lake and on the open river "before the wind" since the boat has no center-board and cannot tack. In the narrow swampways a punt pole or gaff (*takni*) with a stubby trident at its end is [824] used to push the boat along. The wood for these comes from the *yungas* of 501 the Cordillera Real's eastern, tropical slopes. (See Posnansky, Fig. 83.) A 435 complete *balsa* cost in 1937 from ten to sixteen *bolivianos*, then worth about 5*s*.

285 Of Uru textiles we have already noted twined single-element *totora balsa*-sails, twined many-element mattress-mats of reed, fish- and bird-nets (which they themselves make of cord obtained in Guaqui from La Paz), and 283 single-element twined roof mats of *totora*. Métraux has an excellent description (page 86) of the preparation by soaking, pounding, and rolling of the wiry grasses of the region (*Stipa ichu*, *Festucha orthophylla*, and *F. dis-*

[113] [36] Lorenzo R. Parodi, *Los balsas usadas por los Aymaras en el lago Titicaca* (Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. 11, Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 143-149. Métraux' description (JSAP 27: 84) is of the Aymára type.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

SF24

Fig. 1. Making an Ona baby, Arroyo Dolor.

9:La Barre E-4.5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

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FIG. 1. Uru houses. *Above*, hut with embedded mud roof, some crude plow at right side of hut and holes poles by door. *Below*, typical round Uru house with mat roof, Aymára style rectangular house in rear; Desaguadero swamps in the background.

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Ameagui

[19]
312 in these desert regions. Matting hung before the entrance takes the place of a door.

[162] Figs. 21 and 22.—Huts temporarily occupied by Aymara herdsmen in the region of the Desaguadero (salt bank). The roof is cupola shaped. These dwellings are made of clods of earth (drawn from a photograph).

35 41 An inventory of the furnishings and objects found in these huts can be quickly made. I took one; there were mats for sleeping, a clay cook stove, a sort of small enclosure containing burnable material, pottery of different shapes and sizes, a mortar, some spindles, balls of wool, textile fabric which was generally coarsely woven, sometimes some fishing equipment, and finally a broom. Passing into the courtyard one generally notices string, weirs, swords, a loom, and farming implements of European origin.

323 [439] The vessels are not locally produced. They are imported and /Fig. 22 appears here/ come from some indigenous industry of the altiplano. . The pots were shaped on a wheel and bear a

/82 cont./

226 He lies in wait for the fish which are caught between the two dikes and are thus led toward the net which closes the barrier" (Palavecino).

The Uro like to fish at night: "It is a curious spectacle to see them on moonlit nights embark on their balsas in the direction of their barriers. At their destination they form a sort of conical tent with the totora sails, which shelters them from the wind, and they give themselves over to fishing" (Palavecino).

[411] When the Uro navigate on the Desaguadero, they always carry along with them a spear (p^{h}iri), whose point bristles with iron spikes. With this weapon they harpoon the suche (Tricomicterus), a fish to which they are very partial, in the mud where the water is not very deep.

223 Hunting. Hunting plays only a very secondary role in the Uro economy. In all, for game they have nothing beside the water birds which abound in the marshes of the Desaguadero. They strike them with bolas, of which two weights are cylinders of wood; the third is an oval stone, which they hold in the hand while they whirl this weapon over the head (Fig. 25, 3 /see p. 15/).

They also have recourse to extremely long nets in capturing these birds whose flight skims the water. These are stretched in a semicircle /83/ in the middle of the fields of totora and attached to faggots of rushes and to stakes. A part of the net is submerged to prevent the diving birds from passing beneath the surface of the water. The hunters on their balsas make noise to chase the birds toward the obstacle where the latter find themselves caught. Those which succeed in escaping are killed with bolas.

The cold of the Titicaca is such that in the mornings the birds are torpid. The Indians, hidden behind bundles of totora, draw near without being seen; they catch them by their claws and finish them off with their teeth or by twisting their necks.

241 Agriculture. The Uro today practice agriculture, just as the inhabitants on the shores of the Titicaca do. I do not know to what extent the produce of their fields contributes toward guaranteeing their existence. They cultivate, of course, potatoes and quinua.

1:Métraux--15 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uru SF24
Ancoaqui

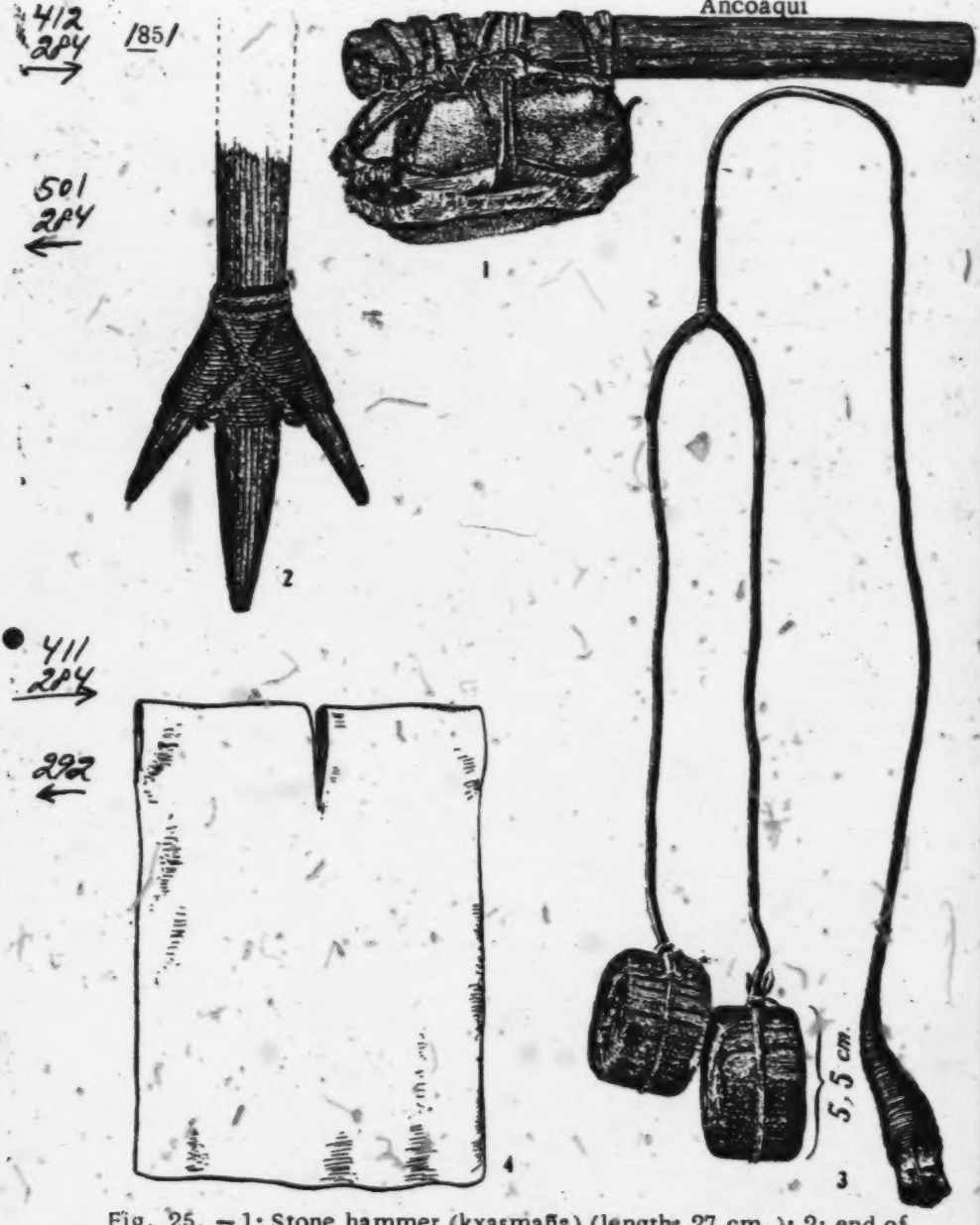

Fig. 25. — 1: Stone hammer (kxasmaña) (length: 27 cm.); 2: end of the boathook which the Uru use to propel their cane rafts (l'okena); 3: bolas (skuni); 4: tunic of white wool which the Uro wear over their modern clothes for certain occasions (ira) (length: 1.05 m. width: 0.62 m

/164 cont./

1. Posnansky (Ing. Arthur), Los Chipayas de Carangas /The Čipaya of Carangas/, La Paz, Bolivia, 1918, p. 6; La lengua "Chipaya" (Carangas, Bolivia) /The "Čipaya" Language (Carangas, Bolivia)/. La Paz, 1915, p. 2; "Nuevas investigaciones en Carangas (Bolivia) /New Investigations in Carangas (Bolivia)/," Congrès international des Américanistes, Record of the XXI Session, Part II, held at Göteborg in 1924, Göteborg, 1925, p. 91.

the principal food of the Čipaya. In reality, during my entire stay I never saw a Čipaya catch one, and when I asked them to get a few specimens for me, they demanded an exorbitant price from me, claiming the difficulty of this hunt. Toxo are rare in the territory properly called Chipaya; they are found only at a certain distance from the grassy zone behind the dunes. It is there that the Aymara come /165/ to capture them. Their method, as far as I can understand it from the explanations which have been given to me, is the following: they try to dislodge the toxo from the underground corridors where it stays by opening them with a blow from a shovel; then when it comes out they pursue it and beat it to death. In the plains undermined by the toxo, one can see the earth completely worked over by the hunters.

The Čipaya easily get hold of vicuñas by setting their dogs, swift and bloodthirsty beasts, on them. They themselves succeed in knocking down these animals with bolas, or throwing stones. This same weapon permits them to bring down water birds.

The fish to be found in the small ponds of the Chipaya plain are too miniscule for the word fishing to be used in connection with them. It is more as a pastime than for food that the Čipaya amuse

[i.e., The Toxo -- Analyst]

/166 cont./ When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is firmly bound with a wool rope and left to drip for a certain number of days. These cheeses, white and tasteless, are seasoned with salt which the Čipaya get from the great salt deposits which spread out about 30 kilometers from their village. /167/ /Figure 3 appears here./

/168/ Weapons

The small number of weapons that the Čipaya have is a direct consequence of the insignificance of hunting in their economy. As for war, it is an unknown phenomenon for them. Who would dream of coming to pick a fight with them for possession of the sand dunes or stunted pastures? The only occasions for giving free rein to their bellicose instincts are the festivals. The alcohol they absorb then accentuates the underhand rivalry of the sayas among themselves, and, awakening passions, leads them to often bloody fights. I do not know if any weapons other than sticks and fists enter into play in this case.

The sling (kxorawa) (Fig. 4, A /see p. 157/), which is the weapon par excellence of the indians of the altiplano, has only a peacable use in Chipaya: it is used to hurl lumps of earth at llamas or sheep to prevent them from straying from the flock or from the route being followed. It is possible that the Čipaya might have recourse to the sling when they have some quarrels with the people of the other saya, but I was never able to get particulars on this subject. Another circumstance contributes to making the sling of the Čipaya a harmless instrument: the lack of stones able to serve as projectiles.

The bolas of the Čipaya play a role close to that of the sling: they permit them to catch the sheep. The most common type is the ordinary bola. The stones instead of being caught in a leather sheath, as is the case with the archaeological specimens (Fig. 4, D-B), are furnished with a groove which prevents the rope from slipping (Fig. 4, J).

[Text continues on p. 156]

/168 cont./

223 411 171 In hunting water birds the Čipaya use a straw rope ending with a knot the size of a fist (Fig. 4, C /see p. 157/). This weapon corresponds exactly to the bola perdida of the ancient Patagonians, with the difference that among the latter the terminal ball was of stone. Aside from this the principle of these two weapons is the same. This is the first time that the bola perdida has been found elsewhere than at the southern end of South America. Its presence among the Čipaya is one more argument in favor of the archaic character of this culture trait.

223 411 The Uro Indians of the Desaguadero hunt the water birds which swarm in the totorales with bolas, two weights of which are wooden, and the third a small pyriform stone. The rope of this projectile is rolled up in very tough black thread. If the weapon does not reach its goal it floats on the water, and the Indians have only to pick it up with their balsas. /169/ /Figure 4 appears here./

/170/ Clothing

291 Men's wear. The essential piece of men's wear is a square shirt (ira) made of thick, stiff woolen cloth. It is a kind of sack with openings for the head and arms (Fig. 5, G /see p. 163/). As a result of its width the upper part of this shirt falls on the shoulders practically down to the elbow. The ira was formerly the only garment of the Čipaya, as it still is for young boys up to the age of ten. At a doubtlessly recent date, the Čipaya adopted the pants that they wear under their tunic. By making the latter bunch at the waist on a cord which takes the place of a belt for them, they have transformed it into a blouse, while keeping its original length which was enough to cover them down to mid-leg. The ira is the best product [53] of Čipaya textile art. The decoration of this article of clothing invariably consists of a blue border and small brown and white [386] strips separated by black lines. None of these dyes is aniline.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 158]

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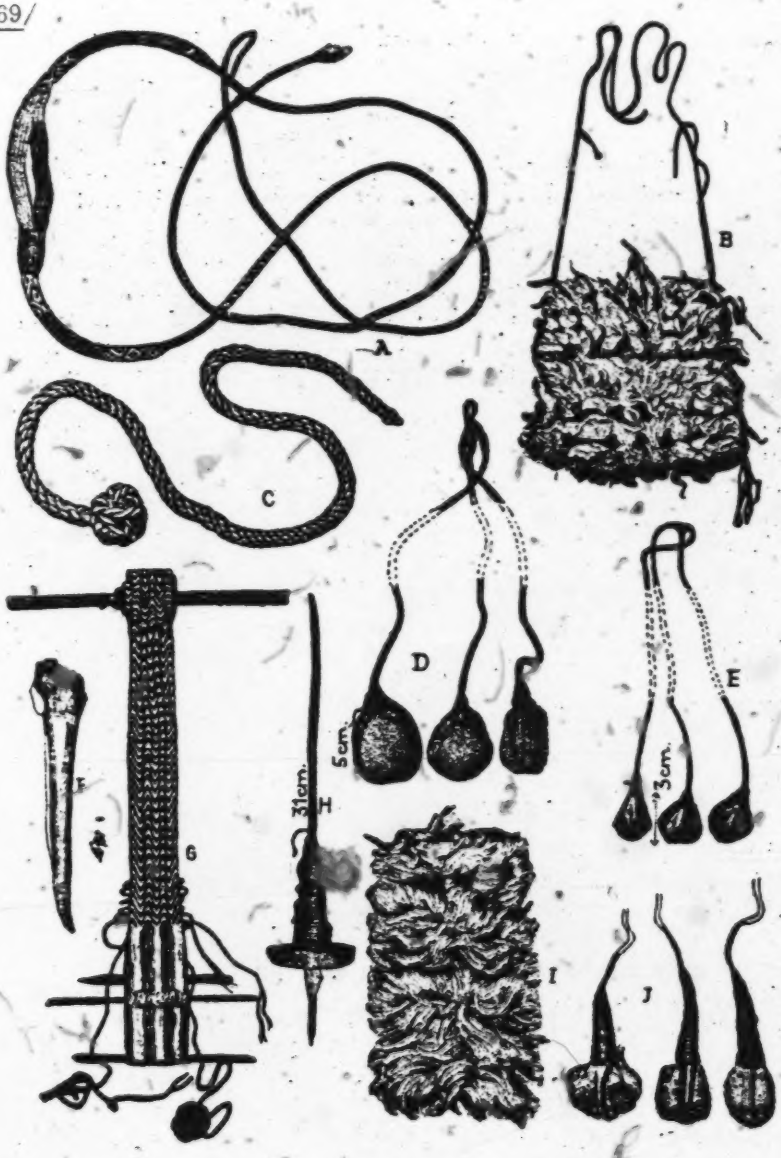

/See captions on next page./

/169 cont./

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Fig. 4.—Čipaya material culture. Weapons and technology.

A: Čipaya sling.

B: Bag (kāls) covered with white, black, and red tufts forming a sort of velvet.

C: Čipaya bola perdida.

D-E: Pre-Columbian bolas.

F: Weaver's dagger (wiña), of bone.

G: Čipaya loom for weaving women's belts (tsai).

H: Spindle with wooden weight /whorl/ (t'eri).

I: Bag (kāls) made from the skin of a llama's neck.

J: Weights of a modern Čipaya bola.

/194 cont./

U *171 A 342

the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and inns were long and square and the wood was brought from the Yungas." /Cited in Spanish./

U *171 [113] [114]

On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

U 571 621

The estancias of the Čipaya explain the formation of the small social units also called estancias, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayl'u, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

U *171 312

Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Čipaya to fertilize their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

U *171 411 [30] [178]

Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

U [064]

Near Iscara, in the chullpares, I found bolas rolled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 157/).

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 118, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (pana-soluna) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of varicolored llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden floats for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of disguises has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skillful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

native names for so exiguous a number of scientific varieties. These occur in the species: *O. Cuvieri, O. Pentlandi, O. Humboldti, O. Jussieui, O. Bairdii, O. Orionnii, O. frontosus, and O. Neveui.* Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suči, mauri;* Uru *čisi*) these species are present: *T. dispar Tschudi,* and *T. rivulatus.* Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify clearly with the scientific classifications are: (Aymará) *qesi-čoqa, qesintus, kuri-mauri, umanta, Karači;* (Uru) *teri, čis, čaki, okʷulu, čalkiri,* and *wakʷluli* —whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and female of the same species.

Fish are preserved and prepared in several ways. The smaller kinds (*ispi, sačaqa, učerčula*), salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. The larger varieties (*suči, mauri, čisi*) are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire, and thus smoke-dried are preserved for periods of scarcity, according to Posnansky. But what appears to be the same process, described by Palavecino, is evidently a method of *cooking:*

> These ovens, which the Uru call *soxaño*, consist in a hole dug in the soil, whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 cm. The rounded edge is raised at the surface of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uru light a fire in it and introduce more or less flat stones. When the stones are incandescent, they take them out, all except those on the bottom. They lay on these a layer of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a layer of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is closed with stones, and covered with reeds. The fish is thus cooked by steaming.

Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South America.

Hunting is almost as important to the Uru as fishing, neither of which is basic in Chipaya economy. The river marshes abound with birds of many kinds: waterhens (*wesla, čokχa*), ducks (*soχna*), geese (*waqata*), loons (*pako*), herons (*ačičí*), various diving birds and gulls; a large unidentified black bird they call *čiwanku* or *čičinksa.* Other unidentified birds are: *čelito, kačuwaina* (*waina* is Aymará for "youth, young man"), *ačowa, čorani.* Of these aquatic birds, only the "bobo" (*pako*) is not hunted or eaten, because of its rank, oily flesh. Most frequently hunted is a kind of red duck called *p'anasoχna.*

The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Posnansky says men hunting alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or twisting the neck. The Uru are able users of slingshots woven or braided of varicolored llama-wools; and they also use *bolas,* made with two large

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24
Aymara SF5

wooden balls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.[32] They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking; spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yokena*), and kill with their *bolas* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*šiši*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *čarki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña; sahala*, a word obviously related to Aymará *kala*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold[33] small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lassoed, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the viscacha (*šičai*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, roof-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails; and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymára neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

[32] An Uru *bola* from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

[33] The Aymára have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "brass-monkey" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *lakaya* ("to split"), *wari* (vicuña), *q'asaya* ("snakes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-wooled vicuña scream. The Aymára schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "cholo" interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") yell of this familiar phrase: *q'ala lakaya wari q'asaya, ara ura!*

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*pivi*) and *balsas* (Ikassi), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peks* (Aymará *pusiña*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'ou*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusiña* or *peks* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *lexawa*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *t'aŭa*, *coca*, net-thread, *haŭawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*lexawa* and *lawara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: [illegible] are, T.t.cana, Konko, Kama, Kuipa.

323 (78 cont.)
000 potter's mark on the bottom (1). The mortars, or more exactly

323
114 1. My observations in this respect contradict those of one of the authors cited in

342

Fig. 22

323
114
[126] note 1, p. 3. As I was trying to make as complete a collection as possible at Ancoaqui, I gave special attention to all the objects which met my eyes, and the pottery did not seem to me to be of local fabrication. I also did not see any women working at making it, nor did I notice any of the signs which indicate the existence of a ceramic industry in the entire Indian village.

4/2 The mortars, or more exactly the grindstones, are made of a flat or slightly concave stone, against which another, oval in form and polished by use, is rubbed. These mullers are sometimes semicircular; the pressure which the

/78 cont./

412 kneeling woman exerts on them is accompanied by gentle rocking, which facilitates the grinding.

372 /79/ The Uro have no combustible material other than dried
[232] animal excrement and tola branches, which they go far to seek.
[124] These things are precious, and the Uro, like the Cipaya and the Aymara, are sparing in their use.

231 Near the huts a type of earth niche is sometimes erected which is rather similar to the huts around the village of Chipaya; these are pigstys.

226 Fishing. The Uro, in our age as in pre-Colombian times,
[212] draw their main subsistence from the lake. They are excellent
[439] fishers. The fish they catch is partly consumed by themselves and partly sold to the Aymara and to the half-breeds of the capital. I did not have the opportunity to be present on a real fishing expedition, only at several demonstrations made at my request. They first taught me the way in which they use the landing net shown in Fig. 23, 1 /see p. 9/. The wooden frame which holds the stretched-out net is fastened to the end of a pole. The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or seated on his balsa until he sees an interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net delicately, then pulls it out of the water with a sudden motion.

227 There is another type of landing net which is much larger. It is composed of a circle from which wooden sticks joined at one end go out. This skeleton, conical in form, is covered with a net. Another net, as large as a hand, is stretched across the opening to make the escape of the fish even more difficult. This apparatus is often of considerable dimensions; some are more than three meters in diameter. They are always equipped with a handle by which they are held in the water and lifted up as soon as the fish have ventured in (Pl. III, B /see p. 23/).

The Uro Indians also possess bottom nets, which I regret not having seen employed. I have, however, acquired a perforated stone (Fig. 24, 2 /see p. 10/) which corresponds to our weights or ballast.

1:Métraux--15 E-5 (1931) 1935 SP24 Uru SP24
Ancoaqui

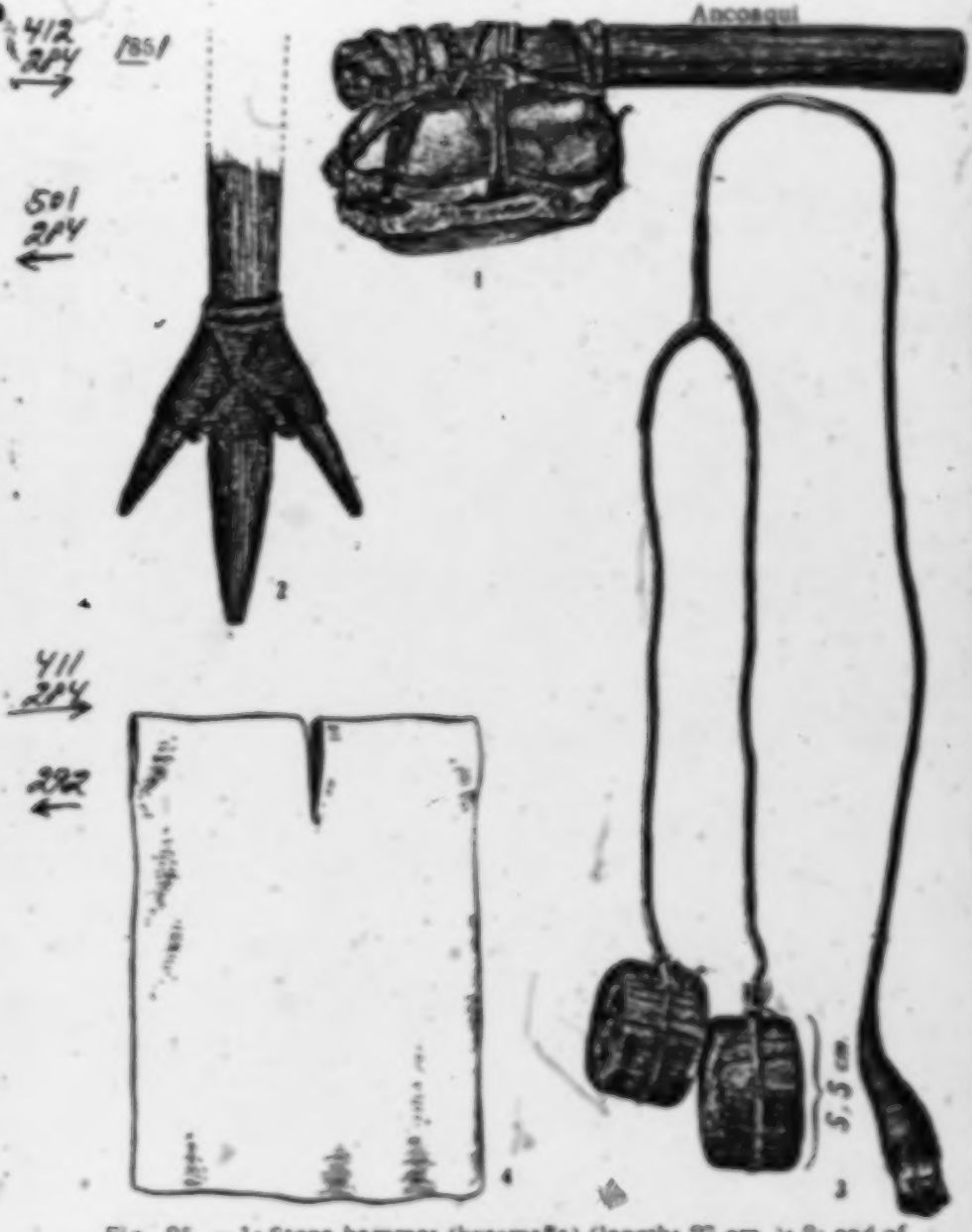

Fig. 25. — 1: Stone hammer (kxasmaña) (length: 27 cm.); 2: end of the boathook which the Uru use to propel their cane rafts (t'okena); 3: bola: (skuni); 4: tunic of white wool which the Uro wear over their modern clothes for c[illegible] occasions (ira) (length: 1.05 m. width: 0.62 m

/86 cont./

000 1. Parodi, p. 4.

223 excellent quality. They pull them up with their roots, then put them in a pile, cutting off the two ends, and let them soak in
243 water. Then they crush them on a slab with hammer blows.
412 The latter is made of a stone put in a leather sheath to which a wooden handle is attached (Fig. 25. 1 /see p. 15/). There is no doubt that this handle is a recent innovation, and that the primitive hammers of the Uro, like all those of the Aymara of the conquest and of the modern Cipaya, were nothing more than a simple pebble with, at the most, somewhat of a depression to facilitate grasping it. Once the straw is flexible through the washing and hammering, it is rolled on the leg with the flat of the hand, following a process common to America as a whole.

291 Dress. The dress of the Uro is identical with that of the
171 Aymara, i.e., with very few exceptions, to that of the poor classes in practically all of Latin America: trousers, a shirt, a felt hat, and a poncho. Almost all the Uro, however, still
[174] keep the "camiseta," the long woolen shirt which was once the /87/ national costume of the Indians who belonged to the Andean civilizations or who were subject to their influence (Fig. 25. 4 /see p. 15/). They rarely put it on nowadays, and only on my express request did those whom I photographed consent to slip this tunic over their ordinary clothes (Pl. V, A /see p. 25/).
291 They cover their heads with a wool helmet, whose pre-Columbian
274 origin is doubtful. The Uro formerly knitted them with thread made from the down of water birds. The Berlin Museum has a sample of these caps, the technique of which Dr. Th. Krickeberg was kind enough to study on my behalf. This examination led
[173] him to the conclusion that although the idea of spinning bird down is ancient, the knitting stitches are clearly European in origin.

291 The women are dressed like the Indian women of La Paz: several colored skirts put on one over the other, a dirty blouse barely hidden by a mantle closed over the chest, a felt hat, and

2:Méxicos--139 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SI'2A Uru SI'2A
Cuzangui-
Chipaya

/155/

Material Culture

Habitations

342 The habitation problem is one of the hardest that the Čipaya have had to resolve. Nature has refused them any natural shelter and all that seems absolutely indispensable for the construction of a dwelling: not one tree, not the shortest candle cactus on their bare plain, not even earth for adobes. Nothing but sand, and still that grass roots make compact. Here again, however, human ingenuity has been able to conquer all obstacles and resolve all difficulties. In the same way that the Eskimos cut blocks out of the snow from which they make their round huts, the Čipaya cut clods out of the ground, which piled up on each other create huts of beehive form strikingly similar to the "snow houses" of the Arctic peoples. As huts built entirely of clods (Pl. VI, C /see p. 215/) cannot attain any great size, the Čipaya prefer to build cylindrical houses (wʌ̃ya), which they cover with hemispheric of thatch. Aside from the roof, the principle of construction in these two types of habitation is the same.

342 The clods (ʔʌ̃ya) are cut out of the ground by means of a hoe. As the stroke given with this instrument is oblique, the piece of detached earth, which is 70 cm. long, about 30 to 35 cm. wide, and 15 cm. thick, has the form of the trunk of a quadrangular pyramid or of the trunk of a parallelepiped rectangle. Half of the thickness is intermingled with roots which make a sort of very solid adobe of the clump. It is always used turned over, i.e., with the roots in the air.

/156/ The hut stands on a basement which protects it from floods. This platform is made of a series of clods juxtaposed flat or edgewise, which form the floor. After this the clods are simply superimposed without tying or mortar. The wall perfectly circular does not rise perpendicularly, but inclines gently from the base to

Smithsonian--148 B-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SP24 Uru SP24

Cayuga:-
Chipaya

/ish-ooo-/

233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to them[2] at more or less
close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their
[230] houses. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the chil-
dren from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them
[229] the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from
whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous
progeny.

[232] Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20
[233] sheep (/ha/), an indefinite number of pigs (/ooʔi/), and several llamas
(/wala/). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut
in the ear.

[234] Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on
/161/ the pastures belonging to his /aya/ (moiety). No markers mark
the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal
which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the
members of the other /aya/. In such a case no claim is allowed.

231 The shepherds have dogs /jaku/, middling in size, with
233 rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals,
which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I
have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye with-
out its astounded owner having time to intervene.

234 Sheep shearing (/ʔipia/) takes place at the same time for the
235 whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for
[240] this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and
all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

233 Like all pastoral people the Chipaya are loath to consume the
234 meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the
occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the
meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from
time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their
[231] flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied
by a certain religious ceremony.

[2 [i.e., to their "water houses" or estancias -- Analyst]

/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone scoured by the herds of sheep, out where the ever poorer pastures are gradually lost in the arid puna (Pl. II. A /see p. 211/). The young llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watching a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231 It is rather strange that the Čipaya do not raise guinea pigs, as practically all the Indians of the Sierra do. It is true that the Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not [235] know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of [262] the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them because I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic animals that the Čipaya have.

241 Agriculture. To the meager income which their flocks bring [433] them the Čipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinua) (in Uro-Čipaya: kxula) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañahua).

The cultivated plots (skxāla), which are common to the whole tribe and not only to each of the saya, are situated to the southeast of the village /162/ and to the east of the flooded region called the lakes. Their area is about 300 meters wide and one kilometer long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet, is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries. Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten meters wide and 300 meters long.

[433] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the care and under the responsibility of the alcaldes. If what they say is accurate, the Čipaya practice crop rotation.

● [412] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To till the soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bent handles, a specimen

/162 cont./

24] of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2, K /see p. 150/). Today
[412] they use long-handled hoes (astuna, takisa) of European make.
[107] The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Čipaya with
[178] an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The quinua which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequent-
[32] ly of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

222

1. The Čipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (siča) which they say is the root of the tola, and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (sawkx-pera) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

000 of several broken down enclosures.

234 Trade. The Čipaya make cheeses, which constitute their
433 chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk.
439 They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, quinua, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried
439 fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region
[433] of the Salinas, from Garcimendoza. The Čipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

2:Métraux--150 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas - Chipaya
Aymara SF5

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/See captions on next page./

/163 cont./

Fig. 2. –Čipaya material culture. Utensils and tools.

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A: Baked clay stove of the Aymara Indians.
B: Wooden spoon (wisl'a).
C: Čipaya stove (from a sketch).
D: Adze with T-shaped blade.
E: One-livre stone weight used by the Aymara of Carangas to weigh the potatoes and salt they sell in Chipaya.
F: Čipaya whatnot.
G: Mortar (t'ax) (from a sketch).
H: Stone hammer.
I: Axe with T-shaped heel and old hafting.
J: Stone vat (takxira) for treading on quinua seeds (from a sketch).
K: Aymara hoe from the village of Belen (Oruro Department).

/166 cont./

252 Too many authors have spoken of the preparation of these potatoes exposed to frost and dried for it to be necessary for me to linger on
[439] it. This effort would be all the more superfluous since the čuño which the Čipaya consume is bought from the Aymara. Several times I saw the Čipaya make a paste of čuño by crushing them in
• [412] their mortar. The latter is a flat stone (t^{w}ax), slightly sloping, on which the grinding is done with the help of another flat stone (muruku) which goes and comes (Fig. 2, G /see p. 150/).

Meat is always boiled, probably because of the fuel, which burns without a flame or gives off, in the case of tola, an acrid smoke.

264 The food is served in bowls (čua) (Fig. 3, D /see p. 155/);
[412] liquids are taken with a spoon (wisl'a) (Fig. 2, B) and solids with the hand. At feasts the host spreads out the dishes he is offering to his guests on a blanket, and the latter take them in a flap of their clothes.

273 Preparation of chicha from quinua. After being husked, quinua seeds are roasted again. They are then reduced to flour, from which a bowlful is taken out and conscientiously chewed by a woman. The portion soaked with saliva is mixed with the rest of the flour which has been spread on a skin. The whole is boiled and then poured into a large vat to which more hot water is added. The liquid is left to ferment for four days. The drink (k^{x}esi) thus obtained resembles muddy water and is very slightly alcoholic.

284 Production of cheeses. Although the cheese industry is in the foreground of the economic activity of the Čipaya, the technique used is one of the most rudimentary. The rennet is prepared with a piece of fetus tripe of a llama or vicuña which is soaked in water. It is enough to pour a little of this liquid into sheep's milk to turn it into cheese. The casein, after having been pressed between the
[439] hands, is put into small straw rings which are superimposed and separated each time by a fragment of palm-tree bark, a material which is used to wrap the small packs of coca which the Aymara sell to the Čipaya. When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is

/172 cont./

291 To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Čipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here/ /174/ a folded cloth (unkuña) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European [53] peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric identical to the mantle; like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip.

Style of Wearing the Hair

302 The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (skuru) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each 301 other by small strings. On these strings are hung small bronze pendants (laurake), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/).

The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kits, pāz-kits, kxola), the round, flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 163/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass [71] beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two culture traits which are completely typical of Andean culture.

302 The women know no other toilette other than the care given their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity [42] [324] [339] of redoing their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few friends who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kˣara) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig bristles (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in rotten urine. [TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

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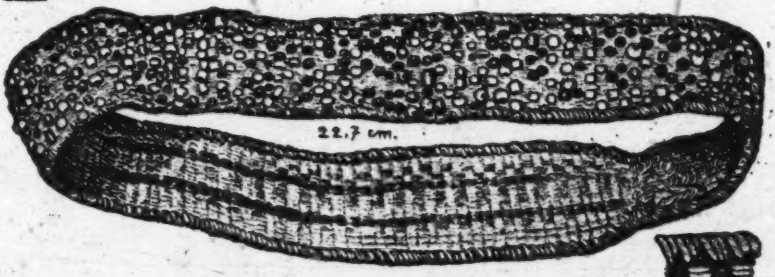

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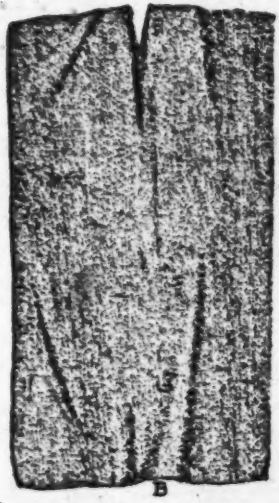

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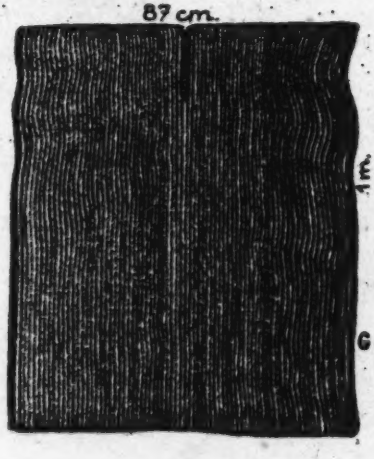

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Fig. 5. — Čipaya material culture. Clothing and accessories.

A: Diadem spangled with glass beads.
B: Woman's shirt of white wool (almil'a).
C: Cap of knitted wool (čułu'ł).
D: Pin (pāz-kits) which the Čipaya women stick in their hair.
E: Hairbrush (kˣara or čaxrañā) of roots.
F: Hairbrush of pig bristle.
G: Man's tunic (ira).

/200 cont./

*171 301 it was indispensable to the Quichua women to hold back their flowing hair.

*171 301 531 /201/ The spangling was a method of ornamentation which must formerly have been widely diffused on the altiplano, as the following passage from Cobo bears witness (1): "The cloth that they

1. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, p. 206.

embroidered with Chaquira was held to be the most precious of all. This Chaquira were very fine little beads of gold and silver, and it was a wondrous thing to see how it was made; for the whole piece was decorated with these little beads, without the thread showing, in the manner of a very close netting." /Cited in Spanish./ Archaeology amply confirms the assertion of the chronicler.

*171 ● 412 The distribution of the root brush has been made by Nordenskiöld (2).

[113]

2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), "Analyse ethno-géographique de la culture matérielle de deux tribus du Gran Chaco /Ethno-geographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Tribes of the Gran Chaco/," Études d'ethnographie comparée, I, Paris, 1929, pp. 144-146.

This is one of the numerous South American culture traits which have equivalents in the north of this continent. "I have," he said, "hairbrushes from the Mataco, the Choroti, the Ashluslay, and the Tapieté in my collection. These objects are also known among the Araukans /the Araucanians/, the Patagons /Patagonians/, the Peguenche /Pehuenche/, and the Yaghans /Yahgan/. Lehmann-

/201 cont./

*171 412 Nitsche gives a drawing of an object from an excavation in the Jujuy puna which probably represents a hairbrush. The hairbrushes of the Choroti, the Ashluslay, and the Mataco are made from the hair of anteaters. The Tapiete Indians use brushes made either of hair or of roots. They are also rather frequently made with branches or roots. It is interesting to ascertain that Uhle has found some of these hairbrushes in the excavations of very ancient tombs in Arica. He has also discovered some in the excavations, still older, of Pisagua, while in the more recent beds which he attributes to the Tiahuanaco period he has come across combs. The hairbrush is evidently one of the oldest signs of civilization in South America; it is presently more widespread in the southern part of this continent."

I shall complete Nordenskiöld's list by adding the Quichua and Aymara Indians of the altiplano who use both the brush and comb. There is not one stall in Peru or Bolivia where one cannot acquire both of these objects. The Quichua name for brush is saxrama.

*171 30 [172] The wig is a culture trait which, as archaeology reveals to us, has existed in Peru from remotest times. The Museum of Göteborg has several specimens which come from the Peruvian coast. This false hair is arranged in small plaits and hang from a /202/ string exactly as does the hair in the modern wigs of the Čipaya. Aside from Peru the wig has been discovered among the Jivaro, who perhaps borrowed it from the Andean civilizations, from that of Nazca in particular, with which they have so many features in common. In North America the wig is also no rare culture trait. The Handbook of American Indians assigns the following distribution to it: Crow, Assiniboin, Mandan, Mohave, Yuma, and Pueblo (1).

[113]

1. Izikowitz (K. G.), "Une coiffure d'apparat d'Ica /A Festive Headdress from Ica/," Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

/202 cont./

*171 Tools. I found near the Corque chullpas a stone hammer
●412 exactly like that which the Čipaya use to crush straw for making rope. The Uro of Ancoaqui use for the same purpose a stone hammer
*171 which they fasten to a handle with raw leather. This instrument
114 has a North American look, which struck Professor Nordenskiöld;
412 he considered it a new culture trait which should be added to the list of those which were common to these two parts of the New World. In this respect I do not share my teacher's opinion: I consider the handle of the Uro hammers a recent innovation introduced under the influence of the European hammer. My opinion is based on a very interesting passage from Cobo (2), who relates that the Aymara

2. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. I, p. 251.

Indians employed by the Spanish in the quarries proved entirely incapable of using a hammer with a handle and preferred to return to the simple, round stones which they held in the palm of the hand. It is thus unlikely that the Uro, with a civilization so close to that of the Aymara, would have diverged on this point. In addition, if this culture trait had been really old, I would certainly have found one or two specimens among the Čipaya, who have remained much more primitive than their racial brothers, the Uro of the Desaguadero.

*171 The ethnography of the Čipaya perhaps explains the original
415 function of the "circular mortars," so many specimens of which have
[532] been found in the Peruvian Sierra (3). These are stone basins with

[113]

3. On the distribution of these basins cf. Rivet (Paul) and Verneau (René), Ethnographie ancienne de l'Équateur /Ancient ethnography of the Equator/, Paris, 1912, p. 185, Pl. 9, Nos. 1, 2, 4, and Lehman (Walter)

3:Vellard--6d D, E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

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9. Fisher preparing straw ropes to make a balsa. He is using a stone hammer.

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10. Construction of a balsa: preparation of the three totora cylinders: the heart and the two side parts.

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

Two men work simultaneously
396 tightening the braids with little wooden hooks,
[983] taking care that the two parallel cylinders have
[912] exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a third man waters the cylinders, so that the reed remains
[412] slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the
501 reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fisherman holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsas measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a punt-pole when circulating among the rushes. The
[961] life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or
[137] four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

126 The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and
123 then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the raucous lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the previous day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards,
[788] and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of
[201] the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the
126 forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

slant. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymára. Walle (page 155) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Posnansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient Amerindian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *ĉuño*-consuming Aymára (*ĉuño* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fishermen, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymára and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymára-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymára, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymára; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymára is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymára nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymára; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymára, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tsúutis*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[17] the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the

[17] In Neveu-Lemaire, *Los Lagos*, p. LXI.

2:446maus--142 8-5 (1930)-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas —
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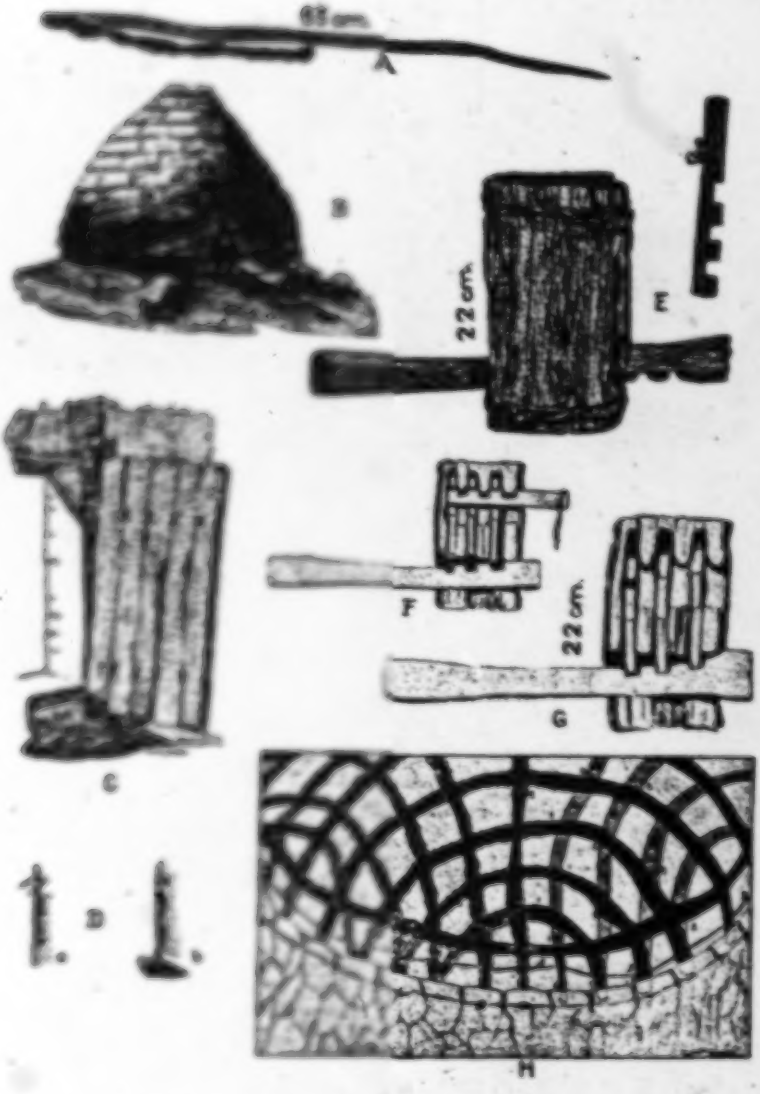

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2:Métraux--142a E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

/157 cont./

Fig. 1. — Čipaya material culture. The habitation.

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A: Needle with which the Čipaya sew the thatch to the frame.
B: Hovel of clods of earth.
C: Door of cactus wood.
D: Detail of the door. a: top; b: bottom.
E: Čipaya lock and key.
F, G: The same lock seen in cross section.
H: Schema showing the method of constructing the framework of the cupola which covers the roof of the huts.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

396 knives on the ends of poles, then stacked in shocks like corn, after they have been dried spread out in the sun. Nearly all able-bodied Uru males have quantities of these materials in various stages toward the manufacture of the complete boats. In their houses, even, in spare moments, men are continually braiding *ilw*-grass into tough ropes to bind the boats together.

Though shaped like a boat, the *balsa* is of course actually a raft. A handful of reeds is bound together and repeatedly thickened with more reeds as the middle of the cigar-shaped element is reached, then tapered off again into a point. The only tool used in the manufacture of this is a wooden hook (*kayle*) with a handle at an acute angle to it, used to tighten the lashing of grass rope. A more tubular and thinner sheaf of reeds forms the keel of the *balsa*, and two of the fat cigar-shaped bundles are separately lashed to it, forming a sort of sea-sled type of hull, which cannot be overturned in a storm; the thinner ends of these cigar-shaped bundles are slightly raised fore and aft of the boat. To form gunwales, a still thinner and tubular sheaf of reeds is lashed (during its own round-and-round binding with braided grass rope) through the original lashing of the hull-elements. One of these gunwales (*pisala*) is placed on each side of the top of the hull-elements to prevent splashing of water onto the occupants of the boat as it is poled along. The Uru *balsa* thus differs from the Aymára[28] type in that its two large basic elements are lashed to a central "keel" and not to each other (though the bulwark lacings are similarly looped through the lacings of the two hull-elements); it has therefore five instead of four elements. The Uru also rig their *totora*-mat sails with a slight difference from the Aymára. Sails, however, can only be used on the Lake and on the open river "before the wind" since the boat has no center-board and cannot tack. In the narrow swamp-ways a punt pole or gaff (*tokoi*) with a stubby trident at its end is used to push the boat along. The wood for these comes from the *yungas* of the Cordillera Real's eastern, tropical slopes. (See Posnansky, Fig. 83.) A complete *balsa* cost in 1937 from ten to sixteen *bolivianos*, then worth about 5¢.

285 Of Uru textiles we have already noted twined single-element *totora balsa*-sails, twined many-element mattress-mats of reed, fish- and bird-nets (which they themselves make of cord obtained in Guaqui from La Paz), and 283 single-element twined *reed* mats of *totora*. Métraux has an excellent description (page 86) of the preparation by soaking, pounding, and rolling of the wiry grasses of the region (*Stipa ichu*, *Festucha orthophylla*, and *F. dis-*

[28] Lorenzo R. Parodi, *Los balsas usadas por los Aymaras en el lago Titicaca* (Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. 11, Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 145-149. Métraux' description (JSAP 27: 84) is of the Aymára type.

2:566mano--140 E-9 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Caranga-
Chipaya

/116 cont./

the summit. This incline need only be accentuated to create the conical hut of the second type entirely made of cloth.

The walls facings are plastered on the outside and inside with a thin layer of earth which conceals the irregularities of the surface.

The door. The opening (tan) of the door (tauke) which is always framed with a white band is generally larger below than above and its angles are rounded. It does not open at ground level but on a threshold about 30 centimeters high. The door itself is situated inside the habitation. It is made of laths of Cereus joined by leather thongs and by crosspieces, and is articulated by means of two pivots, one of which, the upper one, is stuck into a piece of perforated wood (Fig. 1, C-D /see p. 142/).

Figure 1, E to G gives an idea of the ingenious peg lock of the Chipaya and its functioning. It is carved of Cereus wood and is of a type identical with that of the Aymara, who copied it from the old rural Spanish locks (1).

1. On this subject see Gennep (A. van). "Études d'ethnographie sud-américaine /Studies of South American Ethnography/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, New Series, Vol. XI, 1914, pp. 121-133.

The roof. The straw dome (p'uma) which covers the Chipaya huts of the first type is complicated and ingenious in construction and certainly represents the most delicate work which these natives undertake. When the walls of the hut are two meters above ground, two rows of cloth larger than the others and with perpendicular joints are placed on top. The upper ones are provided with orifices intended to receive the ends of the arches which support the straw cupola. The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots

[See pp 142-143--/wolfgt]

Carangas —
Chipaya

/See captions on next page./

/157 cont./

Fig. 1. — Čipaya material culture. The habitation.

413 A: Needle with which the Čipaya sew the thatch to the frame.
342 B: Hovel of clods of earth.
414 C: Door of cactus wood.
335 D: Detail of the door, a: top; b: bottom.
E: Čipaya lock and key.
F, G: The same lock seen in cross section.
H: Schema showing the method of constructing the framework of the cupola which covers the roof of the huts.

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A. Male Uro Indian dressed in a camiseta.

B. Uro woman.

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C. Little Uro girl.

D. Uro maiden.

[End Plate 4]

2:Métraux--78 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/356 cont./

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*796
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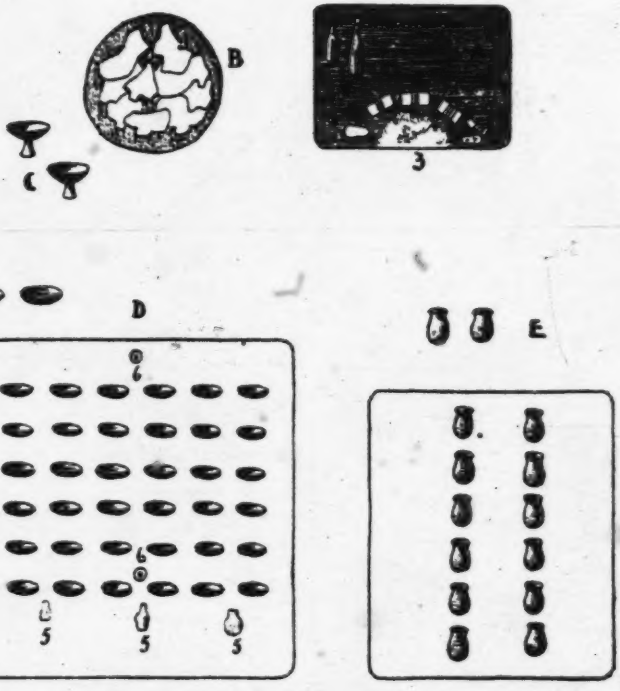


Fig. 35. — Respective arrangement of the various accessories at the time of the C'al'a (Festival of the samiri).

A. Cellar containing the samiri. 1:Bottles full of alcohol; 2: bags with various magical materials; 3: the samiri covered with wool; 4: bunches of flowers.

B. Bowl containing the samiri (calcareous stones) and blood.

C. Censers.

D. The cupules laid out on a cloth. 5: small baked clay bottles; 6: two coins.

E. Phials containing a special mixture differing from that of the cupules.

/366 cont./

*796 [562] [887] [732] In this case the alferez was an old woman, wrinkled and respectable, /367/ assisted by her son, a young boy 18 to 20 years old who was a deaf-mute. She led the procession dressed in her most beautiful attire with flowers stuck in her hair.

The procession returned to the chapel to kneel and to perfume again the altar, on which a spot of still fresh blood stood out. The procession broke up shortly afterward, but part of those present accompanied the alfereza and her son, who proceeded with one of the banners from the church up to the door of their hut. There the standard, which the alfereza and her son kissed respectfully, was rolled up and attached to a stake of Cereus.

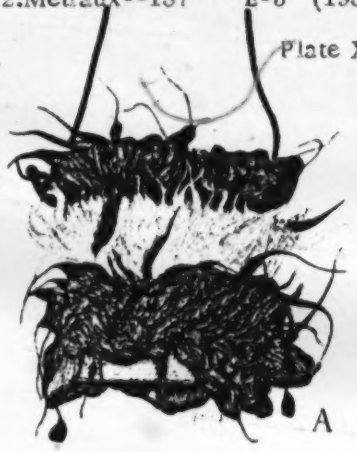
[616] The authorities of the saya seated themselves behind a table, and a mantle (talu) was spread out on the ground a certain distance away, on the edge of which the alfereza and her daughter-in-law squatted. They were promptly surrounded by a large number of women who grouped themselves in a horseshoe. A small tablecloth covered with coca leaves was placed on the table, as on the talu.

The alfereza and her son began to pray on their knees before the banner and offered up a libation of alcohol to it; then the young man went to get his wife and repeated the same ceremony with her (Pl. XII, A /see p. 133/). The alcaldes congratulated the alfereza, repeating the sacred formula of suma hora. This rite of politeness accomplished, they went to kiss the post against which the standard had been fastened, and then, taking two wooden cups with two bulls carved on the inside from the table, they offered up a libation of chicha accompanied by a prayer (Pl. XVII, A /see p. 138/).

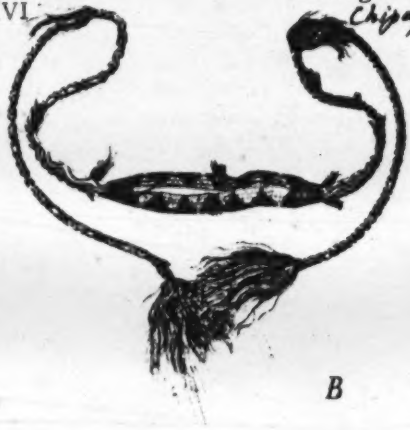
[415] [278] On the two sides of the talu behind which the women were seated a very old footless wooden cup, very old, had been placed, from which the women one after the other drank chicha (Pl. XVII, D).

The audience began to chew and to offer up libations. Prayers crossed each other, and in this exchange of vows and

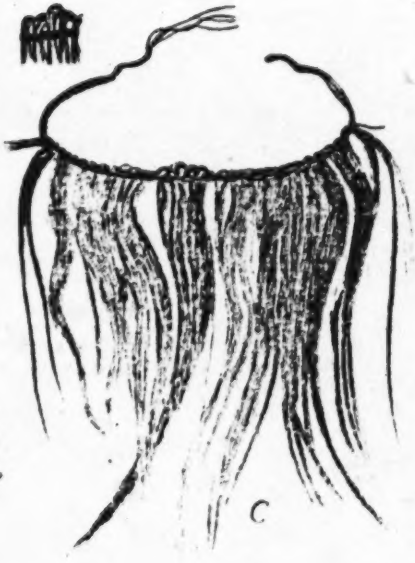
Plate XVI



A

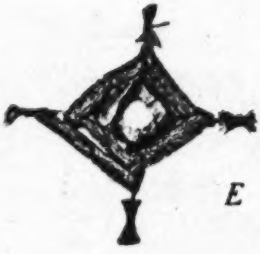


B



C

D



E

F

A. – Coca bag covered with a sort of "velvet" and used only during festivals.

B. – Festive sling.

C. – Wig worn by the men during festivals.

D. – Sacred stick (kamana-para).

E. – Rope cross hung on the roof of the huts.

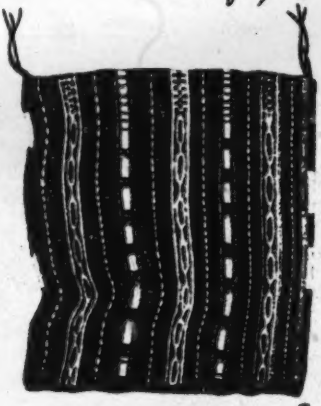
F. – Perforated potsherds used as money during the festival of the alasita.

Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XVII

● 415
[531]

A



C

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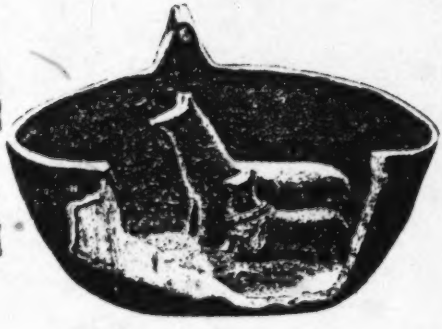
*[1196]
[782]



D

[532]

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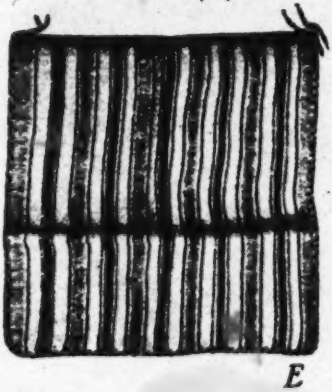
B



E

/See captions on next page./

Carangas–
Chipaya

Plate XVII

415 A. – Bowl used for making libations of chicha. The animals
532 modeled at the bottom are a llama and its young.
286
531 B. – Small earthen llama venerated during certain festivals.
*796 C. – Bag with red and yellow motifs (käls).
782 D. – Wooden mug used during certain religious ceremonies to offer up libations.

E. – Woven bag (käls).

/156 cont./ The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots of tola (čoksa, čoxsa) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes (kxaru) (Pl. VI, B /see p. 215/). They are thrust in the holes of which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1, H /see p. 142/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are superimposed and are fastened at the intersections by solid ligatures. Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cereus wood /157/ /Figure 1 appears here/ /158/ in order to allow the roofers to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum (pirina) made of straw (p^{h}it) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin covering, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are hoisted up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the faggots by means of a long wooden needle (čapa) threaded with straw cord (Fig. 1, A) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to encompass a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence of this thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the intercrossing of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross surmounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house from the effects of lightening.

Furnishings. The interior disposition of Čipaya huts is most summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[Text Continues on p. 143]

/163/

/See captions on next page./

/163 cont./

Fig. 2. –Čipaya material culture. Utensils and tools.

A: Baked clay stove of the Aymara Indians.
B: Wooden spoon (wisl'a).
C: Čipaya stove (from a sketch).
D: Adze with T-shaped blade.
E: One-livre stone weight used by the Aymara of Carangas to weigh the potatoes and salt they sell in Chipaya.
F: Čipaya whatnot.
G: Mortar (t^{w}ax) (from a sketch).
H: Stone hammer.
I: Axe with T-shaped heel and old hafting.
J: Stone vat (takxira) for treading on quinua seeds (from a sketch).
K: Aymara hoe from the village of Belen (Oruro Department).

/167/

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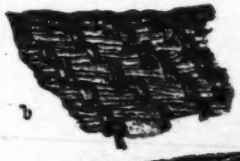
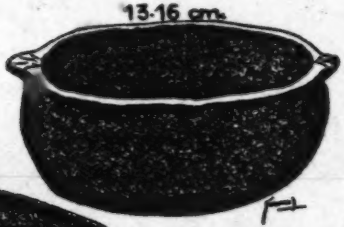
[415]



13-16 cm.



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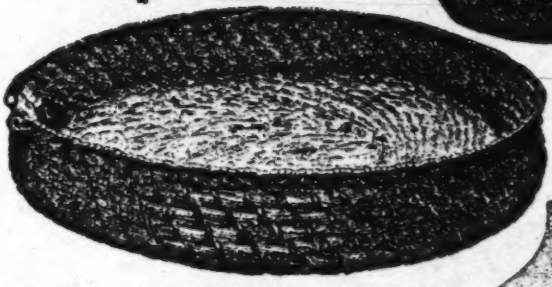

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A

29cm

[414]

B

48 cm.

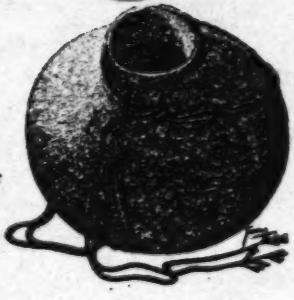
E

[284]

5 cms.

C

F



/See captions on next page./

/167 cont./

Fig. 3. — Čipaya material culture. Basketry and pottery.

285 A: Basket with spiral basketwork used as a winnowing basket by the Čipaya; b: detail of the technique.

224 B: Fish-trap basket of the shore-dwellers of the Poopó marshes, used by the Čipaya to hold small objects.

415 C: Fragments of a broken bowl sewn together.

D: Cipaya bowl (čua).

E: Jug (luš) reminiscent of the old aryballus, bought in Chipaya but of Aymara manufacture.

F: Jug (luš) of old type (from a sketch).

Carangas -
Chipaya

/169/

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/See captions on next page./

Carangas—
Chipaya

/169 cont./

283
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172

Fig. 4.—Čipaya material culture. Weapons and technology.

A: Čipaya sling.
B: Bag (kălis) covered with white, black, and red tufts forming a sort of velvet.
C: Čipaya bola perdida.
D-E: Pre-Columbian bolas.
F: Weaver's dagger (wiña), of bone.
G: Čipaya loom for weaving women's belts (mai).
H: Spindle with wooden weight /whorl/ (t'eri).
I: Bag (kălis) made from the skin of a llama's neck.
J: Weights of a modern Čipaya bola.

/174 cont./
women urine. This liquid, which smells horribly of ammonia, is an excellent cutter of grease, the only thing which can give some suppleness to their greasy mop. This peculiar washing made me understand the reason why there was a receptacle in a corner of all the Čipaya huts which the master of the house used as a chamber pot and whose contents he guarded with care. When I assert that this toilette is the only one which the Čipaya women practice, I exaggerate nothing. Throughout their lives they never wash and their skin is covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Their clothes are equally unclean and tattered, and only during festivals do they put on a new unku or mantle. /175/ /Figure 6 appears here./

/176/ Technology

Ceramics. The pottery of the Čipaya Indians is not indigenous. It comes to them from the Aymara who trade it (Fig. 6 /see p. 165/). The center of this industry is situated near Parinacota in Carangas province where banks of clayey earth are found. I shall always regret not having been able to visit this locality to observe the making of ceramics on the spot. Without any doubt I should have discovered there the survival of ancient pre-Columbian techniques since the form of the vessels and jugs coming from this place is exactly that with which we are familiar from Andean archaeology. Aryballoi (177) are still shaped there as in the times of the Inca empire, and other receptacles which reproduce ancient types characteristic of this part of the altiplano (Fig. 3, E-F /see p. 155/). It is not only in the style of these ceramics that we ascertain the influence of pre-Columbian models, but in the very manner in which the aryballus is carried on the back is a continuation of old Inca traditions. By means of a rope of llama wool ingeniously interlaced, the women bear the large aryballoid jugs on the back, exactly like the Indian depicted on a Chimu vase.

[Text continues on P. 166]

/175/

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[384]
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[303]

/See captions on next page./

Carangas-
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

A /175 cont./
415 Fig. 6.—Čipaya material culture. Ceramics

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439 A: Small jug of Aymara origin used by the Čipaya.
B: Aryballoid jug (iii) imported from Parinacota (Carangas Province) (from a sketch).
C: Small pot (iii) imported from Parinacota.
D: Jar imported from Parinacota (from a sketch made from life).
E: Large, slightly asymetrical jar imported from Parinacota;
b: detail of one of the ornaments on the neck.
4
[303] F: Small jar made without a potter's wheel (Chipaya).

Cavanga-
Chipaya

/176 cont./

415 Besides these vessels of archaic form which have not been
[P] shaped with the help of a potter's wheel, the Čipaya use locally
435] produced receptacles, the technique of which is more advanced and influenced by European civilization. These vessels are produced in quantity in various regions of the altiplano and bear trademarks.

The Čipaya take good care of their ceramics, each piece of which represents a pecuniary sacrifice for them; hence many pots for daily use are wrapped in a protective sheath of undressed leather (Fig. 6, C /see p. 185/).

[P2] The names (maska, lič, čua yuru, oč, yakina) that the
[P3] Čipaya give the different pieces of pottery they use are always Aymara. One can deduce from this that the Uro did not know this industry or that they have been dependent on the Aymara for a long time in this respect.

443 Spinning. The raw sheep's wool (uč-čuma) or llama wool (xwai-čuma) is rolled around the left arm and spun by means of a spindle (t'xri) (Fig. 4, H /see p. 157/). The spindle stick is not surmounted by any enlargement. The weight /whorl/ (waiño) is now of turned wood, but I was still able to obtain two specimen crudely carved with a knife.

[P4] To spin, a bit of wool is pulled out and attached to the spindle by a /177/ slipknot. The movement communicated to the spindle is made by holding the thumb against the index and middle finger of the left hand, from right to left. When the spindle has begun to turn, the male or female spinner rapidly brings the right hand toward the left, following the thread (kauni) being formed. This movement is to even the thread. Once the hands are together, he draws out the wool and repeats the twisting movement. The spindle is suspended at the end of the thread, or, when the spinner is seated, it turns in a bowl (Pl. V, B /see p. 214/). When a certain length of thread has been obtained it is unrolled from the top part of the spindle and rolled on below. A new loop is made and the spindle is placed in action again in the way indicated. The threads obtained by this method are generally very thin. For weaving

2346frame--181 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Cavanga--
Chipaya
Modern Quechua SE24

/188 cont./

Some families still have k'eru, i.e., large wooden mugs (3).

3. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVII. D.

beautiful specimens of which have been recovered in Peru. These vessels come out of their hiding-places only at festival time and are used only for libations of chicha. According with the ancient Inca way, they are always presented in pairs in the same way as the drinking cups of alcohol. The k'eru which I saw in the hands of the Čipaya lack decoration, but the greyish substance which adheres to them is without doubt all that remains of the lacquer which covered the outside surface of it. These pieces are not easy to get, for the Indians consider them of great value and are very attached to them. They assert, perhaps rightly, that they date from the Inca period.

The bowl (umaña) in the bottom of which a llama with its young has been modeled (4) is destined to hold the chicha which the

4. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVII. A.

Indians pour out as a libation in honor of the Pachamama when they request fecundity of the herds from her.

No Čipaya hut lacks one or two palm-wood sticks with a rope for suspension (5). These sticks (kamana-para) which are the /189/

5. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVI. D.—Among the Quichua of Acomayo, to become manáco or campo it is indispensable to have made "the voyage to the valleys to bring back palms /palmes/ for certain religious ceremonies, such as the promenades after mass on Palm Sunday."

/202 cont./

*171 412 Tools. I found near the Corque chullpas a stone hammer exactly like that which the Čipaya use to crush straw for making rope. The Uro of Ancoaqui use for the same purpose a stone hammer *171 114 412 which they fasten to a handle with raw leather. This instrument has a North American look, which struck Professor Nordenskiöld; he considered it a new culture trait which should be added to the list of those which were common to these two parts of the New World. In this respect I do not share my teacher's opinion: I consider the handle of the Uro hammers a recent innovation introduced under the influence of the European hammer. My opinion is based on a very interesting passage from Cobo (2), who relates that the Aymara

2. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. I, p. 251.

Indians employed by the Spanish in the quarries proved entirely incapable of using a hammer with a handle and preferred to return to the simple, round stones which they held in the palm of the hand. It is thus unlikely that the Uro, with a civilization so close to that of the Aymara, would have diverged on this point. In addition, if this culture trait had been really old, I would certainly have found one or two specimens among the Čipaya, who have remained much more primitive than their racial brothers, the Uro of the Desaguadero.

*171 415 [553] [113] The ethnography of the Čipaya perhaps explains the original function of the "circular mortars," so many specimens of which have been found in the Peruvian Sierra (3). These are stone basins with

3. On the distribution of these basins cf. Rivet (Paul) and Verneau (René), Ethnographie ancienne de l'Équateur /Ancient ethnography of the Equator/, Paris, 1912, p. 185, Pl. 9, Nos. 1, 2, 4, and Lehman (Walter)

/202 cont./

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[113]

and Doering (Heinrich),
Kunstgeschichte des alten Peru
/Art History of Old Peru/,
Berlin, 1924, Pls. 99-101.

[532] perpendicular rims, whose external circumference is often decorated with carving in relief. The shape and the stone in which they were often carved (serpentine) seems to exclude the possibility that they could have been used to grind any substance therein. In dimension and appearance they greatly recall the small vessels, also of stone, /203/ in which the Čipaya women husk quinua by treading on it. I am inclined to think that this was also the way in which these so-called circular mortars were also used.

*[17] 286 Weaving. The Čipaya method which consists of attaching the loom to the belt instead of fastening it to two stakes as is customary elsewhere on the altiplano is also a survival of pre-[531] Columbian times (1). On a lecythus of Trujillo, often reproduced,

[113]

1. This custom is not, however, general. Ronald L. Olson, "Old Empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, p. 11, publishes the photograph of a woman of Marcamachay whose loom is fastened to the waist, and he informs us that the weavers of the equatorial altiplano still follow the same method.

where one sees some women in the act of weaving, one notices that they have their loom attached to the waist, passed around the body by means of a band covered with geometric designs (2). This

/203 cont./

*171 286

2. Montell, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 85, p. 185.

method of stretching the warp is certainly an old process antecedent to that which is used today in Peru and Bolivia. Was it general in the pre-Columbian period? This is what I am inclined to believe without daring to assert it. It is very possible that the idea of planting two stakes to receive the posterior part of the material might be an innovation introduced during the centuries which followed the Conquest.

●[415] The coca bags which the Čipaya Indians carry during certain festivals are covered with long hairs slipped between the threads of the material. This technique recalls that of the velvet which was known in ancient Peru, where it appeared on caps or headbands coming from the Ica region. In Santiago, Chile I had the occasion to see several headdresses found in the Atacama zone, the material of which was halfway between plush and velvet.

*171 285 Basketry. I do not know any basket of ancient Peru which resembles those of the Čipaya, yet their coiling technique is not only typical for the whole Andean zone but is certainly very old there. This technique, with different modalities, is still observable in Aymara and Uro baskets and, curiously enough, has survived in Tucumán Province in Argentina.

*171 415 Mugs. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian origin of the mugs known under the name kxeru (3). The Indians

[173]

3. On the pre-Columbian kxeru, cf. A. Posnansky, "Leyendas prehispánicas sobre dos 'kerus' /Pre-Spanish Inscriptions on Two 'kerus'/," Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 1a, 1931, pp. 93-180, and

/203 cont./

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●415
[113]

Erland Nordenskiöld, "Origin of the Indian Civilizations in South America," Comparative Ethnographical Studies, 9, Göteborg, 1931.

of Cuzco Department /204/ still preserve several specimens which have been passed from father to son since the Inca period. Like the Čipaya the Quichua surround these pieces with superstitious respect and only use them to make libations of chicha on the [203] occasion of some solemn festival. They believe that chicha drunk from one of these mugs has the virtue of making one drunk more quickly than that which is contained in another vessel (1).

1. Herrera, p. 1.

Conclusion

178 The review we have just made of all the Čipaya culture traits leads us to the following conclusion: there is no object in the present-day industry of these Indians which could be considered as belonging to them alone or as representing a survival of their distant original culture. All their material goods are those which we know from the modern or ancient Aymara, or in a general way from the Indians of the Andean altiplano. In their way of life, that of sedentary shepherds, the Čipaya do not differ from the primitive populations of "las regiones frias /the cold regions/," whom the Spanish chroniclers sometimes distinguish from the "serranos /highlanders/." The interest in the Čipaya tribe does not lie then in the originality of their material culture but rather in the fact that their relative isolation has permitted them to keep many an object and many a technique which have disappeared elsewhere. They concern us insofar as they bear witness to rural Inca life, and not as representatives of an isolated ethnic group.

3:Vellard--6a D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

342

3. A typical house in Iru-Itu in 1938.

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4. The same house in 1942: the high roof of totoras shaped like a keel has collapsed and can no longer be repaired.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

172 ←

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415 →

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[534] ←

[524] →

PLATE 120.—Chipaya country and Chipaya Indians. *Top (left):* Chullpa, or ancient burial tower. *Top (right):* Woman shelling with feet. *Bottom (left):* Dancer. *Bottom (right):* Playing a game. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-H]

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *malleus;* the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P. 22-B]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

angle. The professor was taking chest- and head-measurements and making notes. We lunched, giving the remains to the children, who looked somewhat suspiciously at cold ham, tomatoes and cake, and hid it away in their skirts. As we reached the car, we saw a thin column of smoke, and, sure enough, the village cooking fire was alight. Owing to the poverty of the village, they have only enough fuel to light about one fire every day or every two days. Two girls in scarlet skirts, little cotton jackets which had once been pink, and dusty battered bowler hats, crouching on all fours, played the part of bellows. The youngest, remarkably pretty and remarkably dirty, ran into the house and emerged dragging a large iron pot. My thirst for ethnology was satisfied and I felt sure that Vellard had already gone into the question of Uru cooking, and that further

[p. 314-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

291
342
415

FIG. 2. Uru woman of Ancoaqui, Rio Desaguadero, Bolivia. Note *tupo* or bodice-pin, Titicaca hair-style braidlet, door, pottery and thatching.

/159 cont./

Means of Subsistence

233 433 Stock raising. The Čipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in 233 311 [312] describing the environment /160/ where they live, the pastures which cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 231 343 311 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the second type (Fig. 1, B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at littering time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large lacustral city.

233 419 The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Čipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

342 [361] It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Čipaya have their "water houses" (kˇas-kˇoya), or estancias, (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have [592] already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

We the Kjotsuñi [*q'otšoñi*, from Aymará *q'ota*, "lake", and Uru *šoñi*, "men people"][21] are the oldest on this earth. A long time we were here, before when the sun was hidden.

Here where you see the suñi, in the time of our *Achichis* [ancestors], everywhere there was water with many fish; many rivers rose and flowed. Then our nation was large and happy.

Before the Sun hid himself for a long time we were in this place. Then the Kollas [Aymára] came, despoiling us of our lands; they used our bodies for *Kjuchos* [*šučo*, human sacrifice] when they laid the foundations of their temples.

When the Lake dried up we came out in search of food and thus encountered the Aymára.

Before *Čamak-pača* [Aymará, "time or epoch of darkness"] Tiahuanacu was built.

We have built our houses where our ancestors lived. The broken pots of many colors, and *topos* [copper pins] you find when plowing the ground, belong to them.

Métraux recorded in Quechua at Oruro a myth which tells of the tricking of the armadillo by the fox, who misled him concerning a fiesta; hence (say the Uru) the mantle of the armadillo is uneven on his neck and shoulders. Most of the Uru-Chipaya tales were learned from the Aymára.

Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes. Small children own property which cannot be sold without their consent; when a little girl refused to sell me a small cloth, in spite of my offering what must have appeared a fabulous sum, that was the end of it.

In greeting a white man on the road, the Uru, like the Aymára address him as *Wiracocha*, "sir," or *karai* "mister."

The Pleiades are called *kerkeru*, Venus *čauk-kola* ("big-?"), the Milky Way *čatu-likščai* (from *liks* "road"?) and another constellation *tsoxotsoxa;* a comet is called *mekala* (from the Aymará).

[21] Not, as Posnansky supposes, from the Aymará *suñi*, "puna." The meaning "men" is again obvious from the reference in the second paragraph. Further, the phoneme J is lacking in Aymará.

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Chipaya

/160 cont./

233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to them[1] at more or less close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their [89?] cheeses. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the children from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them [84?] the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous progeny.

● [422] [831] Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20 sheep (uša), an indefinite number of pigs (kučʼi), and several llamas (xwala). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut in the ear.

[616] Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on /161/ the pastures belonging to his saya (moiety). No markers mark the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the members of the other saya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

231 233 The shepherds have dogs /paku/, middling in size, with rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals, which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye without its astounded owner having time to intervene.

236 233 [412] Sheep shearing (čipla) takes place at the same time for the whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

233 262 Like all pastoral people the Čipaya are loath to consume the meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their [231] flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied by a certain religious ceremony.

[1] [i.e., To their "water houses" or estancias--Analyst]

/84 cont./

396 the Uro are obliged to keep up with an incessant demand. They have veritable maritime shipyards on the steep bank of the Desaguadero, where constant activity reigns (Pl. IV, A /see p. 24/).
391 Each family owns a portion of the bank, whose limits are marked
423 by small walls. Within these enclosures they heap the totora from
424 which the balsas are made. This plant (Cyperaceae, of the genus Scirpus) (Scirpus totora, Kunth.) forms actual fields in the swamps which line the Titicaca. The Indians come to cut it as they need it. "Every family that owns a field near the shore considers itself the owner of a certain expanse of these totorales. It is the only family to exploit this area, and its rights are respected by the neighbors (1)."

[113]

1. Parodi (Lorenzo R.). "Las balsas usadas por los aymaras en el lago Titicaca /The Balsas Used by the Aymaras on Lake Titicaca/." Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. XI (Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 145-149.

391 It is a picturesque spectacle to see the Indians who went in
424 search of totora return; the cut stalks have been tied together into huge bundles which are allowed to float like a train of wood after being secured to the rear of the balsa (Pl. III, A /see p. 23/).

The totora can be used only when it is dry. Hence, after having gathered it the Indians' first concern is to spread it out in their enclosures. They also make faggots out of it by standing the stalks upright to expose them to the wind and sun. It is only when it has lost all dampness that the totora can be used to construct balsas. Its thickness is thereby diminished, its immediate rotting prevented, and, above all, the possibility that the bundles which constitute the balsa might disintegrate because of a loss in volume is avoided.

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/124 cont./ This form, seen in Two or Three other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in use among the Aymara.

/125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori, of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves.

His authority extended no farther. The Čipaya would have had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their duties.

There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an incident which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya, which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or returning with their cargo. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by the timidity of the Čipaya, let their animals graze on the lands belonging to the latter and irrigated by their efforts. The Čipaya decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he called together the majority of the adult men of the village around his hut and they discussed the question all night. The next day the Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

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/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone scoured by the herds of sheep, out where the ever poorer pastures are gradually lost in the arid puna (Pl. II. A /see p. 211/). The young llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watching a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231 It is rather strange that the Čipaya do not raise guinea pigs, as practically all the Indians of the Sierra do. It is true that the Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not [235] know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of [240] the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them because I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic animals that the Čipaya have.

241 Agriculture. To the meager income which their flocks bring [233] them the Čipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinua) (in Uro-Čipaya: kuula) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañahua).

The cultivated plots (oxála), which are common to the whole tribe and not only to each of the aya, are situated to the southeast of the village /162/ and to the east of the flooded region called the lakes. Their area is about 300 meters wide and one kilometer long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet, is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries. Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten meters wide and 300 meters long.

[203] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the chief and under the responsibility of the alcaldes. If what they say is accurate, the Čipaya practice crop rotation.

[202] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To till the soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bent handles, a specimen

3:Velliard--17 D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

Remarks

The Uru build dams of totoras in a V-form on the Desaguadero, the point oriented toward the direction of the current. A narrow passage contrived at the point is closed at the time of fishing by means of a large circular net, the kéku, installed on a balsa. Fishers standing on one or several balsas go downstream, beating the water with long poles furnished with a totora ball, in order to frighten the fish which, descending the river course, enter the enclosure and fall into the net placed at the point. Each Uru family has its fishing enclosure, very far away from those of its neighbors (6-7). The distribution of the location of these enclosures as well as the use of the totora fields which are used to make balsas was ruled by Uru customary law.

1. ti- ki or simply -ki, a particle to designate the object about which one is speaking: this enclosure here; this river here (5). 6. ña- ña, literally "one," means "one for each"; the repetition of the adverb háske háske has the value of a superlative; "far, far, very far"; Aymara and Kéčwa form the superlative in an identical manner: eg.: Kala- Kala, "rock rock," in Aymara: "many rocks."

VII. The Village of the Uru at Iru-Itu
Comments on photographs by Manuel Inta

(See p. 184 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. Is this your chapel? 2. It is our chapel. 3. These are our houses. 4. The chapel is seen from behind. 5. The chapel is good that way (seen from the front). 6. The totora is kept upright in a heap. /181/ 7. It is kept in a heap so that it will not rot.

[19th Century]

/58 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues east-west of Challacollo called Toisia, whose Indians are resplendent, skillful, courteous...., these Indians came from other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Urus, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

[99] ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town....

[98] Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake....They are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long and so sharp /57/ that they can tear it up without need of a knife.....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe...../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I. 650-651.)

[101] [84] In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Similiaka.

[83] [82] [82] ...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe...../Translated from the Spanish./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

231 243 403 334 433 202 204

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

616 [161] [578] 601 [177] [171] 191

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymaraized*.

179 533 538

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

197 [191] [198]

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

[197]

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-*malku*, Kemperani-*malku*, Estewan-*malku*), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Lauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-*malku*). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

196 448

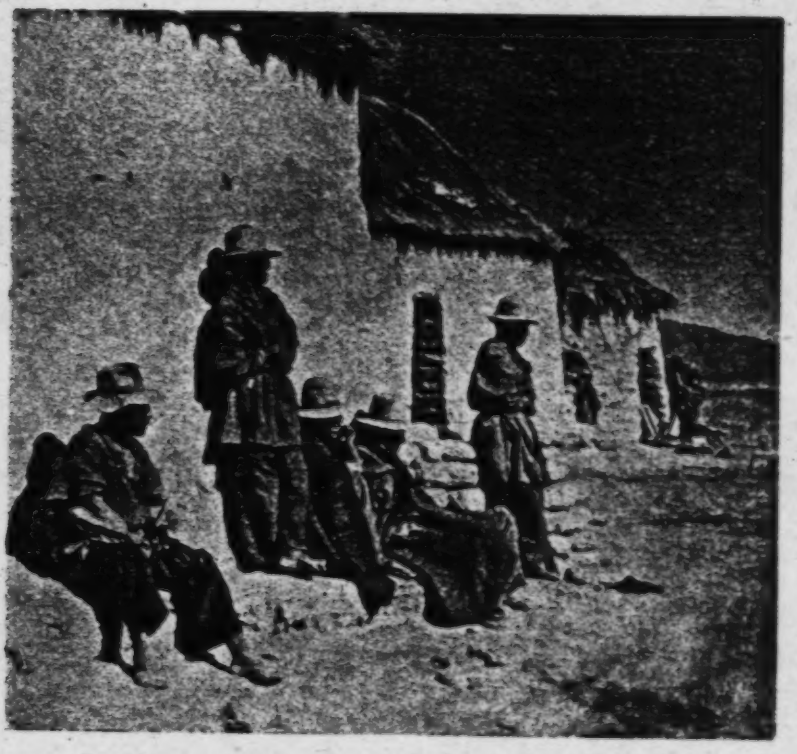
Family houses are protected by a spirit (*patio-malku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malkus* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

196 [182]

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characterstic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally



Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on P. 219]

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

of this gallant village which should be preserved because of its anthropological value and, above all, for its human value:

1.—Return of the extensions of pasture land of which the villagers were deprived by the neighboring Aymara communities.

2.—Periodic visits of medical and sanitary personnel in order to care for the minimal necessities of vaccination, care of the sick and preventative services.

3.—Teaching material to aid in operation of the school.

4.—Agricultural tools and basic training in improved practices of agriculture and animal husbandry.

5.—Realization of a scientific study comparable to that done by Métraux thirty years ago, to be extended to the neighboring Aymara communities in order to determine the degree of influence which one town has had upon the other. Likewise, a detailed study of the remaining branches of ethnography and folklore of the Chipayas.

6.—A plan of archeological excavations on the site called Los Chapel five kilometers to the north-west of the town of Santa Ana de Chipaya, which appears to be the ancient residence of the Chipaya people, according to their own account, during the period in which they were still *chullpas*.

7.—The establishment of contact, for study purposes, with the Morato Indian group, apparently a sub-group of the Chipaya tribe, which at the present time, in reduced numbers, carries on a nomadic life in the territory to the south-west of the Chipaya and whose members speak a distinct language".

(From *Educación Boliviana*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 31-33).

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year to the various families by the head of each moiety.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Nazacara, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Ahuallamaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiñaque*, an islet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sojapata*, 5 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Urus"; it is an *estancia* where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro *haciendas* of *Chearaque*, *Taguau*, *Tacacatani*, *Chicani-uma*, *Machacamarca*, *Urcuni-uma*, *Huallaqueri*, *Calayamponi*, and *Tocavi* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taguau* (W.LaB.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero numbered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.[3]

In March 1938[4] the population of Ancoaqui (*kanq'o-kaq'e*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *communidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *ilacate* (head of the *communidad*,? from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancoaqui and the entire region as well in 1931.[5]

This Aymára *communidad* of Ancoaqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancoaqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

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[3] José Toribio Polo, *Indios Urus del Peru y Bolivia* (Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima, 1901, 10: 445–482), p. 446. D. M. Jimenes de la Espada (in Neveu-Lemaire, *Les lagos de los Altiplanos de la Amdrica del Sud, La Paz*, 1909, p. lviii) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of *Chuchito*." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; *Chucuito*, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[4] As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Amyára ethnography.

[5] Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The legal term "communidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organisation of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the *altiplano*). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Communidad"—as opposed to the term "finca" (= "estancia," "hacienda") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so-named.

Carangas—
Chipaya

*796 554 /341 cont./ in Paredes (1) the Pages which he devotes To One must read
1. Mitos, superstitiones y supervivencias, etc., p. 176-186.

the alferez's to realize what the rank of alferez means to an Indian or Bolivian cholo. The pointless glory of bearing this title for one day generally brings the ruin of the hero of the festival with it. *796 554 This expense is so crushing that in order to meet it the alferez are often obliged to have recourse to their relatives or friends for help. 926 This consists of small gifts, and those who give them are called ayni. The debt which is contracted in these circumstances is, Paredes tells us (2), sacred, and one cannot fail to discharge it.

2. Ibid., p. 162.

*796 431 During the Chipaya festivals I have actually seen Indians who came to offer the alferez either eggs, sheaves of straw, coca, or alcohol. These little gifts were most welcome and accepted with gratitude by the alferez, whose resources had been singularly strained by the world-wide crisis. Dr. Rivet (3) observed customs in Ecuador

*796 554 191 [113]

3. Rivet (Paul). "Étude sur les Indiens de la région de Riobamba /Study on the Indians of the Riobamba Region/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Paris, New Series, Vol. I, No. 1, 1903, p. 76.

identical with those described here, the only difference being that in that land the alferez bears the name of prioste. "The Indians have a strong desire to give festivals which will eclipse all previous ones. This folly pushes some unfortunates to work a whole year, denying themselves stubbornly all but the strictly necessary, /342/ even on Sundays (strange contradiction). Then the festival arrives,

/126 cont./

616 Taxata, in contrast, although there are numerous Tuanta wives,
[55] the greatest number of households are made up of individuals from the same section but with different names. I was able to establish that in a few cases within the same section a husband and wife had the same name. Since on these two occasions it was a question of patronymics without equivalents in another sector, one may conclude that the spouses were somehow related to each other; I do not know how.

591 Filiation is rigorously paternal. The wife during her first
[611] year of marriage lives with her husband's parents. After one or two children are born the couple builds a hut for themselves beside that of the husband's parents. This rule is not absolute for there
● 428 are huts belonging to households without children. I gathered some information on inheritance law that is unfortunately vague and of which the accuracy is suspect. In case of the husband's death, if the wife has no children her husband's property passes into the hands of her father (he becomes custodian of it?). If she has a
[556] child her husband's possessions are left to her, and in a case where the child is still small, "another family" takes care of the sheep, i.e. of the pre-eminent part of a Čipaya's fortune. One Čipaya man told me that, orphaned at an early age, he was raised by a woman of his "moiety." His father's flock passed into the hands of his brother, who gave him his share when he was old enough to go himself to herd his sheep.

Kinship terms.

601 Although the nomenclature of the kinship terms teaches us nothing /127/ about the former organization of the Čipaya, I am recording them in any case to relieve my conscience:

grandfather	mastñil'a, Čaukal'a
grandmother	mā-tĩl'a
father	hep
mother	mā
father's brother (oldest)	čax-hep
father's brother (second)	taipir-tata

2:Métraux--55 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

*796 554 /341 cont./ in Paredes (1) the Pages which he devotes To One must read

1. Mitos, superstitiones y supervivencias, etc., p. 176-186.

the alferez's to realize what the rank of alferez means to an Indian or Bolivian cholo. The pointless glory of bearing this title for one day generally brings the ruin of the hero of the festival with it. *796 554 926 This expense is so crushing that in order to meet it the alferez are often obliged to have recourse to their relatives or friends for help. This consists of small gifts, and those who give them are called ayni. The debt which is contracted in these circumstances is, Paredes tells us (2), sacred, and one cannot fail to discharge it.

2. Ibid., p. 162.

*796 ●431 During the Chipaya festivals I have actually seen Indians who came to offer the alferez either eggs, sheaves of straw, coca, or alcohol. These little gifts were most welcome and accepted with gratitude by the alferez, whose resources had been singularly strained by the world-wide crisis. Dr. Rivet (3) observed customs in Ecuador

*796 554 171 [113]

3. Rivet (Paul). "Étude sur les Indiens de la région de Riobamba /Study on the Indians of the Riobamba Region/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Paris, New Series, Vol. I, No. I, 1903, p. 76.

identical with those described here, the only difference being that in that land the alferez bears the name of prioste. "The Indians have a strong desire to give festivals which will eclipse all previous ones. This folly pushes some unfortunates to work a whole year, denying themselves stubbornly all but the strictly necessary, /342/ even on Sundays (strange contradiction). Then the festival arrives,

Carangas—
Chipaya

/344 cont./ white banner, he led the troup of musicians and Brandishing his
622 dancers, stopping in front of each hut to obtain a tribute of alcohol
535 for himself and his troup. In exchange for this gift he gave his
[931] momentary host the privilege of seizing the White banner and
putting himself at the head of the dancers. The end of the day was
[913] only a succession of rounds and drinking which went on until complete exhaustion.

622 The second day. On the next day, noticing that all the Indians were going toward a particular hut, I in turn went. There I found about 30 individuals, men and women, squatting on the floor around the alcalde taking office, who was seated on a pile of cloth behind a table facing the door. He was holding his stick of authority in his arm and had bunches of flowers and a napkin full of coca in front of him. His physiognomy did not act in his favor; his ravaged, closed face was scarred with smallpox; his thick features, aquiline nose, and projecting chin gave him an air which was both cruel and bestial. I sat down next to the men immediately to the right of the host. All were keeping a profound, almost disturbing silence. At long intervals a man would rise to profer his
[896] bag of coca to the alcalde. The latter would take a few leaves from it and tender his own chuspa with a bored gesture. Others moved toward the table, took a pinch of coca leaves, some of which they left in front of the flowers, and swallowed the rest.
[782] The drinkers never forgot their libations directed, as were the
[913] offerings, toward the flowers on the table. On that day the chicha of maize and quinua, in exception to the rule, competed with the alcohol. It was served by the women in terra-cotta bowls. I had the opportunity to be present that afternoon at a scene, the significance of which remains a mystery to me. A man got up and greeted a young woman in the usual manner; /345/ she replied to his greeting and went to kneel at the head of the audience. The individual who had greeted her took the young woman's head and shoved it against that of a man squatting next to her. Several
[159] seconds later the young woman gave way to weeping identical to that with which the church had resounded the day before. Silence

/205 cont./

157 same. Boredom and silence overwhelm the village. The children
461 themselves share in this general sullenness: they never have fun, so
[859] to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a vague eye or stay squatting in their huts chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material or occupy their leisure time by looking for fleas on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

157 The Čipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant
171 than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mis-
[609] trust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of
123 strangers. They know how to appear well-wishing, and my relations
157 with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /206/ liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they never forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a
● [431] result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several
152 small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya
578 is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent
[123] devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for
[126] my collections in broad daylight: all feared the unkind comments of those near them.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

sifiora) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *balsas*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *čawara*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*qawana*) llama-wool (*qaná*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*wa?*[*i*]) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the heald-rod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymára. The women's wide girdles or *časi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gorras* of the Aymára type (Uru *Ikara*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.[*] The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymára at Guaqui, Tiahuanacu and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "sogas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Uru *balsa* (Aymará *liwi*, Uru *k'oči*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

[*] Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the *altiplano* whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lacurmata on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *anivo* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.

/159 cont./

Means of Subsistence

Stock raising. The Čipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in describing the environment /160/ where they live, the pastures which cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 cm. in height. All along these rivers and lagoons rise small huts shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the second type (Fig. 1, B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at littering time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large lacustral city.

The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Čipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Čipaya have their "water houses" (ʰ̌ʷa-ʰ̌ʷya), or estancias, (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone scoured by the herds of sheep, out where the ever poorer pastures are gradually lost in the arid puna (Pl. II. A /see p. 211/). The young llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watching a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231 It is rather strange that the Čipaya do not raise guinea pigs, as practically all the Indians of the Sierra do. It is true that the Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not [235] know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of [242] the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them because I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic animals that the Čipaya have.

241 Agriculture. To the meager income which their flocks bring [233] them the Čipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinua) (in Uro-Čipaya: kxula) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañahua).

The cultivated plots (skxăla), which are common to the whole tribe and not only to each of the saya, are situated to the southeast of the village /162/ and to the east of the flooded region called the lakes. Their area is about 300 meters wide and one kilometer long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet, is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries. Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten meters wide and 300 meters long.

[203] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the care and under the responsibility of the alcaldes. If what they say is accurate, the Čipaya practice crop rotation.

[212] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To till the soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bent handles, a specimen

Métraux--148 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas--
Cápaya

/162 cont./

of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2. K /see p. 150/). Today they use long-handled hoes (*azuna*, *takisa*) of European make. The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Čipaya with an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The *quinua* which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequently of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

1. The Čipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (*sičá*) which they say is the root of the *tola*, and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (*sawka-pera*) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

Trade. The Čipaya make cheeses, which constitute their chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk. They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, *quinua*, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region of the Salinas, from Garcimendoza. The Čipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

2:046mmm--149 E-9 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SF24 Urs SF24
Caranga:-
Chipaya

w/162 cont./

439 neighboring Aymara villages to dispose of their small cheeses directly and specially to sell pig fat /163/ /Figure 2 appears here// /164/ which, after cheese, is their most important export. They undoubtedly trade wool, although I was not able to obtain any precise information on this matter. I only ascertained that pieces of cloth carried in a neighboring village were given to Chipaya women to be finished. Formerly some Chipaya would go to hire themselves out

464 as workers in the "salitreras" (exploitation of nitrates) of Tarapacá.

[165] They returned with some knowledge of Spanish and new tastes. This stay away from home had the result above all of opening their eyes to their poor condition and to make them discontented. Since the nitrate beds have been abandoned, nothing remains to draw the Chipaya outside their "bare plain."

• 433 The crisis of overproduction which rages over the whole
451 world upset the economic life of the Chipaya. The low quotation for tin on the Stock Exchange, or the New York exchange, led to the closing of the mines, the departure of the laborers, and the sale of cheese at a loss. The Aymara no longer come to Chipaya to stock up on cheeses, and the latter accumulate in the round huts and there is no alcohol or coca for festivals. By virtue of the economic cohesion of all humanity the Chipaya themselves are also overproducing, and their present distress is the sister of the one which constricts the hearts of the great proprietors of wheat fields.

648 These particulars show us that in spite of their apparent isolation, these Indians maintain constant relations with the outside world, and that the fossilization of this tribe is not as total as one might conclude from their material culture.

334 Hunting. Hunting and fishing play only an insignificant role in the life of the Chipaya. In all, for game they have a few birds of vicuña which make their appearance in the neighborhood of the village, water birds which abound in the numerous lagoons which cut their pastures, and tuco, a kind of small rodent a little

[165] larger than a rat. Pennazzky (1) asserts that the latter constitutes the principal food of the Chipaya.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P 151]

Archeland--1 D.E-8 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uro SF24

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

The last group of Uro Indians living in the village of Iru-Ito, or Angosie, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Ito had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /tuxurales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uro have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, bagre, carache (various Cyprinidae), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uro are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 22 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uro-Aymara half-breeds.

3:Vellard--7 D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/170/

I. The Misery of the Uru
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 151 /in the foreign text/)

/Note. As a result of the difficulty of obtaining the typographical signs for the exact transcription of the Uru words included in the remarks, we have been obliged to transcribe a certain number of words in an approximate fashion and more or less successfully. It will therefore not be surprising that there are differences of transcription between the texts, which have been reproduced by a photographic process, and the remarks. It goes without saying that only the transcription of the texts is exact./

Free Translation

1. We shall never be able to go from here; we all are too much accustomed to be here since always. 2. But our fields will give us very little. 3. This year is too dry and the potatoes are not growing. 4. The frosts have burned everything. 5. That is why we are leaving. 6. Now what shall we do? 7. In the swamp which is drying up there are no more suche (kind of fish). 8. There are no more reeds and there are no more birds' eggs. 9. All the eggs have departed into the great lake of Guaqui. 10. The fish have left for Guaqui. 11. How will we eat now? 12. If it rains enough this year we shall live. 13. We shall all return to our village. 14. If it does not rain (enough) we shall die. 15. We eat the little potatoes which we cultivate for the people of another race (the Aymara). 16. We earn them by cultivating for them. 17. There are few fish and we have only caught one. 18. We shall sell it. 19. Thou hast seen how small it is. 20. It is necessary to go far to fish. 21. We are accustomed to going home at night. 22. We shall return home to sell (our catch).

/170 cont./

*539 731 178 433 511 23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

*539 731 178 161 433 This account, dictated by an old Uru about 90 years old, Manuel Inta, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1940 to 1946. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara populations. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Urus, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working [167] in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Urus have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Amaracized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

*539 142 193 [161] wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui, on the small lake. ǒx'ǩa, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymaras. Note the particle ču intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: Káya -čúčay, tánáču- čay, lúx-káču -čay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ki intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending čay indicates the future. The verb Káči- čay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." tumíni, a

*539 192 tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1. kustúmbro, "custom"; 5. isú- čay, esto or eso, "that"; 17. ni- únu, "this alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

[16th Century]

A Q 175 162 /35 cont./

Machuca (Juan Lozano)

...In the bay of Atacama, where the port (Cobija) is, there are 400 Uro Indian fishermen....Likewise in the city district and environs of Tarapaca, which extends from the port of Pisagua and Hique-Hique, where there are Uro Indian fishermen, to the port of Loa, there are many mines....The repartimiento of the heirs of Lucas Martin Begaso is under the jurisdiction of the city of Arequipa and there must be some 2,000 Aymara Indians and more than 1,000 Uro Indian fishermen in the said territory..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Reports on the Indies/, II, Appendices, pp. XXV, XXVI, and XXVII.)

U 175 162 433 735 Aside from the 4,000 Aymara Indians of Lipez, there were in this repartimiento another 1,000 Uro Indians, a poor people who neither sow nor reap and who subsist on the hunting of guanacos and vicuñas and on fish and roots found in the marshes, which they call coroma; and herewith the 4,000 Aymara Indians claim poverty, because while rich in native livestock and reaping and sowing and conducting trade and barter in this town of Potosi, Tarapaca, and Atacama, and founding many metals, which they extract from the mines, they excuse themselves from paying tribute to H. M. under pretext of being poor, like the 1,000 Uro Indians who truly are..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibidem, Appendix 3.)

U 175 127 [131] Jujuy Archives

Dr. Ernesto Sourrouille, in the historic studies he carried out in the Jujuy archives and with private documents (testaments, grants, etc.) told me, that at the western source of the Orosmayo River, in the Department of Santa Catalina, south of the Cerro Esmoraca, there lived a tribe of Uro Indians like those who share a boundary with the Atacamas..../Translated from the Spanish./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 115, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (pana-soluna) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of varicolored llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden floats for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of disguises has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native kilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

. 5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-*malku*, Kemperani-*malku*, Estewan-*malku*), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Lauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-*malku*). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (*patio-malku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malkus* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year to the [illegible] by the head of each moiety.

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

114 retire to our respective quarters. Before leaving, I arranged the remaining provisions, carefully propping up a thermos containing our precious hot coffee for the morning. I have but few manias, the principal one being to brush my teeth. I therefore hunted for a bottle of water and found it empty. My hygienic preocupations vastly amused my companions, and someone offered me a bottle of lager. Not wishing to lose face I accepted, declaring that there was no better mouthwash, but feeling secretly rather sick at the idea of a combination of colgate and beer. But on carrying out the experiment, I found out that there *is* no better mouthwash in existence. By now the moon was high and full, and so strong was the light that finding it impossible to sleep I switched on the engine for heat, as in spite of my vicuña-lined sleepingbag, the cold was intense. I read for an hour or so, which gave me such a headache, that I had to take aspirin with the remaining beer. The next morning Abelot and I wound our way down to the river, which was frozen at the edge. We broke the ice, drew some water and washed, much to the surprise of the villagers. Again I brushed my teeth with the last drops of beer before the astonished gaze of the people who had never seen such a strange exhibition.

Arriving at the mayor's, we found the rest of the company singularly unglamorous and, o tragedy, someone had kicked over the thermos of coffee. We ate some apples and biscuits, but our depression melted away in the brilliant sun. The sky was blue as it is only to be seen on the Roof of the World. While the professor went off to take some sound-
433 recordings, we explored the village. There was prac-
[648] tically no sign of animal life or cultivation. This
was normal, as the Aymara peasants refuse to allow
[396] the Uru, whom they consider as pariahs, to cultivate the ground. They have a narrow strip of shore on which to build their *balsas*.

346 We returned by the little church. Very occasionally
[393] a priest comes over from Guaqui on the lake. There

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 313-A]

[p. 310-B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *ćuñu* (Uru *aunt*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*sulu*, *kauri*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likla* or *likli*, or *xawiaskawia* according to Palevecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *chicha* of masticated maize also; *likli* is made from a plant called *kiawi* or *kiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kaula*, of *totora*-bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> *Each of* these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thirds part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*okona*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the lip-

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

native names for so exiguous a number of scientific varieties. These occur in the species: *O. Cuvieri, O. Pentlandi, O. Humboldti, O. Jurieui, O. Bairdii, O. Orbignii, O. frontosus,* and *O. Neveui.* Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suli, mauri;* Uru *čiri*) these species are present: *T. dispar Tschudi,* and *T. rivulatus.* Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify clearly with the scientific classifications are: (Aymará) *qeri-čaqa, qeristus, kuri-mauri, umanta, Kavali;* (Uru) *teri, čis, čuki, ol'ula, čulkiri,* and *wak'uli* —whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and female of the same species.

Fish are preserved and prepared in several ways. The smaller kinds (*ispi, salala, ulkurčala*), salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. The larger varieties (*suli, mauri, čiri*) are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire, and thus smoke-dried are preserved for periods of scarcity, according to Posnansky. But what appears to be the same process, described by Palavecino, is evidently a method of *cooking:*

> These ovens, which the Uru call *sanaka,* consist in a hole dug in the soil, whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 cm. The rounded edge is raised at the surface of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uru light a fire in it and introduce more or less flat stones. When the stones are incandescent, they take them out, all except those on the bottom. They lay on these a layer of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a layer of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is closed with stones, and covered with reeds. The fish is thus cooked by steaming.

Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South America.

Hunting is almost as important to the Uru as fishing, neither of which is basic in Chipaya economy. The river marshes abound with birds of many kinds: waterhens (*wenla, čokya*), ducks (*soyna*), geese (*wulala*), loons (*pulo*), herons (*ačiči*), various diving birds and gulls; a large unidentified black bird they call *čiwanku* or *čičinkra.* Other unidentified birds are: *čalita, kalawaina* (*waina* is Aymará for "youth, young man"), *alowa, čuwani.* Of these aquatic birds, only the "bobo" (*pulo*) is not hunted or eaten, because of its rank, oily flesh. Most frequently hunted is a kind of red duck called *p'anasoyna.*

The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Posnansky says men hunting alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or twisting the neck. The Uru are able users of slingshots woven or braided of varicolored llama-wools; and they also use *bolas,* made with two large

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*ṗiri*) and *bolas* (*ǯkuni*), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peks* (Aymará *pusiṗ'ia*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *ṗ'oa*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusiṗ'ia* or *peks* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *ǩesana*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *čuñu*, *coca*, net-thread, *kañawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*ǩesana* and *čawara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very incomplete. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: [illegible], T.T.ana, konko, kama, kuipa.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24
Aymara SF5

wooden balls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.[2] They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking; spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yokeua*), and kill with their *bolas* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*hiñi*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *tarki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña; sahaja*, a word obviously related to Aymará *haja*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold[3] small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lassoed, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the viscacha (*qhiñai*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, roof-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails; and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymára neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

[2] An Uru *bola* from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

[3] The Aymára have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "bone-monkey" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *hatayu* ("to split"), *wari* (vicuña), *q'atiya* ("makes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-wooled vicuña scream. The Aymára schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "cholo" interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") pull of this familiar phrase: *q'ala hatayu wari q'atiya, uru uru!*

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus totora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fuel-wire, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined totora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (*gorros*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with variegated diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for hobbling beasts on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord V to make a durable hide-fitting weapon. A straw-cord bola particle, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Isla de Mankora, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1936) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

knives on the ends of poles, then stacked in shocks like corn, after they have been dried spread out in the sun. Nearly all able-bodied Uru males have quantities of these materials in various stages toward the manufacture of the complete boats. In their houses, even, in spare moments, men are continually braiding the grass into tough ropes to bind the boats together.

Though shaped like a boat, the *balsa* is of course actually a raft. A handful of reeds is bound together and repeatedly thickened with more reeds as the middle of the cigar-shaped element is reached, then tapered off again into a point. The only tool used in the manufacture of this is a wooden hook (*kayke*) with a handle at an acute angle to it, used to tighten the lashing of grass rope. A more tubular and thinner sheaf of reeds forms the keel of the *balsa*, and two of the fat cigar-shaped bundles are separately lashed to it, forming a sort of one-sided type of hull, which cannot be overturned in a storm; the thinner ends of these cigar-shaped bundles are slightly raised fore and aft of the boat. To form gunwales, a still thinner and tubular sheaf of reeds is lashed (during its own round-and-round binding with braided grass rope) through the original lashing of the hull-elements. One of these gunwales (*pisela*) is placed on each side of the top of the hull-elements to prevent splashing of water onto the occupants of the boat as it is poled along. The Uru *balsa* thus differs from the Aymára[36] type in that its two large basic elements are lashed to a central "keel" and not to each other (though the bulwark lacings are similarly looped through the lacings of the two hull-elements); it has therefore five instead of four elements. The Uru also rig their *balsa*-mat sails with a slight difference from the Aymára. Sails, however, can only be used on the Lake and on the open river "before the wind" since the boat has no centre-board and cannot tack. In the narrow swamp-ways a punt pole or gaff (*tokol*) with a stubby trident at its end is used to push the boat along. The wood for these comes from the *yungas* of the Cordillera Real's eastern, tropical slopes. (See Posnansky, *Fig.* 83.) A complete *balsa* cost in 1927 from ten to sixteen *bolivianos*, then worth about $4.

Of Uru textiles we have already seen[37] twined single-element *totora* *chulo*-sack, *twined*[37] *many-element* maximum-mats of reed, fish- and bird-nets (which they themselves make of cord obtained in Guaqui from La Paz), and single-element twined *reed* mats of *totora*. Métraux has an excellent description (page 86) of the preparation by soaking, pounding, and rolling of the wiry grasses of the region (*Stipa ichu*, *Festuca orthophylla*, and *F. dis-*

[36] Lehmann-Nitsche, *Los balsas usadas por los Aymaras en el lago Titicaca* (Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. 11, Buenos Aires, 1933), pp. 143-160. Métraux' description (*Ibid.* p. 86) is of the Aymára type.

2:Méraux--137 E-6 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 -SP24 Uru SP24

Plate XVI

Caranga-Chipaya

A. – Coca bag covered with a sort of "velvet" and used only during festivals.
B. – Festive sling.
C. – Wig worn by the men during festivals.
D. – Sacred stick (*kamana-para*).
E. – Rope cross hung on the roof of the huts.
F. – Perforated potsherds used as money during the festival of the *alasita*.

Cayanga:-
Chijaya

/368 cont./

A notable detail is that during the whole day a little khoa burned a few meters from the gathering.

The end of the ceremony was announced by the beating of a drum in a special rhythm.

Second day. In the afternoon the alferesa, her son, and an Officiant met in front of their saya's chapel. Not having been alerted, I arrived at the place only at the moment when the latter had finished preparing the mixture destined to be offered as a libation. I have every reason to believe that the ingredients added to the water or to the chicha in the 36 small cupules were the same as in the previous festivals. As usual the Officiant had planned a sacred stick (hamao-pura) garnished with a cross in front of him facing east. He offered up the customary libations on his knees. The contents of two phials were poured before the cross that stands about ten meters from the chapel door. The Officiant had put some coca leaves in two cupules probably containing alcohol, before pouring them as a libation in front of his stick. The yatiri, his helper, and two of these present knelt before the carpet and kissed the ground; then the Officiant, getting up, sprinkled the four corners of a little oratory situated near the chapel with chicha. A long prayer was then said, in which Christian names were mingled with those of the mal'ku, and the Officiant headed toward the chapel after having touched the oratory with his stick and kissing it devotedly. The alferesa and her son went to pray on the steps of the chapel, and all began the usual drinking, congratulating and greeting each other.

The alferesa had covered a small table with coca, where all came to help themselves /369/ in turn. Those who took this coca first touched the table with the hand and kissed it as a sign of respect.

The assembly, very sparse in the beginning, became more numerous, upon which the market of the alasita took place. The Indians, both men and women, bought from each other small

Carangas—
Chipaya

/389 cont./

p.996 439 amounts of quinua, cañave, chuño, and sugar with potsherds, many of which were perforated and tied together with a string (Pl. XVI, F /see p. 137/). A scale of values seems to exist, so many potsherds giving the right to acquire a certain quantity of a [391] given product. Small clay llamas may also be bought; they have a magical action on the prosperity of the flocks.

p.998 p.996 The Festival of the Estewan, Kemperani, and Cunkirini mal'ku (February 8, 12, and 14).

To give an account in detail of the ceremonies performed in honor of the mal'ku would be equivalent to repeating the description of the festival of the samiri. The ritual practices observed, their order, and the attitude of the spectators are exactly the same as those which I have described in detail above: The only difference is that instead of being directed to the samiri, libations and sacrifices are intended for the sacred cones of earth. However, I was able to note several variants which I think are worth mentioning.

The festival of the Estewan-mal'ku (Pl. XIII, B-D /see p. 134/) had some preliminaries which were absent from the worship of the other mal'ku. The alferez of this festival had a sheep killed the day before in the court in front of the church. Two hours [392] later a superb white ram was slaughtered at his command before the wall of his hut. He had summoned Anacleto Mullu for this sacrifice.

In Conformance with the ritual a sacred stick was planted to the east in front of the sheep, whose streaming blood was mixed with flour in a bowl, poured out at the four cardinal points, offered to the demons, and finally sprinkled on the inner wall of the alferez' hut. These sprinklings finished with a libation of alcohol of which the demons were again the beneficiaries.

[393] The Officiant was then invited to help with the preparations for the festival, and he spent a good part of the evening making little bags of offerings and shaping from fat into which black and white meal had been kneaded, a llama, a sheep, and a pig, to which is added silver leaf and Parrot Plumules.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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wooden balls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.[22] They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking; spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yokena*), and kill with their *bolas* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*šiñi*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *čarki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña; sahaḷa*, a word obviously related to Aymará *haḷa*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold[23] small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lassoed, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the viscacha (*oḷičai*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, roof-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails; and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymára neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

[22] An Uru *bola* from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

[23] The Aymára have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "brass-monkey" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *laksya* ("to split"), *wari* (vicuña), *q'asya* ("makes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-wooled vicuña scream. The Aymára schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "cholo" interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") yell of this familiar phrase: *q'ala laksya wari q'asaya, ura ura!*

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*piri*) and *balsa* (*lkuni*), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peks* (Aymará *pusi'ia*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'oa*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusi'ia* or *peks* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *kesana*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *čuñu*, *čoca*, net-thread, *keñowa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*kesana* and *čowara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organisation. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of **Métraux**:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organisation is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me:

/78/
3½ in these desert regions. Matting hung before the entrance takes the place of a door.

[62] Figs. 21 and 22.—Huts temporarily occupied by Aymara herdsmen in the region of the Desaguadero (left bank). The roof is cupola shaped. These dwellings are made of clods of earth (drawn from a photograph).

35 41 An inventory of the furnishings and objects found in these huts can be quickly made. I took one; there were mats for sleeping, a clay cook stove, a sort of small enclosure containing burnable material, pottery of different shapes and sizes, a mortar, some spindles, balls of wool, textile fabric which was generally coarsely woven, sometimes some fishing equipment, and finally a broom. Passing into the courtyard one generally notices string, weirs, swords, a loom, and farming implements of European origin.

323 [439] The vessels are not locally produced. They are imported and /Fig. 22 appears here/ come from some indigenous industry of the altiplano. . The pots were shaped on a wheel and bear a

/78 cont./

412 kneeling woman exerts on them is accompanied by gentle rocking, which facilitates the grinding.

/79/ The Uro have no combustible material other than dried animal excrement and tola branches, which they go far to seek. These things are precious, and the Uro, like the Cipaya and the Aymara, are sparing in their use.

231 Near the huts a type of earth niche is sometimes erected which is rather similar to the huts around the village of Chipaya; these are pigsty.

226 Fishing. The Uro, in our age as in pre-Colombian times, draw their main subsistence from the lake. They are excellent fishers. The fish they catch is partly consumed by themselves and partly sold to the Aymara and to the half-breeds of the capital. I did not have the opportunity to be present on a real fishing expedition, only at several demonstrations made at my request. They first taught me the way in which they use the landing net shown in Fig. 23, 1 /see p. 9/. The wooden frame which holds the stretched-out net is fastened to the end of a pole. The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or seated on his balsa until he sees an interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net delicately, then pulls it out of the water with a sudden motion.

227 There is another type of landing net which is much larger. It is composed of a circle from which wooden sticks joined at one end go out. This skeleton, conical in form, is covered with a net. Another net, as large as a hand, is stretched across the opening to make the escape of the fish even more difficult. This apparatus is often of considerable dimensions; some are more than three meters in diameter. They are always equipped with a handle by which they are held in the water and lifted up as soon as the fish have ventured in (Pl. III, 3 /see p. 23/).

The Uro Indians also possess bottom nets, which I regret not having seen employed. I have, however, acquired a perforated stone (Fig. 24, 2 /see p. 10/) which corresponds to our weights or ballast.

/83 cont./

231 Animal raising. They raise guinea pigs in their huts, which renders habitation there even more disagreeable. They have several flocks of sheep, pigs, and cows; those of the latter along the shores of the Desaguadero have become amphibious. They spend the entire day in the water and graze on water plants. From afar one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan swamp.

262 252 Cooking. The diet of the Uro is that of all the Indians of the altiplano: : potatoes cooked in water, chuño (potato fecula), boiled or roasted meat, maize, broad beans, quinua, cañave, etc. The Uro add to this a dish of their own creation: the juicy pith of the totora. The edible part of this plant is the base of the stalk. It does not need to be prepared in any way.

252 [179] The Uro have preserved a method of cooking which is very old and whose distribution in South America, completely unusual, corresponds perhaps to a very archaic cradle of civilization: this is the subterranean oven, or Polynesian oven. "These ovens, which the Uro call vaxaña, consist of a hole dug in the earth whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 centimeters. The rounded edge juts out at the level of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uro light a fire inside and put in stones which are more or less flat. When the rocks are incandescent they are withdrawn, with the exception of those at the bottom. On top of them is laid a bed of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a second bed of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is then closed with rocks which are covered with rushes. The fish thus cooks by stewing" (Palavecino).

251 They preserve fish by drying it on mats after having /84/ salted it. They do the same with the birds, whose flesh is cut up and exposed to the rays of the sun.

273 They make a beer called xawinskania from cañave seeds (Palavecino).

394 [179] Manufacture of balsas. The most important industrial activity of the Uro is the manufacture of rafts of totora, or balsas, to be provided with which partically all the shore-dwellers on the Titicaca come to them. As these small craft deteriorate rapidly.

Carangas—
Chipaya

/116 cont./

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that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

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The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

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842
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[439]

One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Iscara seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

[439]

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[197]

The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

/343 cont./
*196 them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter
697 also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

692 The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the
692 other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex
576 came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They
[278] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

692 Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the out-
535 going alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He
[282] had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He
[301] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold
124 at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead.
834 Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

/377 cont./

Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Čipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Čipaya Indian is the festival par excellence beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /379/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other ayas are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only heaven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its settledness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extoled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Čipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Čipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 110]

Carangas-
Chipaya

/389 cont./

The Chipaya Indians of Carangas have been so deeply impregnated with the influence of the Aymara Indians that we may presume that, in the sphere of medicine, they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbors of the altiplano. It is completely justifiable if their knowledge is more rudimentary because of their isolation and the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the medical substances, almost all of which come from the Yungas. I was able to convince myself of this by examining one day a bag of medicine which had been left by a deceased Chipaya, the father of a young Indian with whom I had a friendly relationship. In the legacy of the old man I found several pharmaceutical products which I had obtained in the Oruro market. The deceased possessed small amounts of them which he had carefully wrapped in some small rags. His son refused to sell them to me, allegedly because of their great value and the difficulty of procuring them. I doubt, however, that anyone in Chipaya could have benefited from them, for, to my knowledge at least, there is no Indian in this village who possesses sufficient skill to carry out their application.

Practically every day in the hut which I was occupying I received visits from Indians coming to ask me for remedies for various ills. The most frequent was constipation, which seems to frighten the Chipaya very much. I was also able to see a hernia and a terrible infection which the Indians treated by applying a piece of llama heart to the abscess. The Indians often called upon me to cure for swellings, the result of drubbings which they had not spared themselves in their domestic quarrels. Some also came to beg me to cure them of impotence. In some not very serious cases of swellings or localized pain, the Indians connect themselves with sticking a coca leaf on the skin.

At present the empirical medicine of the Chipaya seems to be limited to a certain number of insignificant recipes, frequently and easily applied. Faced with a serious case they have recourse to complicated magical processes which I had the good fortune to observe. I should not be able to say, however, if the exceptional

/162 cont./

of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2, K /see p. 150/). Today they use long-handled hoes (astuna, takisa) of European make. The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Čipaya with an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The quinua which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequently of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

1. The Čipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (sica) which they say is the root of the tola, and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (sawkxpero) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

Trade. The Čipaya make cheeses, which constitute their chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk. They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, quinua, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region of the Salinas, from Coscimendoza. The Čipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

/162 cont./

439 neighboring Aymara villages to dispose of their small cheeses directly and specially to sell pig fat /163/ /Figure 2 appears here///164/ which, after cheese, is their most important export. They undoubtedly trade wool, although I was not able to obtain any precise information on this matter. I only ascertained that pieces of cloth started in a neighboring village were given to Čipaya women to be finished. Formerly some Čipaya would go to hire themselves out as workers in the "salitreras" (exploitation of nitrates) of Tarapacá. [190] They returned with some knowledge of Spanish and new tastes. This stay away from home had the result above all of opening their eyes to their poor condition and to make them discontented. Since the nitrate beds have been abandoned, nothing remains to draw the Čipaya outside their "bare plain."

433 459 The crisis of overproduction which rages over the whole world upset the economic life of the Čipaya. The low quotations for tin on the Stock Exchange, or the New York exchange, led to the closing of the mines, the departure of the laborers, and the sale of cheese at a loss. The Aymara no longer come to Chipaya to stock up on cheeses, and the latter accumulate in the round huts and there is no alcohol or coca for festivals. By virtue of the economic cohesion of all humanity the Čipaya themselves are also overproducing, and their present distress is the sister of the one which constricts the hearts of the great proprietors of wheat fields.

648 These particulars show us that in spite of their apparent isolation, these Indians maintain constant relations with the outside world, and that the fossilization of this tribe is not as total as one might conclude from their material culture.

234 Hunting. Hunting and fishing play only an insignificant role in the life of the Čipaya. In all, for game they have a few herds of vicuña which make their appearance in the neighborhood of the village, water birds which abound in the numerous lagoons which cut their pastures, and tuco, a kind of small rodent a little [242] larger than a rat. Posnansky (1) asserts that the latter constitutes the principal food of the Čipaya.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 151]

/165 cont./ It is more than for food that the Čipaya amuse
224 themselves trapping them with small reed baskets, which are sold
[224] to them by the Indian peddlers who come from Andamarca or
[171] Orinoca. These openwork baskets are, it appears, real fish traps which the shore-dwellers on Poopó use. The Čipaya use them to hold small objects (Fig. 3. B /see p. 155/).

Preparation of Food

252 It is more to relieve my conscience than in the hope of presenting new facts that I shall devote a few lines to Čipaya cooking.
[171] Their food and the preparation of their dishes are exactly those which have so often been described in connection with the Aymara and Quichua.

The quinua cuticle has, as is known, a bitter and disagreeable
[439] taste. To free the seeds from it they are grilled in a dish, then soaked in a stone vat (taksira) (Fig. 2. J /see p. 150/) which the Čipaya buy from the people at Huachacalla who make them (1).

1. The vats are sometimes of baked clay.

When the seeds have been softened, a woman takes a standing position in this vat and leaning against a wall, she husks them by turning the lower part of her body (Pl. V, A /see p. 214/). To see them execute this strange gymnastic is a picturesque spectacle. The seeds submitted to this treatment are then spread on a blanket and winnowed by hand.

252 The quinua is used to prepare a soup or, reduced to meal
262 (akwal'ipe), a pap. Leaves (čalli) of this plant or of cañagua are cooked in water like spinach greens. Maize (tara) is eaten roasted (tsars-tara) or boiled the same as beans. The Čipaya eat /166/ potatoes (axina), as everywhere on the altiplano, in the form of čuño.

Cavineau-
Chipaya

/166 cont./

253 Too many authors have spoken of the preparation of these potatoes exposed to frost and dried for it to be necessary for me to linger on it. This effort would be all the more superfluous since the ʔuño which the Čipaya consume is bought from the Aymara. Several times I saw the Čipaya make a paste of ʔuño by crushing them in their mortar. The latter is a flat stone (t'ax), slightly sloping, on which the grinding is done with the help of another flat stone (muruku) which goes and comes (Fig. 2. G /see p. 156./).

Meat is always boiled, probably because of the fuel, which burns without a flame or gives off, in the case of tola, an acrid smoke.

254 The food is served in bowls (ʔua) (Fig. 2. D /see p. 155./); liquids are taken with a spoon (wisi'a) (Fig. 2. F) and solids with the hand. At feasts the host spreads out the dishes he is offering to his guests on a blanket, and the latter take them in a flap of their clothes.

273 Preparation of chicha from quinoa. After being hooked, quinoa seeds are roasted again. They are then reduced to flour, from which a bowlful is taken out and conscientiously chewed by a woman. The portion soaked with saliva is mixed with the rest of the flour which has been spread on a skin. The whole is boiled and then poured into a large vat to which more hot water is added. The liquid is left to ferment for four days. The drink (k'lea) then obtained resembles muddy water and is very slightly alcoholic.

284 Production of cheese. Although the cheese industry is in the foreground of the economic activity of the Čipaya, the technique used is one of the most rudimentary. The rennet is prepared with a piece of fetus tripe of a llama or vicuña which is soaked in water. It is enough to pour a little of this liquid into sheep's milk to turn it into cheese. The cassis, after having been pressed between the hands, is put into small straw rings which are superimposed and separated each time by a fragment of palm-tree bark, a material which is used to wrap the small packs of coca which the Aymara sell to the Čipaya. When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is

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/174 cont./

women wear. This liquid, which smells horribly of ammonia, is an excellent cover of grease, the only thing which can give some suppleness to their greasy mop. This peculiar washing made me understand the reason why there was a receptacle in a corner of all the Cipaya huts which the owner of the house used as a chamber pot and whose contents he guarded with care. When I assert that this toilette is the only one which the Cipaya women practice, I exaggerate nothing. Throughout their lives they never wash and their skin is covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Their clothes are rarely washed and tattered, and only during festivals do they put on a new skirt or poncho. /175/ /Figure 6 appears here./

/176/ Technology

Ceramics. The pottery of the Cipaya Indians is not indigenous. It comes to them from the Ayoreos who trade it (Fig. 6 /see p. 165/). The center of this industry is situated near Puntierras in Cuzco province where beds of clayey earth are found. I shall always regret not having been able to visit this locality to observe the making of ceramics on the spot. Without any doubt I should have discovered there the survival of ancient pre-Columbian techniques. Since the form of the vessels and jugs coming from this place is exactly that with which we are familiar from Andean archaeology, (177) the mill shaped those as in the times of the Inca empire, and other receptacles which reproduce ancient types characteristic of this part of the altiplano (Fig. 3, E-4 /see p. 159/). It is not only in the style of these ceramics that we ascertain the influence of pre-Columbian models, but in the very manner in which the aryballos is carried on the back is a continuation of old Inca traditions. By means of a rope of llama wool ingeniously combined, the women bear the large aryballoid jugs on the back, exactly like the Indian depicted on a China vase.

[See continued on p. 166]

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Fig. 6.—Čipaya material culture. Ceramics

A: Small jug of Aymara origin used by the Čipaya.
B: Aryballoid jug (½) imported from Parinacota (Carangas Province) (from a sketch).
C: Small pot (½) imported from Parinacota.
D: Jar imported from Parinacota (from a sketch made from life).
E: Large, slightly asymetrical jar imported from Parinacota;
b: detail of one of the ornaments on the neck.
U [303] F: Small jar made without a potter's wheel (Chipaya).

Cayanga-
Chipaya

/176 cont./

Besides these vessels of archaic form which have not been shaped with the help of a potter's wheel, the Čipaya use locally produced receptacles, the technique of which is more advanced and influenced by European civilization. These vessels are produced in quantity in various regions of the altiplano and bear trademarks.

The Čipaya take good care of their ceramics, each piece of which represents a pecuniary sacrifice for them; hence many pots for daily use are wrapped in a protective sheath of undressed leather (Fig. 8, C /see p. 185/).

The names (maske, tiŋ, ʔuu yuru, oʔ, yakina) that the Čipaya give the different pieces of pottery they use are always Aymara. One can deduce from this that the Uru did not know this industry or that they have been dependent on the Aymara for a long time in this respect.

Spinning. The raw sheep's wool (oʔ-ʔuma) or llama wool (uwal-ʔuma) is rolled around the left arm and spun by means of a spindle (t'uri) (Fig. 4, H /see p. 197/). The spindle stick is not commutated by any enlargement. The weight /whorl/ (wallu) is now of turned wood, but I was still able to obtain two specimen crudely carved with a knife.

To spin, a bit of wool is pulled out and attached to the spindle by a /177/ slipknot. The movement communicated to the spindle is made by holding the thumb against the index and middle finger of the left hand, from right to left. When the spindle has begun to turn, the male or female spinner rapidly brings the right hand toward the left, following the thread (kaun) being formed. This movement is to even the thread. Once the hands are together, he draws out the wool and repeats the twisting movement. The spindle is suspended at the end of the thread, or, when the spinner is seated, it turns in a bowl (Pl. V, 2 /see p. 214/). When a certain length of thread has been obtained it is unrolled from the top part of the spindle and rolled on below. A new loop is made and the spindle is placed in action again in the way indicated. The threads obtained by this method are generally very thin. For weaving

Smithsonian--170 E-6 (1930-1931) 1930, 1936 SFSA Uru SFSA
Cayuga-Chipaya

/179 cont./

383 Rope-making. Ropes (hoŋ, hoŋtu) are made of llama wool or straw, the former twisted or braided. To make them, the Čipaya take a bundle of raw wool in the right hand and twist it by hand and gradually roll around a ring held in the left hand. The ropes and cords of wool (koiya, tuanda) serve as belts for the men or are used to fasten loads on the backs of llamas.

Straw ropes are used practically exclusively in the construction of houses, where they tie the different pieces of the framework of the roof and fasten down the straw which covers it.

(384) These ropes are made by the women: they hammer each handful of straw on the back of their overturned grindstones with a round rock provided with depressions which facilitate handling it. The stalks once softened are moistened. The woman twists some of them to make a strand (ɲ̃ɨ-ɨ̃oiya). She does the same with another pinch, then applies a rotating motion between her palms to these two strands. So that the straw will not dry out during the process, she holds it sheltered under a blanket and herself dampens her hands frequently.

385 Basket-making. Basket-making is a local industry in Chipaya. /180/ Their circular baskets (pan pay) with a small perpendicular rim are all of one type although of different sizes (Fig. 3, A /see p. 155/). They are composed of small coils of straw turned upon themselves in a spiral and held together by leather ties (Fig. 3, A, B). This technique is the one that ethnographers in the English language call "coiled."

386 The small openwork baskets (ɨ̃ɨ̃ ɨ̃apa) are, it appears, fish traps which the Čipaya buy from the people of Orinoca or Andamarca (villages situated near the banks of the Poopó).

Reference--177 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 EP34 Urs EP34

Cayanga-
Chipaya

/160 cont./

In La Musique des Incas /The Music of the Incas/, R. d'Harcourt reproduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

While examining the contents of one of the huts that the Chipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 8, G /see p. 173/). The birch inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to here are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkul'o, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pinkul'o, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The Chipaya pinkul'o are identical and without doubt come from some bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The tola flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these perfected instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-Chipaya dialect, tiku, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used for /186/ secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

While there are very few Chipaya who know how to play the quena, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The Indians accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may also play a little melody from time to time while seated.

[137]
the altiplano in general. The ligature in this case is made of a reed rolled around the two rows of pipes.

When the Indian who sold me the old syrinxes wanted to show me how to use them, he was careful to take two of them and to play them by placing one on the other so as to have actually a Panpipe with two series of pipes.

[138] Few Čipaya play the syrinx, the few who were capable of it having learned it from the Aymara, and I noticed that during festivals it was almost always some Indians of this race who made the slightly hoarse sounds of this instrument resound. The Čipaya give it the name taka or use the Aymara term phusa.

[139] String instruments. The only string instruments of the Čipaya are manufactured guitars which come to them through the intermediary of Aymara traders.

The conclusion which Mr. Izikowitz draws from his study on Čipaya instruments are the following:

1) These Indians lack idiophones and original string instruments.

[140] 2) They have adopted flutes with mouthpieces and clarinets from the Europeans.

3) In the post-Columbian period they changed the shape of their drums which have become square and are also provided with a drum cord.

4) The trumpets are probably old but the material is entirely modern.

[141] 5) The Čipaya received from the Aymara the quena, an old, pre-Columbian instrument whose system of holes has, however, been modified under the influence of European flutes.

6) They have two kinds of syrinxes which appear of a type more archaic than the modern Andean Panpipes and even than the archaeological flutes with two series of tubes. The Čipaya syrinx, however, seems to have been modified in one way or another under the influence of the syrinx with a double series of tubes; only in this way can one explain its peculiar form. With the exception of the

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top*, *left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skillful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

Pottery.—Although not now made at Ancoaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles.

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas.

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara:* the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipis, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkilu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-choklo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charanga.

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into ayllus, named Titicana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Inca* anansaya), and xanacha (*Inca* mana-saya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kuša*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *luču* (Uru *awa*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*suju*, *kawi*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likla* or *likli*, or *sawiskawia* according to Palavecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *chicha* of masticated maize also; *likli* is made from a plant called *kiwi* or *kiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kawla*, of *totora* bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*oksa*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the liga-

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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wooden balls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.[8] They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking; spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yokowa*), and kill with their *balsa* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*kiki*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *tarki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña; suhaja*, a word obviously related to Aymará *haja*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold[9] small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lassoed, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the viscacha (*qhiñi*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, roof-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails; and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymára neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

[8] An Uru *bola* from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

[9] The Aymára have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "brass-monkey" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *hatuya* ("to split"), *wari* (vicuña), *q'asiya* ("makes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-coated vicuña scream. The Aymára schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "cholo" interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") yell of this familiar phrase: *q'ala hatuya wari q'asiya, ara ura!*

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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ciñawa) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *balsas*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *lamara*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*pewaw*) llama-wool (*pewañ*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a wheel or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*wa[']ji*) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the headrod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymára. The women's wide girdles or *lazi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gorros* of the Aymára type (Uru *lkawa*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.* The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymára at Guaqui, Tiahuanacu and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "sogas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Uru *balsa* (Aymará *lłwi*, Uru *k'oči*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

* Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the *altiplano* whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lacaxmata on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *anire* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.[39] The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Ťwintatito* (= Aymara *Ťunupa?*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotsamptŝi* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Ťuhun-uuvo-samptŝi* (the goddess of the Lake), *Puluni-samptŝi-malku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *malku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kaluari-čiči* (god of potatoes), *Kjosi-samptŝi* (god of the earth) and *Samptŝi-malku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uro est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,[40] however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

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[39] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprisingly, believe in the superstition of "three-on-a-match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper reserves and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps; for when the giant American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

[40] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya: "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanacu fell down."

2:Métraux--207 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Intelligence, character, and morality

123 Every consideration of the character of a human group, no matter how small, demands closer contact with the individuals than that which I was able to maintain with the Čipaya. The impossibility which I experienced in most cases of being able to communicate directly with them especially was an obstacle to my observations. The judgment that I make of the Čipaya is hence necessarily summary and without scientific grounds. The Čipaya inspired in me more disgust and antipathy than pity. Neither by their physique nor by their disposition did they draw the affection which the ethnographer /205/ from professional bent would be prone to offer them. Their
192 features are heavy and thick, and only a few individuals, products of mixtures with their neighbors the Aymara, present the handsome profile with the curved nose characteristic of the conquering race of the Bolivian Altiplano. Their short and thick-set body is made even heavier by the thick woolen clothing with which they cover themselves. Only their slender, well-formed legs are pretty to see when crossing
[515] a river. Their complexion would not be so dark if they would consent at least once in their lives to wash. The filth and the rags which cover them accentuate even more the wretched and miserable appearance of this group of human beings.

157 Intellectually the Čipaya are on a rather low level: they have a dull and narrow mind and visibly feel an aversion to any coherent
[538] mental effort. Without fantasy and without imagination, they have for their total literature only a few insipid and short tales, which anyway seem to be Aymara in origin. Some women are an exception to this rule and struck me by a certain vivacity in their character and intelligence. Two or three young people also appeared better endowed than the average member of the tribe.

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46 The Čipaya nourishes no ambition, and the desire for any worldly gain cannot draw him out of his apathy. His movements are slow and measured, his ability to remain motionless is without limits. He seems to pursue constantly an internal dream which is always the

2:Métraux--206 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SP24 Uru SP24

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Čipaya

/205 cont./

same. Boredom and silence overwhelm the village. The children themselves share in this general sullenness: they never have fun, so to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a vague eye or stay squatting in their huts chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material or occupy their leisure time by looking for fleas on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

The Čipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mistrust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of strangers. They know how to appear well-wishing, and my relations with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /206/ liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they never forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for my collections in broad daylight: all feared the unkind comments of those near them.

/176 cont./

•539 317 on each side of the balsa (10, 12, 17) in order to make the two large side cylinders equal in weight, bulk, and compression. This is the delicate part of the manufacture, on which the stability and quality of the craft depend. The Uru use wooden hooks for this job (12). At the same time they compress the totora with a stone hammer (13), adding or removing totora as necessary; they water it from time to time to prevent it from drying. When the work is finished the middle cylinder, the heart of the balsa, completely hidden between the side

• [361] cylinders, is invisible. Depending on the size, the construction •539 251 of a balsa takes an average of three to six days. The life of a balsa is short; after having been wet they become heavy and rot inside; they are good for six months to one year in general.

The balsas used on the Desaguadero and on the low parts of the lake in the neighboring lagoons which are not very deep (Arapa, Umamayo) do not have sails (22), or only a very small sail, in contrast to the balsas on the large lake which they propel by sail. The Uru steer them with the help of a boat hook ending in three teeth, which they push against the muddy bottom (24). These boat hooks are identical to those of the

[361] Guaraos of upper Paraguay, who belong to the Nu-Arwak /Nu-Aruak/ linguistic group.

•539 193 From the point of view of grammar, note the frequent use of the repetitive particle -ʔu-, indicating that the action expressed by the verb is habitual. Also note the repetitions of words or roots to reinforce the idea expressed (3-12, etc.)

The verb kiʔ ʔay expresses the idea of carrying off, of lifting up, of raising (22-23); compare it with 4-5 of text III.

1 La Barre E-8 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus totora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A sling-cast bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Isla de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1934) 1955
8F34 Ulu 8F34
Tru 2Fw

Two men work simultaneously
396 tightening the braids with little wooden hooks,
[403] taking care that the two parallel cylinders have
[427] exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a third man waters the cylinders, so that the reed remains
[412] slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the
501 reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fisherman holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsas measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a punt-pole when circulating among the rushes. The
[361] life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or
[132] four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

126 The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and
123 then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the raucous lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the previous day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of
[1188] Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards,
[201] and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the
126 forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every

Cayenga-
Chipaya.

/179 cont./

283 Rope-making. Ropes (hoč, šoma) are made of llama wool or straw, the former twisted or braided. To make them, the Čipaya take a bundle of raw wool in the right hand and twist it by hand and gradually roll around a ring held in the left hand. The ropes and cords of wool (šoiya, tuanda) serve as belts for the men or are used to fasten loads on the backs of llamas.

Straw ropes are used practically exclusively in the construction of houses, where they tie the different pieces of the framework of the roof and fasten down the straw which covers it.

284 These ropes are made by the women: they hammer each handful of straw on the back of their overturned grindstones with a round rock provided with depressions which facilitate handling it. The stalks once softened are moistened. The woman twists some of them to make a strand (p'it-čoka). She does the same with another pinch, then applies a rotating motion between her palms to these two strands. So that the straw will not dry out during the process, she holds it sheltered under a blanket and herself dampens her hands frequently.

285 Basket-making. Basket-making is a local industry in Chipaya. /180/ Their circular baskets (pan pata) with a small perpendicular rim are all of one type although of different sizes (Fig. 3. A /see p. 155/). They are composed of small coils of straw turned upon themselves in a spiral and held together by leather ties (Fig. 3. A. B). This technique is the one that ethnographers in the English language call "coiled."

287 The small openwork baskets (čiki čepa) are, it appears, fish 491 traps which the Čipaya buy from the people of Orinoca or Andamarca (villages situated near the banks of the Poopó).

/189 cont./

after mass on Palm Sunday."
It is not impossible that the
palm /palmier/ weed of the
Cipaya corresponds to these "palms"
of the Quichua. Cf. Chéliès
(Dr. Pastor). "Les Vacayeux."
Revista Universitaria. Cuzco.
eighth year. No. 29. September,
1910. p. 43.

[189]

[191]

[192] portions of the house are worshiped with libations and fumigations. They are also indispensable accessories for the magicians who always plant them before themselves when they are going to make a prayer or a sacrifice to the demons. One must also not forget among the objects used in worship the baked clay censers which are shaped like a footed cup, and the small cupules for libations.

[193]

Division of Labor

	Men	Women	
House-building	+	-	
Straw rope	-	-	
Spinning	+	+	
Weaving	-	+	
Weaving with treadle loom	+	-	
Cooking	-	+	
Livestock care	+	-	(preferably the children)
Cheese	-	+	
Milking of the sheep	-	+	
Shearing of the sheep	+	-	
Rope-making	+	-	

Bandelier—183 0-0 (1880-1881) 1935.1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

/193 cont./

	Men	Women
Transport	0	0
Irrigation	0	-
Cultivation	0	-
Instrumental music	0	-
Basket-making	0	-
Crochet	0	-
Trade	0	4
Fishing	0	-
Bird hunting	0	-

Comparative Study

The comparative study which I am going to make of Uro-Chipaya objects and industries and those of ancient and modern Andean populations could not be exhaustive. I lack too many books to indicate the complete bibliography of the subjects with which I propose to deal, and I fear /196/ that for lack of material many parallels between certain forms of the material life of the Chipaya today and of the old Andean tribes may have escaped me.

Village and huts. I have already indicated the strange similarities which the ordering of the village of these Indians presents to that of an Inca city, Cuzco for example. The taxata and tuanta ayllu have an exact equivalent in the Inca suyu, particularly in the two sectors or districts of Cuzco, hanan-suyu and hurin-suyu; as for the alignment of chapels or oratories, they are nothing more than Christianized ceques.

At the time of the Conquest and for a century afterward the Aymara lived in huts similar in every respect to those of the Chipaya with the exception of the chiefs who, like the present-day corregidor of the "canton" of Chipaya, lived in quadrangular houses. It is under Spanish influence that the Aymara hut evolved into its present aspect, which differs little from Creole houses. But even in our day

S:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

Pottery.—Although not now made at Anroaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles.

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas.

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara:* the open-ended flutes (palawata, kena, pusipia, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkillu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-chokllo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukulele or charanga.

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into ayllus, named Titicana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Inca* anansaya), and xanacha (*Inca* mana-saya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*pini*) and *balsa* (Hassel), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peki* (Aymará *purifia*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'ou*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the yungas. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *purifia* or *peki* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *lerana*, for carpets in "choio" huts). These are exchanged for *kaka*, *coca*, net-thread, *kañawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*lerana* and *lowara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: Tacy ate, T.T.cana, Konka, Kama, Kuipa.

/162 cont./

439 neighboring Aymara villages to dispose of their small cheeses directly and specially to sell pig fat /163/ /Figure 2 appears here//164/ which, after cheese, is their most important export. They undoubtedly trade wool, although I was not able to obtain any precise information on this matter. I only ascertained that pieces of cloth started in a neighboring village were given to Čipaya women to be

464 finished. Formerly some Čipaya would go to hire themselves out as workers in the "salitreras" (exploitation of nitrates) of Tarapacá.

[190] They returned with some knowledge of Spanish and new tastes. This stay-away from home had the result above all of opening their eyes to their poor condition and to make them discontented. Since the nitrate beds have been abandoned, nothing remains to draw the Čipaya outside their "bare plain."

433 439 The crisis of overproduction which rages over the whole world upset the economic life of the Čipaya. The low quotations for tin on the Stock Exchange, or the New York exchange, led to the closing of the mines, the departure of the laborers, and the sale of cheese at a loss. The Aymara no longer come to Chipaya to stock up on cheeses, and the latter accumulate in the round huts and there is no alcohol or coca for festivals. By virtue of the economic cohesion of all humanity the Čipaya themselves are also overproducing, and their present distress is the sister of the one which constricts the hearts of the great proprietors of wheat fields.

648 These particulars show us that in spite of their apparent isolation, these Indians maintain constant relations with the outside world, and that the fossilization of this tribe is not as total as one might conclude from their material culture.

224 Hunting. Hunting and fishing play only an insignificant role in the life of the Čipaya. In all, for game they have a few herds of vicuña which make their appearance in the neighborhood of the village, water birds which abound in the numerous lagoons which cut their pastures, and toxo, a kind of small rodent a little

[262] larger than a rat. Posnansky (1) asserts that the latter constitutes the principal food of the Čipaya.

[Text continues on p. 151]

/178 cont./

286
294
[113]

1. Rosen (Eric von), Archaeological researches on the frontier of Argentina and Bolivia in 1901-1902. Stockholm, 1904. Pl. III. Fig. 1.

[197] Like the latter, it is a rather crude imitation of old Spanish models. In Chipaya it was always a man who used this loom, while those of the native type were strictly reserved for the women. The designs of the cloth produced on these treadle looms very much recall those of our mills:: those with stripes, chevrons, and squares and of a dark color oscillating between grey, black, or brown. These materials are only used for cut garments, or European in origin, such as pants and jackets.

286
531 /179/ The textile art of the Čipaya is fairly poor, inferior even to that of the Uro of Ancoaqui. We have already seen that the ornamentation of the different pieces of their national costume is limited to white borders or stripes of two or three colors. Most of
[197] their coca bags are hardly more varied in their decoration with the exception of a few rather small ones in bright colors which are a faithful imitation of the coca sacks which are widespread among the
286 Aymara. The few rare Čipaya fabrics which have designs are them-
197 selves also nothing but bad copies of current Aymara models. The lack of initiative and experience of the Čipaya women is so great in this respect that they will hardly weave pieces of material with such a decoration however uncomplicated unless the latter have been begun in a neighboring Aymara village. They continue them exactly as a little girl who has been made a part of the work. These lessons in weaving given to the Čipaya women by their neighbors of a different race is a peculiar example of the way in which cultural exchanges between tribes can come about. I must add that the fabrics,
[464] the weaving of which the Aymara entrust to the Čipaya women do not remain the property of the latter, who work on them only as laborers and badly paid ones at that.

I /163 cont./
*651 hiring themselves out for a year. And this livestock, which is
*648 taken when they go to Potosí, is apportioned out in the distribu-
433 tion according to what each one in that subdivision /parcialidad/
I
*651 has, and sometimes the livestock of someone and that person will
*648 not go, and for others the reverse, so that, when it is understood,
657 the system which they have among them has an accounting and a
433 reason and is very exact, for even when they are dealing with one chuco of corn or with two pounds of wool, we see them make different portions when they divide it up, for it is a marvelous thing to see the diligence which they apply in order to insure that no one takes more than his share. I would regard it as very rash to consider changing a system which is so generally in use among new people, for which reason I wish to conclude with the distribution which the repartimiento of Pava /pava/ has made on four different occasions in my presence. These Indians were
I
[162] taxed 11,000 pesos in silver, assayed and marked, without count-
U ing the other matters of food and cartage and sown land con-
[162 tained in the tax, and there must be, according to the old count
286 of the first inspection, more than 4,000 Indians, although there
464 is no doubt but that many concealed themselves, because the fishermen, who are what they call huros, cannot be counted and there are a great many of them, and even outside of their lands there are more than 1,000 of them normally hired out to make cloth. Of the huro Indians of this type, there is no doubt but that these are the best of all. I set forth the example in this
I
[631] repartimiento /164/ because there are three subdivisions /parcialidades/, one of these huro fishermen, who must be more than half, and some want to say two-thirds. The others are
U called casayas, and the other subdivision /parcialidad/ is cura
[651] Indians, from all of whom, in order to divide these 11,000 pesos, there assembled about 30 principal Indians and quipocamayos, who are their accountants, or marcamayos, and, when they start off, their representatives keep upon the ground the stones and grains of corn and beans by which they keep count by their customary system. In the end, in less than three hours time, before me,

4:Vellard--7 D, E-4, 5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Repartimiento general de los Indios que se an de ocupar en la labor de las Minas y beneficio de los ingenios lamas y relaves de la Villa Imperial de Potosi, con las /34/ ordenanzas que en ello se an de quedar, fechas por el Escmo, Senor Don Francisco de Toledo, Virrey que fue de estos reinos /General Repartimiento of the Indians who are to be employed in work in the Mines and labor in connection with the mills, llamas, and metal sweepings of the Imperial Town of Potosi, with the ordinances that are to apply to it, ussed by his Excellency, Señor Don Francisco de Toledo, when Viceroy of these kingdoms/ (Lima, 16 August 1578).

175 162 This text gives two successive censuses, one in 1578, the other in 1596.

[48] [96] For the work in Potosi two Uro mitayos were the equivalent of one Aymara mitayo, whence this information on the number of Uros in the census of the population of 16 provinces subject to the mita /forced labor/.

	1578		1596
Uros	2,558	in Paria (Poopo)	3,038
	87 "	Puno	62
	400 "	Quillagas y Asanaquis	400
	581 "	Aullagas y Uruquillas	581
	53 "	Urinoca	53
	266 "	Anuamarca y Colquemarca (Carangas)	266
	100 "	Totora	100
	602 "	Chuquicota y Sanaya	602
	147 "	Machaca la chica	147
	61 "	Machaca la grande	161
	136 "	Viacha	?
	206 "	Tiaguanaco	?

/381 cont./

[521] [621] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

342 ● [476] Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Čipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment [687] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him [703] [706] enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother * [708] to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[782] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

342 * [708] [706] Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 115, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (pana-solina) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of varicolored llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden floats for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of disguises has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and ill-treated, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.

Professor Vellard had arranged with KENNETH WASSON, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, JORGE ROJAS and AUGUSTO ROCA, and a young professor, RICHARD ARBELOT was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14.000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one sunny winter morning.

Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brazil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

[p. 304-A]

2:Métraux--109 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

/378 cont./

211
529

[825]

Fig. 36. — A. Čipaya Indian in festival clothes. Notice the crown of flamingo eggs on the head. B. Čipaya Indian equipped to participate in the Carnival dances. On his back a wild duck secured by means of a festive sling and the straw bola perdida.

[824]
[982]

Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XVI

A. – Coca bag covered with a sort of "velvet" and used only during festivals.

B. – Festive sling.

C. – Wig worn by the men during festivals.

D. – Sacred stick (kamana-para).

E. – Rope cross hung on the roof of the huts.

F. – Perforated potsherds used as money during the festival of the alasita.

Smithsonian--164 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas--
Chipaya
Ayaviri SFS

/174 cont./

urine. This liquid, which smells horribly of ammonia, is an excellent cutter of grease, the only thing which can give some suppleness to their greasy mop. This peculiar washing made me understand the reason why there was a receptacle in a corner of all the Čipaya huts which the master of the house used as a chamber pot and whose contents he guarded with care. When I assert that this toilette is the only one which the Čipaya women practice, I exaggerate nothing. Throughout their lives they never wash and their skin is covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Their clothes are equally unclean and tattered, and only during festivals do they put on a new ichu or mantle. /175/ /Figure 6 appears here./

/176/ Technology

Ceramics. The pottery of the Čipaya Indians is not indigenous. It comes to them from the Ayaviri who trade it (Fig. 6 /see p. 165/). The center of this industry is situated near Paripuncara in Carangas province where banks of clayey earth are found. I shall always regret not having been able to visit this locality to observe the making of ceramics on the spot. Without any doubt I should have discovered there the survival of ancient pre-Columbian techniques. Since the form of the vessels and jugs coming from this place is exactly that with which we are familiar from Andean archeology. Aryballoi (177) are still shaped there as in the times of the Inca empire, and other receptacles which reproduce ancient types characteristic of this part of the altiplano (Fig. 3, E-F /see p. 155/). It is not only in the style of these ceramics that we ascertain the influence of pre-Columbian models, but in the very manner in which the aryballus is carried on the back is a continuation of old Inca traditions. By means of a rope of llama wool ingeniously interlaced, the women bear the large aryballoid jugs on the back, exactly like the Indian depicted on a Chimu vase.

[Text continues on P. 166]

Tulane Cumerlin (-6 (pc mss) 1960 EP24 Un EP24
Chipaya

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayra*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *wallatas*; the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P 28-B]

2chétraus--8 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas-
Chipaya

/114 cont./

114 passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map,
34 undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is
131 located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and
19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate
36 Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will
[99] help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes
itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Ixcara,
which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-
east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon
[83] which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my
observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the
[84] distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches
[86] Angamarca, near the Pueppó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco,
on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission
36 as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at
roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320
Chipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than
the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain
number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses."
Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

[113]

1. Bacarreza (Zenón). "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor.... comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor.... commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

Chipaya--
Chipaya

A 23 cont./

the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

The Chipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Chipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the wife houses overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the houses of the authorities.

The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Chipaya give them: a'su-a'ya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancias.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

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Encl 2 to

imagination should not be placed in his way. I drove hurriedly down to the mayor's house and told the others that I personally felt that another twenty-four hours of hunger and thirst, while the prisoners studied Lisu cooking, was an unattractive prospect. One of the boys wanted to go to Gwapui, so we took him as guide. He directed us along quite a respectable track, which we had missed by a few hundred yards. As we passed the raucous lady's abode she hailed us with a volley of curses. She had kept a stone in readiness, which, her anger impeding her accuracy, fell wide by a long distance. We finally joined the main highway to La Paz and almost immediately went down with a flat tire. Caylos opened the trunk and as he lifted the jack, out toppled the little Peruvian-born. We looked at each other, and swiftly and silently, we pushed it back into oblivion.

[p. 314-B]

/124 cont./ This form, seen in Two or Three other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in use among the Aymara.

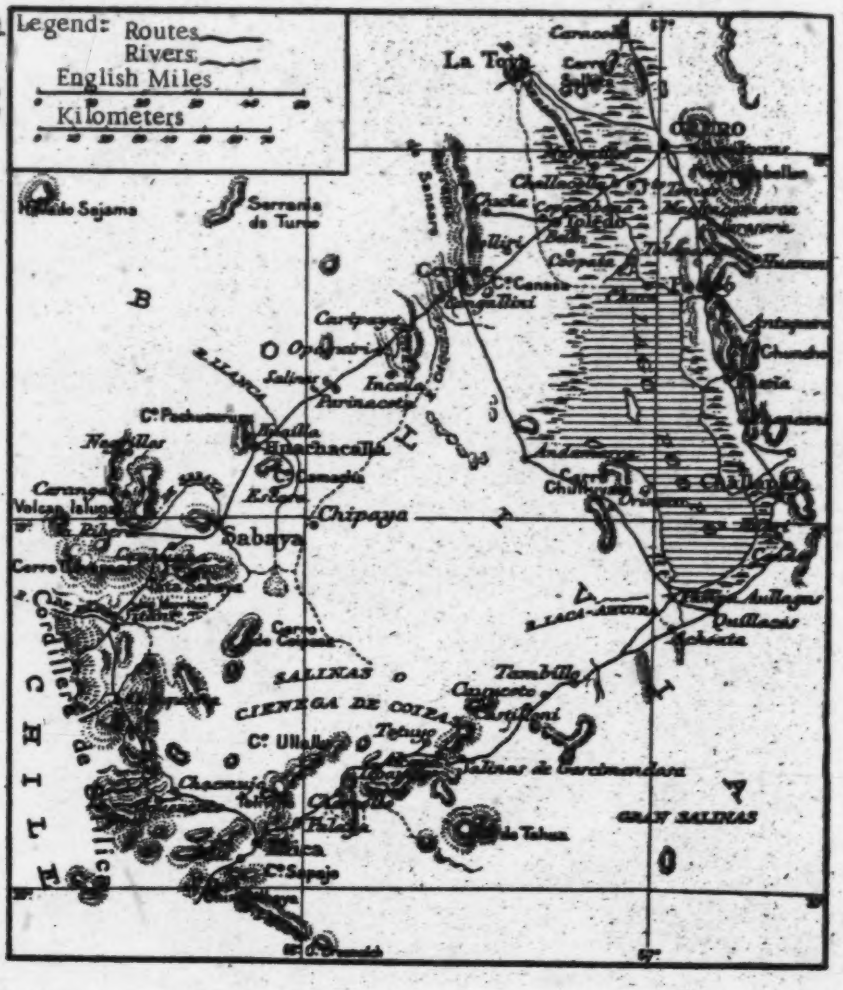
/125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori, of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves. His authority extended no farther. The Čipaya would have had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their duties.

There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an incident which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya, which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or returning with their cargo. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by the timidity of the Čipaya, let their animals graze on the lands belonging to the latter and irrigated by their efforts. The Čipaya decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he called together the majority of the adult men of the village around his hut and they discussed the question all night. The next day the Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

2:Métraux--4 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/112 cont./

102
131
133
489


Legend: Routes
Rivers
English Miles
Kilometers
La Toma
Sabaya
Chipaya
Cordillera de Carangas
CHILE
SALINAS
CIENAGA DE COIPA
GRAN SALINAS
Tambillo
Cerro Ullallaqua
Cerro Sajoja
Serrania de Turco
Nevados Sajama
Volcan Isluga
Cerro Pisiga
Cerro Condor
Cerro Cosapilla
Cerro Pabcuma
Nevados
Parinacota
Pomarape
Caripuyo
Salinas de Carcimandara
Cerro Tambillo
Cerro Tatasaya
Cerro Chocnuja
Cerro Pilapata
Cerro Tahua
Cerro Sapaja
Cerro Tiliviche
Cerro Cosapilla
Cerro Pabcuma
Cerro Condor
Cerro Isluga
Cerro Pisiga

Carangas—
Chipaya

/339 cont./

*1178 341 and decorated with small earthen cornices which make them vaguely comparable to miniature pagodas. The niche always faces east and generally contains coca leaves, dishes with the remains of offerings, small bottles full of alcohol, morsels of copal, and little lamps /340/ with tallow. Some coins are also to be found there. These curious constructions are carefully painted white and are numerous not only in the village but also in the whole extent of Čipaya territory, where they tend to be distributed in long strings. They alternate with tiny chapels which are within an enclosure and also decorated with cornices. The interior of these chapels is completely bare, and on the earthen altar one rarely finds anything other than the remains of offerings. However, one may make some bizarre discoveries there: tea boxes containing the oddest objects, cheap little mirrors, pious or secular pictures taken from illustrated magazines which have come to be stranded in these distant parts.

*1178 346 171 [487] [491] . Chapels and oratories are particularly abundant in the whole of Carangas Province. They are generally on top of mountains in the middle of the desert. Paths and even superb roads lead to them in a straight line, without regard for rugged places and sloping ground. These strange monuments which stand out against the grey of the mountains and which, distorted by mirage, look like temples or churches radiantly white, all contain the remains of offerings and some rare decoration. Near the village of Kala, a day and a half from Chipaya, I saw a whole group of these chapels carefully kept up and, in addition, bearing a small shelter for pilgrims. One could see piles of excrement there, drawn from the entrails of sacrificed animals, and traces of blood. At the foot of the hill there were stone enclosures for llamas. From this place [491] roads five to six meters wide broke away and led in straight lines to all the points of the horizon. These large avenues, absolutely clean, did not seem to have been used for a long time. I never had the leisure to follow them to the end, but I believe that they would have led me to some village or to some group of houses forming

*1178 171 an estancia or an ayl'u. The Indians never wanted to give me any information about the purpose of these sanctuaries, and the priest

[17th Century]

/36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town.... Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake....They are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Simillake.

...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

A 346 [1098] We stop for a moment at the village[1] church which is protected, like our temples in the Far East, by a guardian god in the form of one of the monoliths taken from Tiahuanacu. The early paintings in their charming frames are in bad condition and some much-needed repairs were proceeding on the roof; there is an embossed silver altar as we find them even in small villages in the highlands of Bolivia, and a rather decayed but well-proportioned gilded baroque pulpit. As we were about to leave, an Indian woman entered. She held in one hand her bowler hat and in the other a bottle of alcohol. Having made a deep genuflection she presented the bottle to a statue of the Virgin, crossed herself, kissed her thumb, and was gone.

A 346 353 358

A 782 788

U 114 489 We followed the road towards the lake till we came to a cart-track which seemed to run parallel with the Desaguadero river as it flows out of the lake. After a short distance the track ended. The professor said: "We just go straight ahead keeping the river in sight". The ground was strewn with boulders and clumps of spiky grass, the two cars heaved and rolled; finally we disembarked the photographic material and followed on foot, the professor like the Pied Piper leading the procession. The cinema material represented a considerable weight which at that height seemed twice as heavy. For two hours we gasped and stumbled along; finally nearing the river we heard a dog barking and saw a small adobe house inhabited by a raucous bad-tempered woman of uncertain age who sent us to the devil. We panted up a little hill, and on the other side there appeared a number of small adobe houses. The professor was still in full cry, striding ahead heedless of the panting group to the rear. But finally realizing that there is a limit to human endurance, he gave way gracefully, and we had lunch. The meal being dispatched, we approached the village, where Vellard called on the mayor, and, accompanied by a number of the inhabitants, joined us. He explained that we must go to the house of the local centenarian, where we should film her, her daughter Jesusa and her son-in-law of some eighty-odd years.

U [361] 114

U 123 624

U 124

[1] [i.e., the village of Tiahuanacu --Analyst]

SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

114 temptation should not be placed in his way. I drove hurriedly down to the mayor's house and told the others that I personally felt that another twenty-four hours of hunger and thirst, while the professor studied Uru cooking, was an unattractive prospect. One [485] of the boys wanted to go to Guaqui, so we took him [487] as guide. He directed us along quite a respectable track, which we had missed by a few hundred yards. As we passed the raucous lady's abode she hailed us with a volley of oaths. She had kept a stone in readiness, which, her anger impeding her accuracy, fell wide by a long distance. We finally joined the main highway to La Paz and almost immediately went down with a flat tire. Carlos opened the trunk and as he lifted the jack, out toppled the little Primus-stove. We looked at each other, and swiftly and silently, we pushed it back into oblivion.

[p. 314-B]

Carangas—
Chipaya

/339 cont./

*1178 347 and decorated with small earthen cornices which make them vaguely comparable to miniature pagodas. The niche always faces east and generally contains coca leaves, dishes with the remains of offerings, small bottles full of alcohol, morsels of copal, and little lamps /340/ with tallow. Some coins are also to be found there. These curious constructions are carefully painted white and are numerous not only in the village but also in the whole extent of Čipaya territory, where they tend to be distributed in long strings. They alternate with tiny chapels which are within an enclosure and also decorated with cornices. The interior of these chapels is completely bare, and on the earthen altar one rarely finds anything other than the remains of offerings. However, one may make some bizarre discoveries there: tea boxes containing the oddest objects, cheap little mirrors, pious or secular pictures taken from illustrated magazines which have come to be stranded in these distant parts.

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[16th Century]

/32 cont./

175 according to what they say. It[1] is crossed on a remarkable
[491] contrivance, peculiar to the Indies, a straw bridge placed on
[824] the water itself, which is of such light material that it does not sink, and it is a very safe and easy crossing...there grow large quantities of a type of reed that the Indians call totora, which they use for a thousand things, because it is food for pigs and for horses, and for the people themselves; and with it they make house and fire, and boat and whatever is needed;
[101] so much do the Uros find in their totora. These Uros are so brutish that they themselves do not regard themselves as men. It is said of them that when asked what people they were they replied that they were not men but Uros, as though this were
[361] another class of animals. Entire pueblos of Uros were found living on the lake, on their totora rafts, joined together and fastened to some large rock, and they may fetch themselves off from there and move a whole pueblo to another location; and thus when sought today where they were yesterday, no trace of them is to be found, or of their pueblo..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia natural y moral de las Indias /Natural and Moral History of the Indies/, 1590. Book II, Chap. VI.)

Noticia sobre los Indios Uros en un Memorial de la Epoca del Virrey Toledo /Note on the Uro Indians in a Memorial of the Epoch of the Toledo Viceroy/.

175 The Inca, being below Lima, sent one of his captains,
648 called Casiracapa, to those heights with many men, to survey
[511] the land and recount to him what he saw there, /33/ and while traveling through the land he came across some people whose dwellings were like those of animals, and who lived in them like brutish animals, around a large Lake, naked, and eating nothing but roots of plants that grew in the Lake, and some Fish if they caught it, and when the Captain saw these people,
[728] he recounted the fact to the Inca and was sent by him to re-
[579] move them from the Lake and resettle them among the

[1] [i.e., Lake Titicaca outlet--Analyst]

/79 cont./

226 ballast. According to the information I have gathered, these nets are used for fishing in deep water. They are dragged simultaneously by several balsas or used as dams. Many people are necessary to handle them.

"As the nets accumulate algae and aquatic refuse of all kinds, the Uro carry little brooms with them, with which they clean the meshes once the net is out of the water. To disturb the water and chase the fish toward the nets or weirs, the Uro have sticks with balls of totora attached to their ends. They move them in a vertical direction.

To bring the fish into their nets the Uro, like many /80/ /Fig. 23 appears here/ /81/ /Fig. 24 appears here/ /82/ Indian tribes of America, construct barriers which they call kenza. These dikes are formed of bundles of totora. Each is composed of five or six rushes laid out in the same direction and attached by the thinnest upper part. They transport these bundles on their balsas to the spot which seems to them the most propitious for fishing, and there they erect their barrier. To sink the bundles of totora in the mud, they use the boat hook (l'okena) with which they propel their small boats. A bundle is placed against the boat hook, the point of the latter resting on the ligature of the bundle. The whole thing is thrust into the earth vertically. The end of the bundle protrudes several centimeters above the surface of the water. They repeat the operation until they have raised a dike which is sufficiently compact to retain the fish. The barrier has the shape of an angle which is open in the direction of the current. The two sides are straight or curve slightly inward. They end in an opening about one meter wide, whose edges, more resistant than the rest of the barrier, are composed of two bunches 20 centimeters in diameter. In contrast to the other bundles, the latter have a transverse ligature a few centimeters from the surface.

[501]

Facing this opening there is generally an islet of totora which protects the barrier against the wind and to which the fisherman can attach his balsa. There he stations himself with his net.

[text continues on p. 11]

/84 cont./

396 [147] The construction of these rafts is rather simple, although it demands great manual skill and considerable expenditure of strength. The keel is composed of two enormous spindle-shaped sheafs of totora tied together. The natives obtain them by heaping up and intertwining stalks of totora of unequal length (Pl. IV, B /see p. 24/); they take care that the shortest remain inside and they cover these with progressively longer stalks until the total forms a compact mass. The rope which maintains each of these rolls /85/ /Fig. 25 appears here/ /86/ is crossed at each turn with that of the other sheaf. Two padded rims are then fastened to the edge, where they serve as a railing and add to the stability of the craft. The only instrument to which the Indians have recourse in making these rafts is a wooden hook (Fig. 24, 5 /see p. 10/), which they use to lift the straw rope, either to tighten it or to pass the rope which joins one sheaf to the other under it. This alternating play of the ropes obliges the balsa constructors to work always two by two (Pl. IV, C /see p. 24/). For navigating, the Uro have long boathooks, l'okena, the wood for which comes from the eastern slopes of the Andes. The extremity of these poles ends in a sort of trident which prevents them from sinking too deeply in the mud of the lake (Fig. 25, 2 /see p. 15/). 501

285 Mats. The Uro Indians have several uses for the rush (totora) mats. They make the framework and roofs of their huts from it, their beds, the door of their house, and the sails of their balsas. Making them is not complicated. The totora stalks are spread out on five or six parallel ropes, stretched between stakes, and attached to them in little piles.

283 Rope-making. The Uro are obliged to constantly make rope, the indispensable accessory for the two industries which have just been mentioned. Different types of gramineous plants, [284] among them the Stipa ichu Kunth, Festucha orthophylla Pilger, and F. dissiflora Griseb (1), furnish them with raw material of

1. Parodi, p. 4.

[text continues on p. 16]

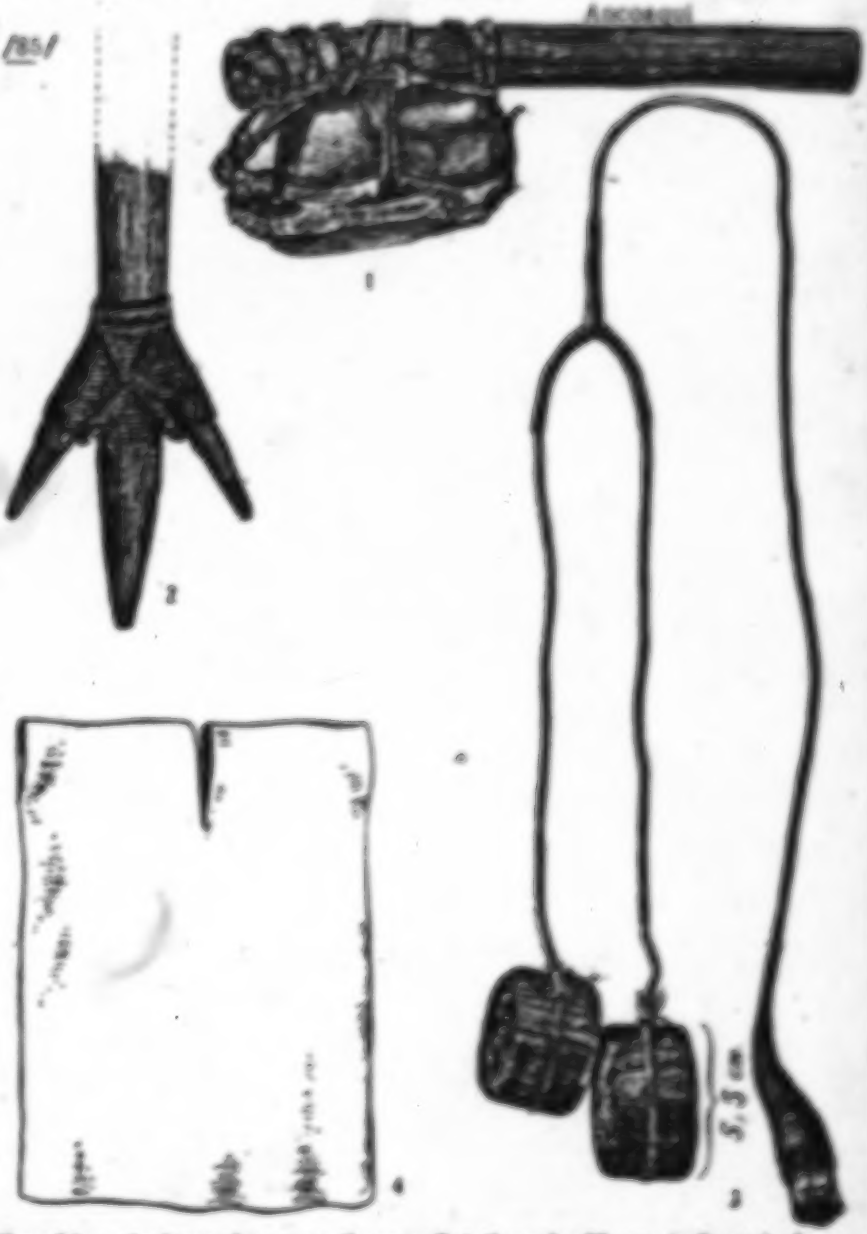


Fig. 25. — 1: Stone hammer (kxaumaña) (length: 27 cm.); 2: end of the boathook which the Uru use to propel their cane rafts (t'okena); 3: bolas (skuni); 4: tunic of white wool which the Uro wear over their modern clothes for certain occasions (ira) (length: 1.05 m. width: 0.62 m

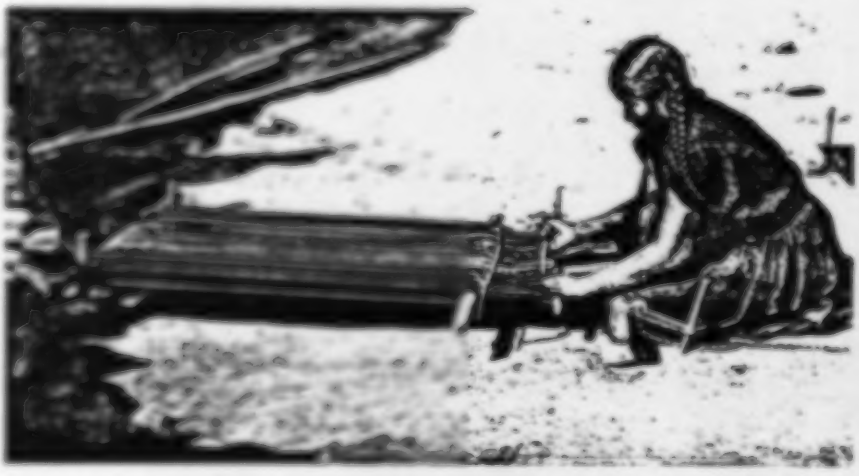
Indefinite--22 8-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uru SF24
Ancoaqui

Plate 42.

A. B.

Indians fishing with landing nets.

C. Woman weaving.



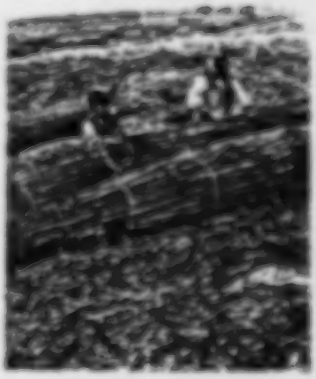
[End Plate 2]

1:Métraux--24 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uru SF24
Ancoaqui

396
[301]

A. A boatyard for balsas at Ancoaqui.

[291]



B. Manufacture of balsas.

396
291

C. Manufacture of balsas.

[End Plate 3]

3:Vellard--6b D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 9F24 Uru 9F24

Plate III

5. Balsas of totoras (1942).

6. Balsa with large net (yaú' kaka). Account VI /see p. 16/.

/173 men./

539 14. We are going to place a rim of totoras. 15. He attaches
[96] the rim of the balsa. 16. He tightens the rim of the balsa.
17. We are going to finish. 18. (The totora) is still a bit
loose; we are going to tighten it a bit more. 19. All is
finished. 20. Now the balsa is ready. 21. Let us go fishing
[60] with the new balsa. 22. We are not going to have a sail?
23. We are not accustomed to use a sail; there is too little
water. 24. We always use a fish hook manipulated by hand.
[94] 25. Here is the cross which is attached to the large net so that
the fish can enter. 26. The fish is going to enter (the net);
now we are going to lift (the net) up and put it in the balsa.

Remarks

This text is divided into two parts. The first, 1 to 26, describes the making of balsas from totoras. The second is a succinct description of fishing with a net in the swamps of the Desaguadero.

539 To build their balsas the Uro use the Scirpus totora,
[96] which used to grow in abundance in the swamps of the Desaguadero and at numerous points on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Two Indians work at the same time on the construction of a balsa. First they lay out the bunches of totoras
[14] on the ground, from which they make three spindles the length of the balsa, two large side ones and a middle one which is shorter and thinner; this middle cylinder, the "heart of the balsa," used to stabilize the craft, has passed unnoticed by practically all the authors who have concerned themselves
[91] with the Uro. Only the fishers on the Lagoon of Arapa, to the north of Lake Titicaca, who speak Kolla, build balsas, small and rather narrow, formed with two cylinders.

[214] The totora of these cylinders is held in place with the aid of thin straw plaits (2-4), which hold the cylinders evenly between them. These straw ropes are tightened in a progressive and methodical fashion by two /174/ men, working alternately

/[16 copy]/

on each side of the balsa (16, 12, 17) in order to make the two large side cylinders equal in weight, bulk, and compression. This is the delicate part of the manufacture, on which the stability and quality of the craft depend. The Uru use wooden hooks for this job (12). At the same time they compress the totora with a stone hammer (13), adding or removing totora as necessary; they water it from time to time to prevent it from drying. When the work is finished the middle cylinder, the heart of the balsa, completely hidden between the side cylinders, is invisible. Depending on the size, the construction of a balsa takes an average of three to six days. The life of a balsa is short; after having been wet they become heavy and rot inside; they are good for six months to one year in general.

The balsas used on the Desaguadero and on the low parts of the lake in the neighboring lagoons which are not very deep (Arapa, Umaihayo) do not have sails (21), or only a very small sail, in contrast to the balsas on the large lake which they propel by sail. The Uru steer them with the help of a boat hook ending in three teeth, which they push against the muddy bottom (24). These boat hooks are identical to those of the Guarani of upper Paraguay, who belong to the Tio-Arawak /Tio-Arawak/ linguistic group.

From the point of view of grammar, note the frequent use of the repetitive particle -ky-, indicating that the action expressed by the verb is habitual. Also note the repetitions of words or roots to reinforce the idea expressed (5-13, etc.)

The verb kêt' ky expresses the idea of carrying off, of lifting up, of raising (22-23); compare it with 4-5 of text III.

/179/

V. Nocturnal Fishing
(Account by Carlos Kope)

(See p. 162 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. All is ready; we can leave now in the balsa. 2. This balsa has a very raised prow so that the very strong waves will not submerge it. 3. We are going to erect the mast. 4. We are going to hoist the sail. 5. The wind is coming from another side; let us change (the orientation) of the sail. 6. The sail is swelling very much; the wind is strong. 7. We are going to lower the sail. 8. We are going to put a rock on the sail so that the wind does not carry it away. 9. We are going to place a piece of wood vertically. 10. We are going to hang a pot (from it). 11. We are going to spread (on the water) (a bed) of totoras to light a fire (above). 12. The fire is burning; the water is going to boil and we shall drink.

Remarks

In the first part of this text (1-6) the narrator describes the departure for fishing and the maneuvering of a balsa with a sail of the type used in certain parts of the Desaguadero with a simple mast; their raised prow permits them to withstand rather strong waves. The balsas on Lake Titicaca are larger, with a prow which is also raised, but with a double mast and a larger sail.

The second part (7-12) shows the preparations of the Uru for spending the night on the water. The balsa is halted in shallow water; the sail held by a large stone shelters the fishers from the wind. A boat hook placed in the mud is used to hang a pot above /179/ a fire of totoras, lighted on a thick bed of reeds thrown on the water.

/181 cont./

*539 [501] it will not rot. 8. This is a balsa from the big lake. 9. Its prow is raised. 10. That one is a big balsa. 11. That one is a small balsa. 12. There are no other balsas. 13. This is a house of the other people (the Aymara). 14. This is a house of unburnt bricks (adobes). 15. This is a house of the Aymara community (lit., "of the other people"). 16. What more shall I tell thee? That is all. 17. Now I want to rest, oh father.

Remarks

*539 124 This text reproduces the comments of old Manuel Inta, looking at a series of photographs of his native village, Iru-Itu, and of the region. The photographs of Iru-Itu were recognized without difficulty; those of less familiar sites provoked various reflections before being well identified (13-15).

*539 193 1. xwí, interrogative particle; kapíllá, this is the Spanish word capilla, "chapel." 4. We have not found any passive form among the Uru; to express the idea "has been seen from the back," the informant used the active voice: cèrk'- ku ţi- nís- čay, literally one he has seen; ku indicates the recent past. It must be noted that this cast of mind was spontaneous, no question having been put to him; ţ used in the text is an elision for i, "one," and has suffered a contraction with the previous vowel. 9. hoća expresses the idea of "point," being able to indicate as well as the raised prow of the balsa, a mountain summit, the nose, or the verb "to point" in the sense of being in a pointed form. 9-10-11. The narrator describes the three principal types of balsas of the Uru: with a raised, pointed prow for navigation on Titicaca (big lake); the big fishing balsas of the Desaguadero for three or four people, and the small balsas for one or two people. 13-15. tòxša, "others," or tòxša náka, /182/ "other people," the usual way to designate

*539 [501]

[101 829]

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

101 between ou and o /French sounds/; or else urito (ourito), an affectionate diminutive, or chana wawa, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of hoslé or huslé, "bastard," without father or master," or on the other hand the very respectful one of haké waka, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives uru, uro, kotá-haké ("men of the Lake"), uma-hake ("water men"), and chailua-uira ("fishermen") in Aymara; laguneros /"lake men"/ in Spanish; uru, uru-kuna ("Uru men"), cocha kuna ("men of the Lake"), kocha-la ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Chroniclers

101 175 Morua (Fr. Martin de)

...but since the peoples of Peru are many, very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the bigness of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull, as in Collao and other areas; [131] [062] because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and subsisted on the totora and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Puquinas, some of them or generally most raise livestock, and some live near the said 175 lake, intermixed with the said Uros; and these eat raw fish, [062] which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore [501] clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and [291] cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they [094] made a sort of jacket which they were accustomed to wear; [241] and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make [342] houses, but they merely subsist on plants, although there also [222] exists among them a seed similar to milo, which grows on

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Anciently, it is said, the *Uru* went entirely nude, which is quite incredible in view of the bitterly cold winters in this region. The essential male costume is like the pre-Columbian *Chipaya* uncu—a sleeveless, sacklike garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This is woven of llama yarn on a simple bar loom staked in the ground. Recently, most *Uru* males have adopted trousers of the *Aymara* style: short, with a slit at the heel, and tailored of native homespun after a Colonial pattern. The slit permits the trousers to be rolled up more easily when a man fishes from a balsa or wades in shallow water. Leather sandals are sometimes worn when traveling, but people usually go barefoot. A knit wool cap, with *Aymara*-style earflaps, is sometimes topped with a crude, *Aymara*-manufactured felt hat. A belt is sometimes worn, and occasionally a thick woolen poncho. Caps woven of bird feathers were known in ancient days.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts, girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at the top over each shoulder with a large-headed copper pin (tupu). When traveling in cold weather, the women wear woven woolen wimples over the head under the hat.

Women part their hair in the middle and wear it in two braids tied behind the back with vicuña-wool filets; only a few still wear the ancient style "Titicaca braids"—countless small braidlets all over the head. Women wash their hair in fermented human urine. *Uru* men wear their hair short in quasi-European fashion or in an all-around tropical bang.

BOATS

The *Uru* are famous balsa builders (pl. 115, *bottom*). Their craft, though actually rafts made of totora reeds, are shaped like boats and are highly navigable even in narrow, shallow swampways. The reeds are cut with knives attached to poles, then, after drying, are stacked in shocks like corn. Nearly every able-bodied *Uru* male has quantities of this material in all stages of preparation for balsas. During spare moments in their houses, they are continually braiding ichu grass into tough ropes to bind the reed bundles. The keel is formed of a long, thin, tubular bundle of reeds; and separately lashed to this keel are two thick, cigar-shaped pontoon-bundles. Each of these pontoons is built up of reeds so arranged as to be very thick in the middle of the boat and to have upturned points at each end. An acute-angled wooden tool with a groove inside one arm is used to tighten the binding. To keep out small waves, gunwales consisting of much thinner bundles of totora are lashed to the upper outside

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top*, *left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skillful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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PLATE 115.—Uru fishing and gathering totora reeds. *Top:* Man putting down a tripod fish net. *Bottom:* Towing bundles of reed with a balsa. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-C]

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Fig. 7: The rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of gondolas.

346 There
[996] were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken [231] up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony 126 path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him [396] standing motionless and followed the younger one [283] down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

824 Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered [131] from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among [501] the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the [264] stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, [203] the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

132 Fortunately in these last few years the climatic con-
137 ditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more in-
501 creased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and
396 one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long
283 braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

[2.313-A]

CYNTHIA FAIN: THE PEOPLE OF THE LAKE

Two men work simultaneously
396 tightening the braids with little wooden hooks,
[983] taking care that the two parallel cylinders have
[912] exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a third man waters the cylinders, so that the reed remains
[412] slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the
● 501 reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fisherman holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsas measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a punt-pole when circulating among the rushes. The
[961] life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or
[135] four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

126 The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and
123 then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the rancous lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the previous day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of
[1188] Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards,
[201] and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the
126 forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *čuñu* (Uru *auni*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*suļu*, *ḵauri*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likša* or *likši*, or *xawinskania* according to Palevecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *chicha* of masticated maize also; *likši* is made from a plant called *kiwi* or *kiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kenša*, of *totora*-bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*okena*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the liga-

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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396 knives on the ends of poles, then stacked in shocks like corn, after they have been dried spread out in the sun. Nearly all able-bodied Uru males have quantities of these materials in various stages toward the manufacture of the complete boats. In their houses, even, in spare moments, men are continually braiding *ičυ*-grass into tough ropes to bind the boats together.

Though shaped like a boat, the *balsa* is of course actually a raft. A handful of reeds is bound together and repeatedly thickened with more reeds as the middle of the cigar-shaped element is reached, then tapered off again into a point. The only tool used in the manufacture of this is a wooden hook [413] (*kaχlu*) with a handle at an acute angle to it, used to tighten the lashing of grass rope. A more tubular and thinner sheaf of reeds forms the keel of the *balsa*, and two of the fat cigar-shaped bundles are separately lashed to it, forming a sort of sea-sled type of hull, which cannot be overturned in a storm; the thinner ends of these cigar-shaped bundles are slightly raised fore and aft of the boat. To form gunwales, a still thinner and tubular sheaf of reeds is lashed (during its own round-and-round binding with braided grass rope) through the original lashing of the hull-elements. One of these gunwales (*pinča*) is placed on each side of the top of the hull-elements to prevent splashing of water onto the occupants of the boat as it is poled ● 501 along. The Uru *balsa* thus differs from the Aymára[34] type in that its two [191] large basic elements are lashed to a central "keel" and not to each other (though the bulwark lacings are similarly looped through the lacings of the two hull-elements); it has therefore five instead of four elements. The Uru also rig their *totora*-mat sails with a slight difference from the Aymára. [502] Sails, however, can only be used on the Lake and on the open river "before the wind" since the boat has no center-board and cannot tack. In the narrow swampways a punt pole or gaff (*teksi*) with a stubby trident at its end is [824] used to push the boat along. The wood for these comes from the *yungas* of 501 the Cordillera Real's eastern, tropical slopes. (See Posnansky, Fig. 83.) A 435 complete *balsa* cost in 1937 from ten to sixteen *bolivianos*, then worth about 5¢.

285 Of Uru textiles we have already noted twined single-element *totora balsa*-sails, twined many-element mattress-mats of reed, fish- and bird-nets (which they themselves make of cord obtained in Guaqui from La Paz), and 283 single-element twined roof mats of *totora*. Métraux has an excellent description (page 86) of the preparation by soaking, pounding, and rolling of the wiry grasses of the region (*Stipa ichu*, *Festucha orthophylla*, and *F. dis-*

[113] [34] Lorenzo R. Parodi, *Las balsas usadas por los Aymaras en el lago Titicaca* (Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. 11, Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 145–149. Métraux' description (JSAP 27: 84) is of the Aymára type.

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FIG. 1. Uru houses. *Above*, hut with corbelled sod roof; note crude plow at right side of hut and balsa poles by door. *Below*, typical round Uru house with mat roof, Aymára style rectangular house to rear; Desaguadero swamps in the background.

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(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 162 /in the foreign text/)

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knives on the ends of poles, then stacked in shocks like corn, after they have been dried spread out in the sun. Nearly all able-bodied Uru males have quantities of these materials in various stages toward the manufacture of the complete boats. In their houses, even, in spare moments, men are continually braiding *ilu*-grass into tough ropes to bind the boats together.

Though shaped like a boat, the *balsa* is of course actually a raft. A handful of reeds is bound together and repeatedly thickened with more reeds as the middle of the cigar-shaped element is reached, then tapered off again into a point. The only tool used in the manufacture of this is a wooden hook (*koyle*) with a handle at an acute angle to it, used to tighten the lashing of grass rope. A more tubular and thinner sheaf of reeds forms the keel of the *balsa*, and two of the fat cigar-shaped bundles are separately lashed to it, forming a sort of sea-sled type of hull, which cannot be overturned in a storm; the thinner ends of these cigar-shaped bundles are slightly raised fore and aft of the boat. To form gunwales, a still thinner and tubular sheaf of reeds is lashed (during its own round-and-round binding with braided grass rope) through the original lashing of the hull-elements. One of these gunwales (*pisalo*) is placed on each side of the top of the hull-elements to prevent splashing of water onto the occupants of the boat as it is poled along. The Uru *balsa* thus differs from the Aymara* type in that its two large basic elements are lashed to a central "keel" and not to each other (though the bulwark lacings are similarly looped through the lacings of the two hull-elements); it has therefore five instead of four elements. The Uru also rig their *totora*-mat sails with a slight difference from the Aymara. Sails, however, can only be used on the Lake and on the open river "before the wind" since the boat has no center-board and cannot tack. In the narrow swampways a punt pole or gaff (*takni*) with a stubby trident at its end is used to push the boat along. The wood for these comes from the *yungas* of the Cordillera Real's eastern, tropical slopes. (See Posnansky, *Fig.* 83.) A complete *balsa* cost in 1937 from ten to sixteen *bolivianos*, then worth about 5*d*.

Of Uru textiles we have already noted twined single-element *totora balsa*-sails, twined many-element mattress-mats of reed, fish- and bird-nets (which they themselves make of cord obtained in Guaqui from La Paz), and single-element twined reed mats of *totora*. Métraux has an excellent description (page 86) of the preparation by soaking, pounding, and rolling of the wiry grasses of the region (*Stipa ichu*, *Festuca orthophylla*, and *F. dis-*

* Lorenzo R. Parodi, *Los balsas usadas por los Aymaras en el lago Titicaca* (Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. 11, Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 145-149. Métraux' description (*JSAP* 27: 86) is of the Aymara type.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1966
SF24 Ure SF24

SOL
[226]

[391
134]
505]

Plate III.—Ore fishing and gathering nature roots. Top: Man poising darts a tripod fish net. Below: Towing bundles of reed with a baba. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P 582-C]

Archives--T D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 UTA Uru UTA

/171/

1. The Misery of the Uru
(Account by Manuel Inka)

(See p. 151 /in the foreign text/)

/Note. As a result of the difficulty of obtaining the typographical signs for the exact transcription of the Uru words included in the remarks, we have been obliged to transcribe a certain number of words in an approximate fashion and more or less successfully. It will therefore not be surprising that there are differences of transcription between the text, which have been reproduced by a photographic process, and the remarks. It goes without saying that only the transcription of the texts is exact./

Free Translation

1. We shall never be able to go from here; we all are too much accustomed to be here since always. 2. But our fields will give us very little. 3. This year is too dry and the potatoes are not growing. 4. The frosts have burned everything. 5. That is why we are leaving. 6. Now what shall we do? 7. In the swamp which is drying up there are no more suche (kind of fish). 8. There are no more reeds and there are no more birds' eggs. 9. All the eggs have departed into the great lake of Guaqui. 10. The fish have left for Guaqui. 11. Now will we eat now? 12. If it rains enough this year we shall live. 13. We shall all return to our village. 14. If it does not rain (enough) we shall die. 15. We eat the little potatoes which we cultivate for the people of another race (the Aymara). 16. We earn them by cultivating for them. 17. There are few fish and we have only caught one. 18. We shall sell it. 19. They have seen how small it is. 20. It is necessary to go far to fish. 21. We are accustomed to going home at night. 22. We shall return home to sell (our catch).

/171 cont./

22. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

This account, dictated by an old Uru about 90 years old, Manuel Ura, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1940 to 1948. In 1964 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Ito. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara populations. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Uru, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Uru have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Amazonized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui, on the small lake. Iri'Ya, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymaras. Note the particle Ži intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: Kéya -žiŠay, sindÍo-žay, kisisÍo -žay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ki intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending žay indicates the future. The verb kÁÍi-žay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." tumÍni, a tumin (old Spanish coin); a word unknown to the present Lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1. kostúmbre, "custom"; 2. ni-žay, ento or ent, "that"; 17. ni- ómo, "the alone," from the Spanish ese, "one."

4:Vetland--8 D.E-4.5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th Century]

/32 cont./

according to what they say. It[1] is crossed on a remarkable contrivance, peculiar to the Indies, a straw bridge placed on the water itself, which is of such light material that it does not sink, and it is a very safe and easy crossing...there grow large quantities of a type of reed that the Indians call totora, which they use for a thousand things, because it is food for pigs and for horses, and for the people themselves; and with it they make house and fire, and boat and whatever is needed; so much do the Uros find in their totora. These Uros are so brutish that they themselves do not regard themselves as men. It is said of them that when asked what people they were they replied that they were not men but Uros, as though this were another class of animals. Entire pueblos of Uros were found living on the lake, on their totora rafts, joined together and fastened to some large rock, and they may fetch themselves off from there and move a whole pueblo to another location; and thus when sought today where they were yesterday, no trace of them is to be found, or of their pueblo..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia natural y moral de las Indias /Natural and Moral History of the Indies/, 1590. Book II, Chap. VI.)

Noticia sobre los Indios Uros en un Memorial de la Epoca del Virrey Toledo /Note on the Uro Indians in a Memorial of the Epoch of the Toledo Viceroy/.

The Inca, being below Lima, sent one of his captains, called Canracapa, to those heights with many men, to survey the land and recount to him what he saw there, /33/ and while traveling through the land he came across some people whose dwellings were like those of animals, and who lived in them like brutish animals, around a large Lake, naked, and eating nothing but roots of plants that grew in the Lake, and some fish if they caught it, and when the Captain saw these people, he recounted the fact to the Inca and was sent by him to remove them from the Lake and resettle them among the

[1] [ie., Lake Titicaca outlet--Ann Axtell]

U
175 /38 cont./
the title: "Posición geográfica de los indios Urus en el Lago Poopo /Geographic Location of the Uru Indians on Lake Poopo/," III, No. 3, 50-65, 1943-44. This document was made known to us by Dr. Guillermo Francovich, at the time Rector of the University of Sucre.)

A
175 Ludovico Bertonio
197 The (words) listed here are peculiar to the Aymara of this Lupaca Province....But not on this account should one judge that this vocabulary will be of use only to the priests and other persons who reside in the Province of Chucuyto, and among the Lupaca Indians, because without any doubt wherever the Aymara language is spoken, and in the whole nation of Aymara Indians...because the Aymara nation, although spread out in many and various Provinces, is very similar in language, and manner of speech generally, and thus he who knows well this Lupaca language will without difficulty understand the Indians of other Provinces...except for a few special words, very few, as we have said.

A
[361] ...It is certain that in this Aymara nation, if we count the small ones and the large ones, there are more than 1,000
A
[1940] pueblos or slightly less. Let us see now how many are the preachers who, knowing this language well, with the necessary clarity and proficiency, teach the Gospel. I would not be far wrong if I stated that they are barely 20.../Translated from the Spanish./

(Vocabulario de la Lengua aymara.../Vocabulary of the Aymara Language/, printed in the house of the Compañia de Jesus de Juli, a pueblo in the Province of Chucuito. By Francisco del Canto, 1612; preface A1 and A2.)

W
195 Lizarraga
3
6
511 ...This province (Omasuyo) is heavily populated, and most are Puquinas; they are well favored /son recios/ with

[16th-17th Centuries]

/38 cont./

native livestock, and in addition they share in more maize and wheat than those of other parts, because of /39/ having on their left the province of Larecaja, abundant in both.... /Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción colonial /Colonial Account/. Biblioteca Argentina, XIII-XIV, Buenos Aires, 1916, I, 227.)

Constituciones sinodales del Obispado del Cuzco, expedidas el 29 de Setiembre de 1591, por el Illmo Sr. D. Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of Cuzco, issued on 29 September 1951 by the Illustrious Don Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo/.

...Because in many pueblos of this our Diocese as a rule all Indian women, or most of them and some of the Indian men, do not understand the Quechua language, but rather Aymara or Puquina, and for this reason do not know the mysteries of our Faith, and do not confess their whole life, not even at the hour of death, in order to remedy this we order that all parish priests among the Indians, in accordance with the mandate of the third Council, should hear confessions in the language peculiar to their parish, /whether/ Quechua, Aymara, or Puquina, and because this is so different in each pueblo where said language is spoken, within a year of their being appointed to said parishes, they should prepare with the help of Indians who know Spanish /ladinos/ a short Confession and Catechism wherewith to confess and instruct these persons, which they must do under penalty of 20 pesos the first time and twice as much the second, being warned that they will even be deprived of their parishes, if they are negligent in this respect..../ Translated from the Spanish./

Statement of the Bishop of Cuzco, D. Antonio de la Raya, charging the Jesuits on 12 March 1549 to give examinations to clergymen applying for Indian parishes:

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

rily to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Roca, not having sleepingbags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies.

Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *puna*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or great-coats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* [4]). This latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to retire to our respective quarters.

[4]) Yarema, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 310-A]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955

SP24 Uru SP24
Iru Itu

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126 angle. The professor was taking chest- and head-
114 measurements and making notes. We lunched,
123 giving the remains to the children, who looked so-
252 mewhat suspiciously at cold ham, tomatoes and cake,
and hid it away in their skirts. As we reached the
car, we saw a thin column of smoke, and, sure
enough, the village cooking fire was alight. Owing
[511] to the poverty of the village, they have only enough
fuel to light about one fire every day or every two
[091] days. Two girls in scarlet skirts, little cotton jackets
which had once been pink, and dusty battered bow-
ler hats, crouching on all fours, played the part of
[415] bellows. The youngest, remarkably pretty and re-
markably dirty, ran into the house and emerged drag-
114 ging a large iron pot. My thirst for ethnology was
satisted and I felt sure that Vellard had already gone
into the question of Uru cooking, and that further

[p. 314-A]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

124 rily to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

114 By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's [123] quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Roca, not having sleepingbags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies.

[354] Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *puna*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The [352] five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or great-coats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing [378] to make one from". The only combustible in use on [337] the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta*[4]). This [324] latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, [511] and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of [512] rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to retire to our respective quarters.

[4]) Yarema, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 310-A]

Carangas—
Chipaya

/394 cont./

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The few tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

/158 cont./

257 who mentions them seems to consider them as /159/ indigenous.
352 The smoke escapes through the door, but in some huts, not very
[175] many it is true, a hole in the wall facilitates ventilation.

●513 Enormous wool blankets (čusi), extremely heavy, take the place of beds. They are warm enough for one to suffice to cover
513 for the night two or three people, who roll themselves in them. At
175 the beginning of the seventeenth century these blankets were in general use on the altiplano. "The bed which the people of the Sierra and the cold lands use," Cobo tells us, "is a large blanket called a chusi, which is spread on the ground. One half serves as a mattress and the other, which they pull up from the foot end, as a
[177] blanket or sheet. All the inhabitants of one house, fathers and sons, sleep in one blanket, although now under the influence of civilization
351 they are beginning to have separate beds." The present-day Andean Indians sleep on earth benches which are altogether lacking in
[174] Chipaya. One might conclude from this that they were unknown in pre-Columbian times and that they are only a crude imitation of European beds.

In some Čipaya huts one can find a wobbly table made of
[178] old boxes. The Čipaya use them only as an altar on which to place the heads of sacrificed animals or coca that they offer their guests when they celebrate a festival at home. Outside of these occasions the tables have no use.

Several wooden pegs thrust into the wall serve as pegs for clothes. The few articles to be seen are arranged in niches contrived in the wall or on small whatnots of earth shaped like swallows' nests (Fig. 2, F /see p. 150/).

354 To illuminate the always very dark interior of their huts, the Čipaya have tallow candles or, more frequently, very primitive small lamps: bowls (čua), full of tallow in which a wick of wool
[177] burns. This apparatus, which gives them only feeble light, has the Spanish name mecha, a practically certain indication that the idea came to them from the Creoles.

/123 cont./ Aside from one chapel
[91] [883] [697] [983] [19] the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

36 [514] The Čipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Čipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the saya tuanta overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

[485] [574] In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the homes of the authorities.

347 36 The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Čipaya give them: kʷas-kʷoya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancias.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

361 Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

/174 cont./
U 302 rotten urine. This liquid, which smells horribly of ammonia, is an excellent cutter of grease, the only thing which can give some
U [514] suppleness to their greasy mop. This peculiar washing made me understand the reason why there was a receptacle in a corner of all the Čipaya huts which the master of the house used as a chamber pot and whose contents he guarded with care. When I assert that this toilette is the only one which the Čipaya women practice, I
U [515] exaggerate nothing. Throughout their lives they never wash and
U [396] their skin is covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Their clothes are equally unclean and tattered, and only during festivals do they put on a new urku or mantle. /175/ /Figure 6 appears here./

/176/ Technology

A 323 Ceramics. The pottery of the Čipaya Indians is not indigenous.
U 415 It comes to them from the Aymara who trade it (Fig. 6 /see p. 165/).
U 177 The center of this industry is situated near Parinacota in Carangas
[487] province where banks of clayey earth are found. I shall always regret not having been able to visit this locality to observe the making of ceramics on the spot. Without any doubt I should have discovered there the survival of ancient pre-Columbian techniques since the form of the vessels and jugs coming from this place is exactly that with which we are familiar from Andean archaeology. Aryballus (lūč) are still shaped there as in the times of the Inca empire, and other receptacles which reproduce ancient types char-
A 482 acteristic of this part of the altiplano (Fig. 3, E-F /see p. 155/). It is not only in the style of these ceramics that we ascertain the influence of pre-Columbian models, but in the very manner in which the aryballus is carried on the back is a continuation of old Inca traditions. By means of a rope of llama wool ingeniously interlaced, the women bear the large aryballoid jugs on the back, exactly like the Indian depicted on a Chimu vase.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 166]

/174 cont./
302 rotten urine. This liquid, which smells horribly of ammonia, is an excellent cutter of grease, the only thing which can give some
[514] suppleness to their greasy mop. This peculiar washing made me understand the reason why there was a receptacle in a corner of all the Čipaya huts which the master of the house used as a chamber pot and whose contents he guarded with care. When I assert that this toilette is the only one which the Čipaya women practice, I
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/176/ Technology

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482 It is not only in the style of these ceramics that we ascertain the influence of pre-Columbian models, but in the very manner in which the aryballus is carried on the back is a continuation of old Inca traditions. By means of a rope of llama wool ingeniously interlaced, the women bear the large aryballoid jugs on the back, exactly like the Indian depicted on a Chimu vase.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 166]

Cayagua-
Čipaya

/204 cont./

Intelligence, character, and morality

123 Every consideration of the character of a human group, no matter how small, demands closer contact with the individuals than that which I was able to maintain with the Čipaya. The impossibility which I experienced in most cases of being able to communicate directly with them especially was an obstacle to my observations. The judgment that I make of the Čipaya is hence necessarily summary and without scientific grounds. The Čipaya inspired in me more disgust and antipathy than pity. Neither by their physique nor by their disposition did they draw the affection which the ethnographer /205/ from professional bent would be prone to offer them. Their
192 features are heavy and thick, and only a few individuals, products of mixtures with their neighbors the Aymara, present the handsome profile with the curved nose characteristic of the conquering race of the Bolivian Altiplano. Their short and thick-set body is made even heavier by the thick woolen clothing with which they cover themselves. Only their slender, well-formed legs are pretty to see when crossing
● [515] a river. Their complexion would not be so dark if they would consent at least once in their lives to wash. The filth and the rags which cover them accentuate even more the wretched and miserable appearance of this group of human beings.

157 Intellectually the Čipaya are on a rather low level: they have a dull and narrow mind and visibly feel an aversion to any coherent
[536] mental effort. Without fantasy and without imagination, they have for their total literature only a few insipid and short tales, which anyway seem to be Aymara in origin. Some women are an exception to this rule and struck me by a certain vivacity in their character and intelligence. Two or three young people also appeared better endowed than the average member of the tribe.

157 The Čipaya nourishes no ambition, and the desire for any
46 worldly gain cannot draw him out of his apathy. His movements are slow and measured, his ability to remain motionless is without limits. He seems to pursue constantly an internal dream which is always the

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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chest. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymára. Walle (page 142
158) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of
their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes
striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Posnansky's
Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient Amer- [201
indian habit of painting with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are 262]
whiter and appear less carious than those of the *kañu*-consuming Aymára
(*kañu* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter
fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fisher- 515 ●
men, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymára and have no such repug-
nant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a 302
grease-cutting principle and use an Aymára-type brush-comb in caring for it. 412]
The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle 111
and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other 145]
with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the
woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in
quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the
natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymára, so that a 142
European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average
cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the
grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymára; in-
deed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned
and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general.
The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymára is in the nose:
the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the
Aymára nose is unpublishedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the
line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and
conspicuously muscled as the Aymára; this is undoubtedly due in part to
their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The
younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in
so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The [46]
Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymára, possibly because of a more 64]
varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tutatia*. No adequate 41]
osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[9] the Uru "vivían desnudos del todo," but 29]
this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the 32]

[9] In Nieva-Lassaire, *Los Lupes*, p. 183.

Zambezia--133 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 5934 Uns 5934

Plate XII

A. — Festival of Candlemas: libation to a heaven.

B. — Cipoya women feasting the *dry* after a festival.

Zoömuseo--135 E-S (1890-1891) 1890.1890 GP24 Uns GP24

Plate XIV

A. — Festival of the Comadres (February 5). Dance around a banner.

B. — Festival of the *mal'ka*: Indian beating a drum near the effigy of a demon (*mal'ka*).

C. — Cápaya Indian in prayer before the capsules containing magical substances.

D. — Cápaya Indian in his festival attire (wig, festive clogs, etc.).

J. La Barre E-0 (1937-1938) 1965
BF24 Ura BF24
Chipaya

Plate 10.—Ura and Chipaya carrying and spinning. Top: Ura woman with log on sacred hook. Below, left: Chipaya man in upright loom. Below, right: Chipaya woman spinning. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P 582-D]

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characteristic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara beliefs and rites, has been preserved in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally

Group of Chipaya Indians.—Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction domes and ruins of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on p. 219]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*pirí*) and *bolas* (*Ikuní*), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peki* (Aymará *pusiṗia*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *ṗ'oa*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusiṗia* or *peki* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *kesana*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *čuñu*, *coca*, net-thread, *kañawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*kesana* and *čawara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: They are, Titicana, Konko, Kama, Kuipa.

Carangas—
Chipaya

/394 cont./

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The few tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

172
252
415
291
[534]
[534]

PLATE 120.—Chipaya country and Chipaya Indians. *Top (left)*: Chullpa, or ancient burial tower. *Top (right)*: Woman shelling with feet. *Bottom (left)*: Dancer. *Bottom (right)*: Playing a game. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-H]

/377 cont./

*796 231 236 535 Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

*796 782 857 At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Čipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public [785] prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand [262] were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

● 527 Carnival Festival.

*[796 813] Carnival for the Čipaya Indian is the festival par excellence beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /379/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead [578] drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other saya are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only leaven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its sottishness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extoled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Čipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, [839] and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Čipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text Continues on P. 110]

2:Métraux--109 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

/378 cont./

297
529

[825]

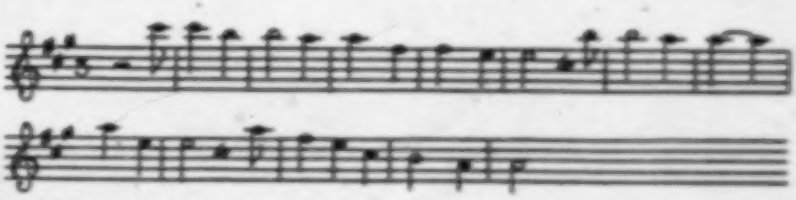
Fig. 36. — A. Čipaya Indian in festival clothes. Notice the crown of flamingo eggs on the head. B. Čipaya Indian equipped to participate in the Carnival dances. On his back a wild duck secured by means of a festive sling and the straw bola perdida.

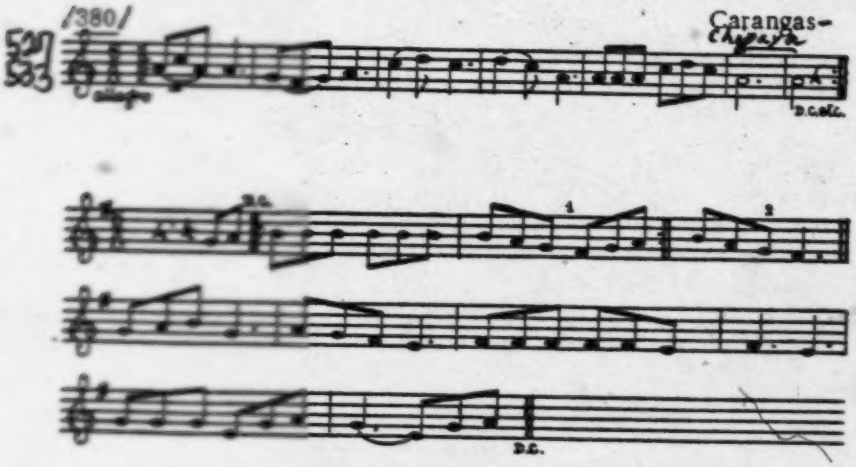
[824]
[482]

/379 cont./

529 291 301 As I said above religious or magical rites have only an insignificant place in this festival: the important survivals of paganism are displayed in the trappings of the participants (Pl. XIV, D /see p. 135/). The majority had put on around their bodies festive slings, whose fringes fashioned a motley costume for them. Some had encircled their heads with a kind of artificial hair made from horse hair (Pl. XVI, C /see p. 137/) or with crowns of flamingo feathers. The most original headdresses which I noticed were a few crowns made of flamingo eggs threaded together (Fig. 36, A /see p. 109/). A large part of the young people had water birds on their [273] backs, attached by the straw bola which had killed them (Fig. 36, B). The alferez's and alferezas had loaded on their backs the [554] sheaves of straw behind which they had presided at the festivals of the various mal'ku and samiri. The latter were decorated with garlands of fruit, cheeses, and bread. Those who had not had the honor of being alferez were no less decorated with ornaments symbolizing prosperity and abundance.

529 533 Tunes of the Carnival Dances





Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week. At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

527 /380 cont./ They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and
[578] exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations
833 to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.
[711]

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and
[708] were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

527 The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Čunkirini-
782 mal'ku, is common to the two saya, was recited in the course of
907 this sacrifice:
539

Turi-mal'ku,	Čawk	mal'ku,	Santa Ana,	mal'ku	tuanta,
Tower-demon,	great	demon,	Saint Anne,	demon	east,

taxatištan,	maitiñi,	roktiñi	hasiki
west of	he who obtains,	who prays,	in this moment,

suma,	waino,	tiempo	šmaitišimal'a,	wale,	wale,
good	young	weather	hearken to me,	good,	good,

suma	wata	šmaitišiña	t apa	serwintišta.
good	year	grant us	all	servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuanta and Taxata saya, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

527 The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol.
[782] Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred sticks. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

/381 cont./

[527] [621] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

342 [476] Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Čipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment [287] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him [313] [324] enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother * [1018] to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[782] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

342 * 1018 [1012] Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Chipaya

paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The malku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own malku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant. The cult of the malku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "sevarina," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the malku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candles are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

601 female baby, little girl = ul-tukus-wawa, kus wawa, tukus-wawa lu; young girl = pas-pak-ul; young woman = us.

535 *Marriage.* Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is
591 patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male
163 than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymara women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent,
882 and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Pomansky.

621 *Political Organization.* If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymara and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymara *kilacata*, commonly called *alcalde* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde*!) is called in Uru *kapali ne sawatsilki* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of
692 office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *kusk kapali* ("big kapali").
701 Squabbles with Aymara neighbors are led by the *kilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[*] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchka* (*kuña*) or *ch'a-paikka* (*kirkir'a*), and the *chiju-chiju*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "quelquepus" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimula," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *mimula* (<Cecha, Aymara "blood"?). The *panip'ia* and *pusa* flutes are played at the dance of *Tawrila* on the date of Espiritu, the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "mimilla," a "pupu" or plumed hat, the "pacsiu" or "pacsilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kusu* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimula" and "tawrila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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* Bertonio, Vocabulario I, pp. 64 and 181. Other information, Pomansky *op. cit.*, p. 163.

/87 cont./
291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[774] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of
black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders
with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B
/see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching
the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
291 tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste
of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls
are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this
region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the
simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 29/).

286 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro
women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 22/) present
any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is,
unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans,
[619] a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, Kenko,
Kama, and Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities:
[810] anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai
and xanača. These may be translated by their Aymara equiva-
622 lent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as
the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is
derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoxatarčiri:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čapi čapiri)
who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I
could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of
paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

A. Male Uru Indian dressed in [illegible] costume.

B. Uru woman.

C. Little Uru girl.

D. Uru cholita.

[End Plate V]

[See reverse on next page.]

Smithsonian--13th C-S (1930-1931) 1930, 1938 9734 Uru 9734

Cayapa-
Chimpu

Plate XVII

A. – Bowl used for making libations of chicha. The animals modeled at the bottom are a llama and its young.

B. – Small earthen llama worshiped during certain festivals.

C. – Bag with red and yellow motifs (b&b).

D. – Wooden mug used during certain religious ceremonies to offer up libations.

E. – Woven bag (b&b).

Caranga:—
Čipaya

/168 cont./

In hunting water birds the Čipaya use a straw rope ending with a knot the size of a fist (Fig. 4. C /see p. 157/). This weapon corresponds exactly to the bola perdida of the ancient Patagonians, with the difference that among the latter the terminal ball was of stone. Aside from this the principle of these two weapons is the same. This is the first time that the bola perdida has been found elsewhere than at the southern end of South America. Its presence among the Čipaya is one more argument in favor of the archaic character of this culture trait.

The Uro Indians of the Desaguadero hunt the water birds which swarm in the totorales with bolas, two weights of which are wooden, and the third a small pyriform stone. The rope of this projectile is rolled up in very tough black thread. If the weapon does not reach its goal it floats on the water, and the Indians have only to pick it up with their balsas. /169/ /Figure 4 appears here./

/170/ Clothing

Men's wear. The essential piece of men's wear is a square shirt (ira) made of thick, stiff woolen cloth. It is a kind of sack with openings for the head and arms (Fig. 5. G /see p. 163/). As a result of its width the upper part of this shirt falls on the shoulders practically down to the elbow. The ira was formerly the only garment of the Čipaya, as it still is for young boys up to the age of ten. At a doubtlessly recent date, the Čipaya adopted the pants that they wear under their tunic. By making the latter bunch at the waist on a cord which takes the place of a belt for them, they have transformed it into a blouse, while keeping its original length which was enough to cover them down to mid-leg. The ira is the best product of Čipaya textile art. The decoration of this article of clothing invariably consists of a blue border and small brown and white strips separated by black lines. None of these dyes is aniline.

[Text continues on P. 158]

Carangas — Chipaya

/171 cont./

29 17

this we call it manta, although the name the Indians give it is yacolla." /Cited in Spanish./

In the Museum of Ethnography in Göteborg there is a magnificent piece of fabric from the coast of Peru which presents the same characteristics as the modern Čipaya cloaks and which was certainly used in the same way. The Čipaya ponchos are very short and display no [531] peculiarities. Their only decoration is the strips of colors.

29 17

The men's outfit is completed by a knitted wool helmet with two flaps which cover the ears (Fig. 5, C /see p. 163/). This is the famous Aymara chullo. The famous felt hats (skara) worn by both sexes in the entire Andean region has become more and more widespread in Chipaya as well as the pants. They have not yet succeeded in destroying the picturesque archaism of the area. The [286] material for the pants is made in the village of Chipaya on a treadle loom of the European type.

293

Bags (kăls) are a part of Čipaya clothing because they are never separated from it. These bags, which are worn thrust through the belt, are of various kinds. There are small ones with vivid [531] colors and geometric ornamentation, others which are simpler with black lines on a grey background, and finally large ones covered with a kind of velvet, i.e., with tufts of fine wool slipped into the weave (Fig. 4, B /see p. 157/). The last are the most expensive. I also bought in Chipaya small leather pouches /172/ made of the skin of a young llama's neck pulled off without a side incision and with the fur (Fig. 4, I).

291

Women's dress. The costume of the women has remained as it was several centuries ago, and it is the main factor which contributes to giving Chipaya its so clearly pre-Columbian look. Here also the general law which will have it that women, as soon as we abandon our urban centers, remain attached to tradition and to old ways more faithfully than men is verified.

/172 cont./

291 Next to the skin the women wear a square shirt (almil'a), which is identical in form to the masculine shirt (ira), although narrower (Fig. 5, B /see p. 163/). It is wide enough to make the shoulder line fall on the arm. Blue sleeves are sewn to the shirt. This accessory is modern as is proved by the name mankasa (from the Spanish: manga, sleeve) by which the Indians call it.

The Čipaya women wrap their bodies in a large piece of cloth (urku) which they pass under the arms and the ends of which, lifted to the shoulders, are held together with a cactus spine or a silver pin (kits, pāz-kits). This tunic is held at the waist by a large belt invariably decorated with brown and black chevrons (Pl. III, C /see p. 212/). Most of the women sew the lower part of this garment from the waist down on the side so as to make a skirt. This [177] [947] innovation, post-Columbian in origin, dates from the beginning of the Conquest and was imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities to safeguard the decency of their flock.

The urku is made of material woven with great care, brown or black in color and ribbed. It is always adorned above and below with a beige strip with white stripes. A specimen at the Museum of Ethnography at the University of Tucumán measures 1.58 meters by 1.36 meters. Over this tunic is thrown a long brown or black mantle (talu) which falls down the back to the knees and which is pinned at the breast. This garment is still worn by all the women of [191] the Andean region (lliclla), but whereas the Aymara and Quichua [53] Indians like to make it with varied motifs and bright colors alternating, the Čipaya are satisfied to decorate it with a white strip crossed with fine dark stripes (Pl. I, A, B, C /see p. 210/). The mantle of the Čipaya women is, in addition, much longer than that of the other [171] Indian women of the altiplano. It is only on the banks of the Titicaca that I met some women whose lliclla were as long as in Chipaya. These Indian women no doubt came from some distant village in the interior.

/172 cont./

291 To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Čipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here/ /174/ a folded cloth (unkuña) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric [53] identical to the mantle; like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip.

Style of Wearing the Hair

302 The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (skuru) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each 301 other by small strings. On these strings are hung small bronze pendants (laurake), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/).

The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kits, pāz-kits, kxoła), the round, flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 163/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass [71] beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two culture traits which are completely typical of Andean culture.

302 The women know no other toilette other than the care given their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity [42] [24] [39] of redoing their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few friends who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kˣara) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig bristles (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

Caranga s -
Chipaya

/173/

301

/See captions on next page./

Carangas—
Chipaya

/173 cont./

Fig. 5. – Čipaya material culture. Clothing and accessories.

A: Diadem spangled with glass beads.
B: Woman's shirt of white wool (almil'a).
C: Cap of knitted wool (čpl'u).
D: Pin (pič-kits) which the Čipaya women stick in their hair.
E: Hairbrush (k^{w}ara or čaxraña) of roots.
F: Hairbrush of pig bristle.
G: Man's tunic (ira).

/178 cont./

1. Rosen (Eric von), Archaeological researches on the frontier of Argentina and Bolivia in 1901-1902. Stockholm, 1904, Pl. III, Fig. 1.

Like the latter, it is a rather crude imitation of old Spanish models. h Chipaya it was always a man who used this loom, while those of he native type were strictly reserved for the women. The designs f the cloth produced on these treadle looms very much recall those f our mills: those with stripes, chevrons, and squares and of a dark olor oscillating between grey, black, or brown. These materials re only used for cut garments, or European in origin, such as pants nd jackets.

/179/ The textile art of the Čipaya is fairly poor, inferior even to that of the Uro of Ancoaqui. We have already seen that the ornamentation of the different pieces of their national costume is limited to white borders or stripes of two or three colors. Most of their coca bags are hardly more varied in their decoration with the exception of a few rather small ones in bright colors which are a faithful imitation of the coca sacks which are widespread among the Aymara. The few rare Čipaya fabrics which have designs are themselves also nothing but bad copies of current Aymara models. The lack of initiative and experience of the Čipaya women is so great in this respect that they will hardly weave pieces of material with such a decoration however uncomplicated unless the latter have been begun in a neighboring Aymara village. They continue them exactly as a little girl who has been made a part of the work. These lessons in weaving given to the Čipaya women by their neighbors of a different race is a peculiar example of the way in which cultural exchanges between tribes can come about. I must add that the fabrics, the weaving of which the Aymara entrust to the Čipaya women do not remain the property of the latter, who work on them only as laborers and badly paid ones at that.

/198 cont./

Fig. 12.—Fragment of pre-Spanish belt found in a chullpa near Iscara (Carangas Province).

pendants depicting a female personnage, or laurake, found in Tiahuanaco bring us proof /199/ that in remote ages of the Aymara civilization women already had their hair parted into an infinite number of small braids. This hair style was also that of the pre-Spanish populations in the Atacama Desert: Boman has in fact published the skull of a woman from Calama, which he describes in these terms: "The black, stiff hair is divided on top of the head and forms numerous plaits on each side, the ends of which /Figure 14 appears here/ are tied with a woolen string. In each of these knots a strong cactus spine has been placed which serves as a hairpin. Certain Indians of the Bolivian Altiplano still arrange their hair in several plaits on each side, in the same manner as the ancient inhabitants of Calama." The women of the Ankcoccahua (Espinar Province) clan in Peru have kept up to recent years the custom "of dressing the hair in the back and of dividing the hair into a group of small, thin plaits joined together by strings of cotton or woolen thread which end in fringes, which gives them the appearance of a thick material. /200/ This hair style is called sakcapa, without doubt

Fig. 13.—Detail of a belt worn by Chipaya women.

/200 cont./

*171 301 it was indispensable to the Quichua women to hold back their flowing hair.

*171 301 531 /201/ The spangling was a method of ornamentation which must formerly have been widely diffused on the altiplano, as the following passage from Cobo bears witness (1): "The cloth that they

1. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, p. 206.

embroidered with Chaquira was held to be the most precious of all. This Chaquira were very fine little beads of gold and silver, and it was a wondrous thing to see how it was made; for the whole piece was decorated with these little beads, without the thread showing, in the manner of a very close netting." /Cited in Spanish./ Archaeology amply confirms the assertion of the chronicler.

*171 412 The distribution of the root brush has been made by Nordenskiöld (2).

[113]

2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), "Analyse ethno-géographique de la culture matérielle de deux tribus du Gran Chaco /Ethno-geographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Tribes of the Gran Chaco/," Études d'ethnographie comparée, I, Paris, 1929, pp. 144-148.

This is one of the numerous South American culture traits which have equivalents in the north of this continent. "I have," he said, "hairbrushes from the Mataco, the Choroti, the Ashluslay, and the Tapiete in my collection. These objects are also known among the Araukans /the Araucanians/, the Patagons /Patagonians/, the Peguenche /Pehuenche/, and the Yaghans /Yahgan/. Lehmann-

/202 cont./

191
415
[113]

and Doering (Heinrich).
Kunstgeschichte des alten Peru
/Art History of Old Peru/.
Berlin, 1924, Pls. 99-101.

[53] perpendicular rims, whose external circumference is often decorated with carving in relief. The shape and the stone in which they were often carved (serpentine) seems to exclude the possibility that they could have been used to grind any substance therein. In dimension and appearance they greatly recall the small vessels, also of stone, /203/ in which the Čipaya women husk quinua by treading on it. I am inclined to think that this was also the way in which these so-called circular mortars were also used.

*117
38 Weaving. The Čipaya method which consists of attaching
● [53] the loom to the belt instead of fastening it to two stakes as is customary elsewhere on the altiplano is also a survival of pre-Columbian times (1). On a lecythus of Trujillo, often reproduced,

[113]

1. This custom is not, however, general. Ronald L. Olson, "Old Empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, p. 11, publishes the photograph of a woman of Marcamachay whose loom is fastened to the waist, and he informs us that the weavers of the equatorial altiplano still follow the same method.

where one sees some women in the act of weaving, one notices that they have their loom attached to the waist, passed around the body by means of a band covered with geometric designs (2). This

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus totora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (*ojotas*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with variolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord V to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Juaja de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

Tibetan Communities J-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

to individual families by the head of each moiety. The altitude and the high salinity make the land infertile, and crops are meagre. Sowing is done with a spade or sometimes a pointed stick, pushed into the earth with a strong thrust, forming a dry hole in which the seed is planted.

The people of the Andes have been master weavers for long over a thousand years. Modern Chipaya women carry on the art on looms like the ones their ancestors used, weaving the cloth for the family clothes from hand-spun llama wool. The women dress almost exactly as their ancestors did when the Spanish arrived. The basic garment is a rectangular skirt, woven in one piece with an opening left for the head. The blue sleeves that are sewn on are a modern addition. A black or gray tunic (*arkia*) with a decorative border is worn over this, covering the whole body from the shoulders to the ankles. This ancient style has been slightly altered under ecclesiastical influence; now most of the women sew up the sides to form a sort of shift. The *unkh* is woven with black and white geometric designs. An ample mantle completes the costume. Long pins with large flattened heads are used to secure the mantle, and as ornaments in the hair. When the sun is strong, they protect themselves with an *anku*ña, a folded cloth worn on the head, exactly like the ones shown on Inca pottery.

Perhaps the most striking pre-Columbian survival is the famous "Tiwanca coiffeur" still worn by many of the

[P 21-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

sifiova) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *bolas*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *tawara*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*pawaa*) llama-wool (*pawá*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*wa'*[*i*]) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the heald-rod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymára. The women's wide girdles or *lazi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gorros* of the Aymára type (Uru *Ikara*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.* The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymára at Guaqui, Tiahuanacu and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "sugas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Uru *bolas* (Aymará *liwi*, Uru *k'oki*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

* Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the altiplano whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lacaxmata on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *anivo* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.

/345 cont./

koktaña	suma	ora	resibirasta.	Lo mismo.	arapoña.	
I give thee	good	hour	receive.	Likewise.	sky.	

pobri	wakïa	wawmar	aka	wakïa.	Tatai.	ustai
poor	orphans	children	these	orphans.	Father.	hear me

laiku	suma	tiempo	apanitai.	San Xenonimo.	
for them	good	weather	send me.	Saint Jerome.	

"Lord of the sky, send me good weather, good weather, master of the sky (send good weather) for all thy children. Likewise, /346/ Virgin-earth, thou who feedest me, thou wilt receive (these offerings) from all thy children, from all the world. (In the name of) all the world, of thy children, I give thee these heads of livestock, receive them under good protection. Lilprubu, o sky, we, poor orphans, are thy sons. Father, hear me on behalf of these orphans, send me good weather, Saint Jerome."

I succeeded in joining a group of Indians who were heading east of the village, going along the line of oratories and chapels of which I have spoken. The women had flowers stuck in their plaits, and one of them was carrying a box which contained a papier-mâché effigy of Saint James on his horse. All, men and women, were holding a long stick topped with a cross surrounded with wool threads of different colors in their hands, and some also had brought their kamau-para, or sacred stick. They proceeded at a rapid pace to the sound of a drum which an old Indian was playing incessantly; I shall refer to him by the name Officiant from [illegible] he was actually the wife [illegible] other sons.

In front of each of the altars which marked the plain in a straight line, the little band made a halt and kneeled down to recite a prayer in chorus. Then all went around the oratory several times on their knees with the exception of the Officiant, who remained in his place, beating frantically on his drum and loudly intoning a monotone Aymara song. Before setting out again, at a given

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Campagno-
Chapayo

/Old com./

[illegible] amounts of quinoa, cañaro, chuño, and sugar with pendants, many of which were perforated and tied together with a string (Pl. XVI, F /see p. 137/). A scale of values seems to exist, as many pendants giving the right to acquire a certain quantity of a given product. Small clay llamas may also be bought; they have a magical action on the prosperity of the flocks.

[illegible] The Festival of the Enowan, Kompenan, and Cumbran mal'ko (February 8, 12, and 14).

To give an account in detail of the ceremonies performed in honor of the mal'ko would be equivalent to repeating the description of the festival of the uanun. The ritual practices observed, their order, and the attitude of the spectators are exactly the same as those which I have described in detail above. The only difference is that instead of being directed to the uanun, libations and sacrifices are intended for the sacred caves of earth. However, I was able to note several variants which I think are worth mentioning.

The festival of the Enowan-mal'ko (Pl. XIII, B-D /see p. 134/) had some preliminaries which were absent from the worship of the other mal'ko. The alferez of this festival had a sheep killed the day before in the court in front of the church. Two hours later a superb white ram was slaughtered at his command before the wall of his hut. He had summoned Asaciras Ideilo for this sacrifice.

In Conformance with the ritual a sacred stick was planted to the east in front of the sheep, whose steaming blood was mixed with flour in a bowl, poured out at the four cardinal points, offered to the demons, and finally sprinkled on the inner wall of the alferez' hut. These sprinklings finished with a libation of alcohol of which the demons were again the beneficiaries.

[illegible] The Officiant was then invited to help with the preparations for the festival, and he spent a good part of the evening making little bags of offerings and chasing from his zoo which black and white meat had been harvested, a llama, a sheep, and a pig, to [illegible]

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Carangas—
Chipaya

"Doctora Kusi'sawa, wife of the dotora, in this moment I have come to acquit myself with these three animals, on this day, the day of thy anniversary. I have come with the whole assembly to acquit ourselves on behalf of our herds and (our) health."

In conclusion I shall reproduce the prayer which is addressed to Tatasa Tajama and to the Lauca River when a specimen of each of the three kinds of animals which comprise the herds of the Chipaya is sacrificed to the latter:

Tatasa-tajiña	awisiri	cuchiña'a	Maria	L'auka	ti
Sacred Tajama	shepherd	cause feed	Mary	Lauca	these

kay	pusi'a	cuchiña	ñawal'a	para	simpre
three	heads of livestock	cause feed	grass	for	always

cuchiña.
cause feed.

"Sacred Tajama (then) the shepherd, make us able to feed, Mary Lauca, (grant us) to feed these three kinds of animals, (give us grass) to feed them."

Religious Practices at Sheep-shearing Time.

In the beginning of February the Indians of the saya tasata went away to shear their sheep. They came back from their "water heaven" with huge packs of llama and sheep wool which they piled up in their huts. This return was the occasion for a festival which chiefly consisted of offerings libations of alcohol over the piles of wool and of offering coca and alcohol to the small earthen llamas (Pl. XVII, 2 *bis* p. 138) lined up inside the hut on a table. A few llamas had been led to the village, and the Indians came from time to time to drop some coca leaves and drops of alcohol on their backs, while imploring the demons and saints to increase these animals, to protect them, and to make the grass on which they feed grow.

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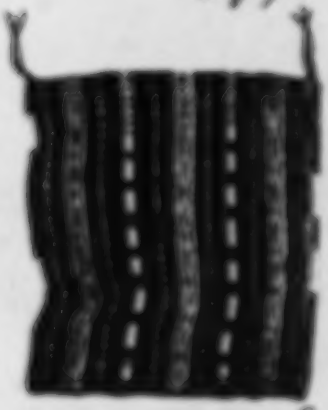
Plate XVII

A



C

D

B

E

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Carangas-
Calipuyo

Plate XVII

A. – Bowl used for mating libations of chicha. The animals modeled at the bottom are a llama and its young.
B. – Small earthen llama venerated during certain festivals.
C. – Bag with red and yellow motifs (kkk).
D. – Wooden mug used during certain religious ceremonies to offer up libations.
E. – Woven bag (kkk).

Cayapa
Cayapa

[Ill. cont.]

they wear it over the shoulders, and pinning the ends over the breast fasten them with a pin. These are their mantles, or cloaklets, which reach down to mid-leg, and they remove them to work and while they are at home." ..... "They encircle it (the head) with a ribbon the width of a finger, more or less, painted and odd, which they call Vincha, which hangs down the forehead. As a headdress they wear a piece of rich Cumbi called Pompacona, and they do not wear it stretched out but folded down a few times, so that it gets to be half a varia in width; they put one end over the forehead, and giving a turn over the middle of the head, leaving the two uncovered on the sides, the other end falls down the upper back." [Cloud is Spanish.] (1)

1. On the clothing of the women of the Yunca during the Inca period, cf. Means, Dress and ornament, pp. 228-236.

An oyhuiña from the Berlin Museum (V.A. 7836) is decorated at the base of the neck with a series of paintings depicting slightly stylized women. One could imagine oneself in the presence of the silhouette of a group of Cayapa women: without difficulty one distinguishes the mantle held at the waist by a large belt, the mantle falling on the back, and the folded napkin on the head in the style of a Neapolitan veil. This veil is also seen in the rather naive drawings of Huaman Poma de Ayala (1) and in some portraits of Inca

1. In Means, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 85, p. 178; Fig. 97, p. 194; Fig. 98, p. 195.

princesses, wives of conquistadors, who are depicted on a fresco in the church of the Jesuits in Cuzco, if I am not mistaken. The fold [illegible] which is never absent from the head of Quichua or Aymara

Chipaya

Plan con /

[illegible] of the origantine division of the hair on the skull (1)."

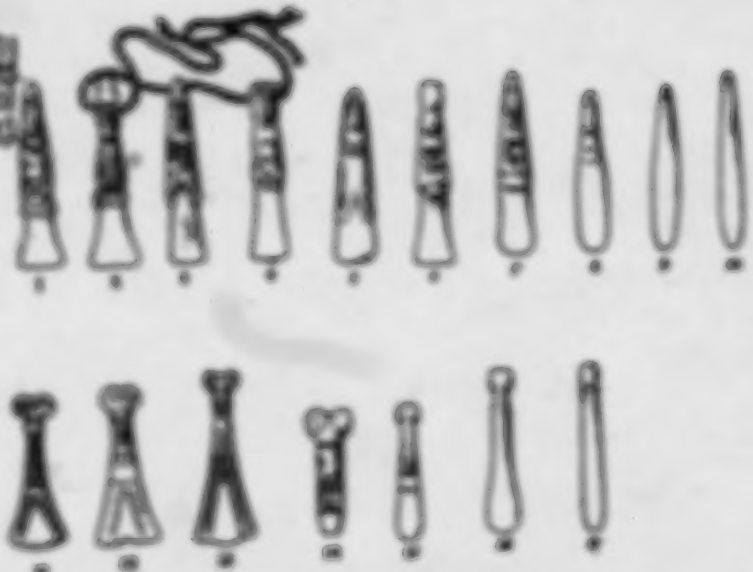

Fig. 14. — Evolution of the [illegible] from the original, entirely anthropomorphic prototype up to the modern, stylized forms. Each row represents a particular evolution. The [illegible] Nos. 8 to 10 and 13 to 17 are modern and come from Chipaya; the others were found in the excavations made in Tiahuanaco.

[illegible]

1. Alvarez (Angélica). "Autoconcalva." Revista Universitaria. Cuzco. 13th year. No. 47. 1935, p. 16.

Pendants (identical to the Chipaya [illegible]) have been found [illegible] on the shores of Lake Titicaca in the Tiahuanaco [illegible] a small pendant depicting a female [illegible]

Cayapas-
Čipaya

/200 cont./

region. Most of the specimens coming from here are rather similar to those of the Čipaya but more perfect in their workmanship. The features and the costume of the female figure are more easily distinguishable, and one can even observe that the hair style is made up of small plaits. These strange figurines have long been an enigma to the archaeologists: their use was revealed the day the Čipaya were discovered. Taking as a point of departure two slightly different types of old laurake, I have endeavored to indicate their morphological evolution and progressive degeneration (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/). Among the Čipaya the latter has been extended so far that in some cases small, simple metal plaques have been substituted for real laurake.

The Čipaya are the only Indians of the altiplano who have kept this archaic ornament. As they do not practice metallurgy I thought at first that the laurake worn by their wives were not only very old pieces but dated from pre-Columbian times. To verify this hypothesis I had a qualitative analysis made of two of these pendants and some examples coming from Tiahuanaco. The archaeological laurake are of copper alloyed with tin; one of the Čipaya specimens contains zinc as well. This composition is a certain indication of its post-Columbian origin. Unless we assume that the Čipaya formerly practiced metallurgy, which is highly improbable considering their habitat and way of life, we are forced to admit that they received these ornaments from the Aymara. But, as the use of these figurines must have disappeared very early among the latter Indians since no chronicler, not even Cobo, makes illusion to them, the Čipaya examples which were cast during the post-Columbian epoque must be very old nonetheless and have been passed down in the same family for many centuries.

The headband for the forehead, one last specimen of which I was able to obtain, was itself also an integral part of the ancient pre-Columbian costume. Among the Čipaya its wearing must have been reserved for festival days, for the manner in which the Čipaya women dress their hair renders this ornament useless; in contrast,

/202 cont./

*171 412 Tools. I found near the Corque chullpas a stone hammer exactly like that which the Čipaya use to crush straw for making rope. The Uro of Ancoaqui use for the same purpose a stone hammer *171 114 412 which they fasten to a handle with raw leather. This instrument has a North American look, which struck Professor Nordenskiöld; he considered it a new culture trait which should be added to the list of those which were common to these two parts of the New World. In this respect I do not share my teacher's opinion: I consider the handle of the Uro hammers a recent innovation introduced under the influence of the European hammer. My opinion is based on a very interesting passage from Cobo (2), who relates that the Aymara

2. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. I, p. 251.

Indians employed by the Spanish in the quarries proved entirely incapable of using a hammer with a handle and preferred to return to the simple, round stones which they held in the palm of the hand. It is thus unlikely that the Uro, with a civilization so close to that of the Aymara, would have diverged on this point. In addition, if this culture trait had been really old, I would certainly have found one or two specimens among the Čipaya, who have remained much more primitive than their racial brothers, the Uro of the Desaguadero.

*171 415 [533] [113] The ethnography of the Čipaya perhaps explains the original function of the "circular mortars," so many specimens of which have been found in the Peruvian Sierra (3). These are stone basins with

3. On the distribution of these basins cf. Rivet (Paul) and Verneau (René), Ethnographie ancienne de l'Équateur /Ancient ethnography of the Equator/, Paris, 1912, p. 185, Pl. 9, Nos. 1, 2, 4, and Lehman (Walter)

/202 cont./

191
415
[113]

and Doering (Heinrich).
Kunstgeschichte des alten Peru
/Art History of Old Peru/.
Berlin, 1924. Pls. 99-101.

[534] perpendicular rims, whose external circumference is often decorated with carving in relief. The shape and the stone in which they were often carved (serpentine) seems to exclude the possibility that they could have been used to grind any substance therein. In dimension and appearance they greatly recall the small vessels, also of stone, /203/ in which the Čipaya women husk quinua by treading on it. I am inclined to think that this was also the way in which these so-called circular mortars were also used.

*171
286
[531]
[113]

Weaving. The Čipaya method which consists of attaching the loom to the belt instead of fastening it to two stakes as is customary elsewhere on the altiplano is also a survival of pre-Columbian times (1). On a lecythus of Trujillo, often reproduced,

1. This custom is not, however, general. Ronald L. Olson, "Old Empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, p. 11, publishes the photograph of a woman of Marcamachay whose loom is fastened to the waist, and he informs us that the weavers of the equatorial altiplano still follow the same method.

where one sees some women in the act of weaving, one notices that they have their loom attached to the waist, passed around the body by means of a band covered with geometric designs (2). This

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by *Métraux* (1935 c, pp. 385–415) deal with the misfortunes of *Fox*, the trickster, who is fooled by *Condor* and *Duck*. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of *Coniraya*, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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Bertonio, 1879 b; Brinton, 1890; Chamberlain, 1910; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1923–27; Ehrenreich, 1905; Forbes, 1870; La Barre, 1941; La Grasserie, 1894; Latcham, 1910; Métraux, 1934 c, 1935 b, 1935 c, 1936 a, 1936 b, 1936 c; Ore, 1607; Polo, 1901; Posnansky, 1934; Rivet, 1925–27; Ubia, 1898; Vásquez de Espinosa, 1942.

Carangas-
Chipaya

/326 cont./

mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even Kečua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last detail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious term.

Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence. The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century. They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence. On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Aymara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

/345 cont./

kuntaña	suma	ora	resibitanta.	Lo mismo,	araxpača,	
I give thee	good	hour	receive.	Likewise,	sky,	
pobri	wakča	wawmat	aka	wakča,	Tatai,	istitai
poor	orphans	children	these	orphans,	Father,	hear me
kiku	suma	tiempo	apanital'a.	San Xeronimo.		
for them	good	weather	send me.	Saint Jerome.		

"Lord of the sky, send me good weather, good weather, master of the sky (send good weather) for all thy children. Likewise, /346/ Virgin-earth, thou who feedest me, thou wilt receive (these offerings) from all they children, from all the world. (In the name of) all the world, of they children, I give thee these heads of livestock, receive them under good protection. Likewise, o sky, we, poor orphans, are thy sons. Father, hear me on behalf of these orphans, send me good weather, Saint Jerome."

I succeeded in joining a group of Indians who were heading east of the village, going along the line of oratories and chapels of which I have spoken. The women had flowers stuck in their braids, and one of them was carrying a box which contained a papier-mâché effigy of Saint James on his horse. All, men and women, were holding a long stick topped with a cross surrounded with wool threads of different colors in their hands, and some also had brought their kaman-para, or sacred stick. They proceeded at a rapid pace to the sound of a drum which an old Indian was playing incessantly; I shall refer to him by the name Officiant from here on. It was actually he who carried out the chief rites.

In front of each of the altars which marked the plain in a straight line, the little band made a halt and kneeled down to recite a prayer in chorus. Then all went around the oratory several times on their knees with the exception of the Officiant, who remained in his place, beating frantically on his drum and loudly intoning a monotone Aymara song. Before setting out again, at a given

/358 cont./

*798 *796 [494] Several women came to add new tufts of red wool to the samiri, so much that the stones finally were no longer visible. At the same time the rest of the assembly drank, chewed coca, and exchanged the usual civilities.

Then several handfuls of khoa were lighted; they burned on the place of sacrifice all day.

[252] While these ceremonies were under way, several men and young girls were busying themselves at the side with the cooking. The victims were cut up, their bones crushed with a stone, and the entrails boiled in large receptacles of tin. Once cooked pieces [244] were carried to the assembled people in large clay dishes and distributed through the efforts of the Officiant, who first of all threw a few slices destined for the spirits and demons to the four cardinal points as if to mark the formula then uttered:

[539]

hal'pa	tija	mal'ku	resevita
pieces	these	demons	receive

"Demons, receive these pieces."

[242] This preliminary meal ended all began to drink and chew [533] coca again. From time to time the Officiant took one of the horns placed in front of the sheaves and drew muffled and distant sounds from it. He or some other qualified person recited rapid prayers *798 *796 without interruption, in which the names of the saints and of the 539 mal'ku were closely bound together. Here is one of them:

Haĉa-pakˣal'a-samiri		samanta
Samiri of the large livestock (llamas)		thou wilt stay
kulumay(u)-samiri	/359/ samanta	ˣital'a-samiri
samiri of the pigs	thou wilt rest	samiri of the sheep
samanta	hani-hewtiri	patakwaranka
thou wilt rest	in order not to die	hundred thousand (years?)

/360 cont./

to those who are near, to those who are far away, health to all, to those who are there, health, luck to the herds and flocks, demon, female demon, health, fortune, brrr."

Others contented themselves with enumerating in a loud voice the various types of vegetation that grow in Chipaya and assure the life of the flocks and, indirectly, that of the Čipaya: "Lurumpa-parwai'a, koiča-parwai'a, lumča-parwai'a, čunka-parwai'a, skawri-parwai'a, kapara-parwai'a, ulu-parwai'a, awa-parwai'a, waila-parwai'a, tola-parwai'a, wiču-parwai'a, kora-parwai'a, i'apa-parwai'a, kaču-parwai'a."

These recitations were interrupted by imitations of the noise of the wind which various people did by making their lips vibrate rapidly. From time to time some Indian would detach himself from the group to go offer a libation to the samiri or to offer them coca.

Toward the middle of the afternoon some women took out some boxes of quinua from their shawls, took them in their arms and went with them to kneel down facing the east and to pray for a rather long time. When they had finished they offered their boxes to the alferez and his wife, who thanked them and tied the stalks of quinua to the sheaves of straw.

This rite, the magico-religious significance of which is obvious, was followed by another, the character of which is no less apparent. The alferez wife, taking a handful of maize kernels in her mantle, showered them on the assembly, crying out: "They will sprout well, luck, luck," or: "weli, bindiiuna, hača paiča'a, bindiiuna, kulumayo, bindiiuna, čiwi'a." — "Offering, benediction, large livestock (llamas), benediction, pigs, benediction, sheep," and all rushed to gather them in the midst of general confusion. The slightest kernel was carefully kept as a relic.

The musicians, who up to this point had only made themselves heard at rare intervals, began to appear more active.

2:Méraux--84 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1938 SF24 Uro SF24

Caraques-
Chipaya

/360 cont./

The orchestra, composed of two quenas players, two tarca (flutes with mouthpieces) players, and one drummer, played the airs reproduced on the opposite page /see p. 85/ at various times.

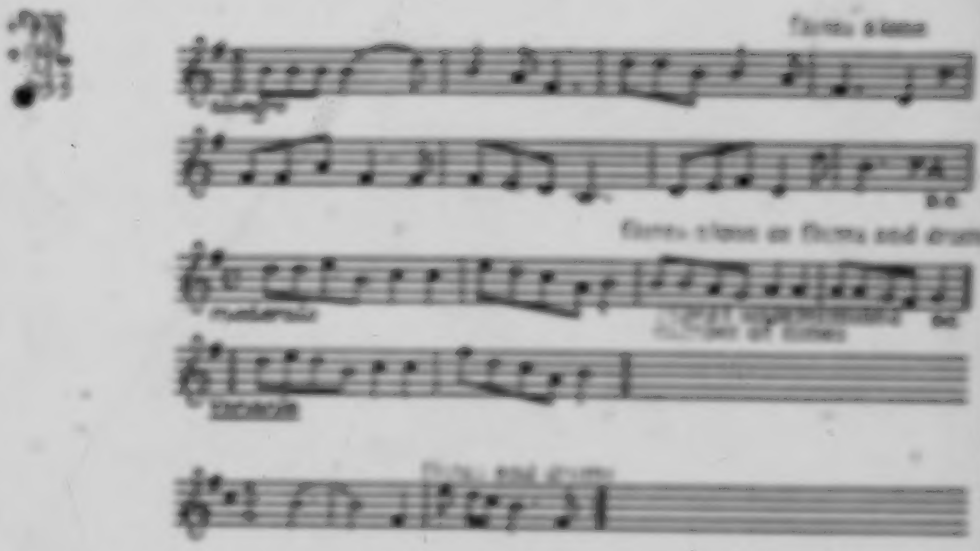
Shortly afterward the musicians got up to perform a dance, in which the alferez, his wife, and several others took part. Facing each other, they began by forming a circle around a glass of water put down by the Officiant. Immobile at first for a certain number of measures, they soon began to walk sideways in a circle in one direction, and then, /361/ at a sign from one of them, in the other direction. The dance ended as usual at the order of one of the players, who made a piercing sound with his instrument by stopping up all the holes at once. Soon all the musicians played the same note and the dance stopped. At other moments the tarka players formed in a row and advanced, made a half turn, and retraced their steps and performed evolutions by making veins around the circle of spectators. They carried out a series of directional changes from time to time with military precision. /Musical notation appears here./

The drum players did not respect the grouping followed by the flutists but revolved at the same time as the other musicians, i.e., when the latter had formed a circle, the drum players turned around them, and when the first outlined their one-step on the side, they turned in the direction indicated by the dance step. When the flutists were performing evolutions in a line, while changing direction, no precise placed seemed to be assigned to the drummer.

The dance step is a trotting walk on tiptoe allowing veins, the repetition of which is entirely left up to the dancer's initiative. These veins seem to be carried out successively in one direction and then in the other, after intervals of walking. The music, whose rhythm is difficult to make out, seems to constitute only an inducement to dance. In the course of the dance the dancers make gestures with their arms, which they hold apart from the body horizontally in order to bring them into a vertical position.

Afferaus--Gi E-5 (1950-1951) 1955, 1956 SPD4 Urs SPD4
Carnegie-
Lafayette

/361 cont./



Of course the ellows was his wife, furnished with the white hermon, their insignia of office, a typical special vest /362/ and dowered with all the more enthusiasm for being rather ugly.

The Italian reminisce words for hmm, routinely exchanging ovations in the form of cicalas, ooze, and cigarone. The most frequent verbal civility consisted of uttering the word salut'a or salut'a ellevas ("Hallelujah ellevs"), which some members of the assembly

/264 cont./

They continued their orations, this time facing the alferez. They then walked around the gathering, greeting the men and the women and uttering a long string of wishes for each.

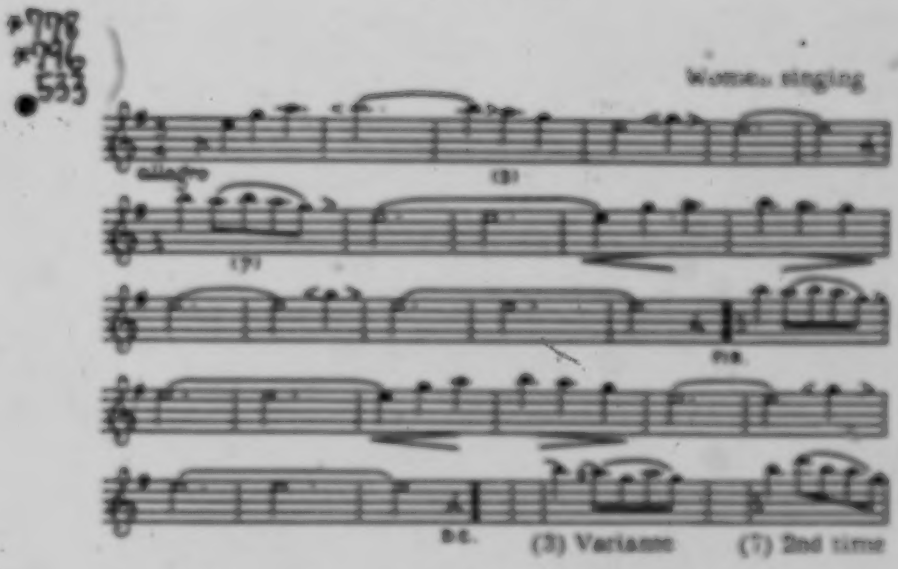
One of the hosts /?/, after long prayers and all sorts of gestures which were respectful in manner, carried one of the sheaves away. The other was given to the alferez, who kept it carefully in a corner of his hut.

/265/ Several guitarists then began to play, solely for the pleasure of the audience. At a given moment, a very shrill head voice, plaintive and unmodulated, burst from the group of women. Others soon accompanied it on the same notes. It was a song without words, slow and melodious, with numerous inflections: the notes, often very prolonged, were followed by the accompanists. At moments when the song seemed to have died, it would break out again, taken up by other voices. This song, an approximate idea of which is given by the following notation, is emitted with the mouth shut. It undoubtedly serves as an incantation for, according to the musicians, it could be dedicated to llamas, male and female, and to pigs. One probably also exists for the sheep.

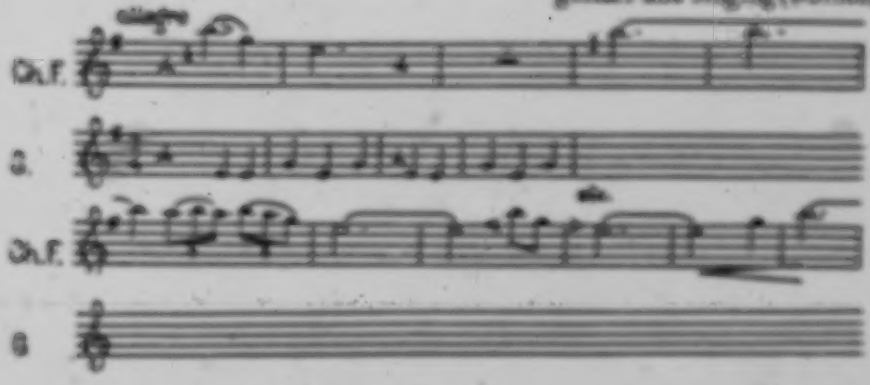
2:Métraux--91 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 ' SF24 Urn SF24
Carangas -
Chiquyac

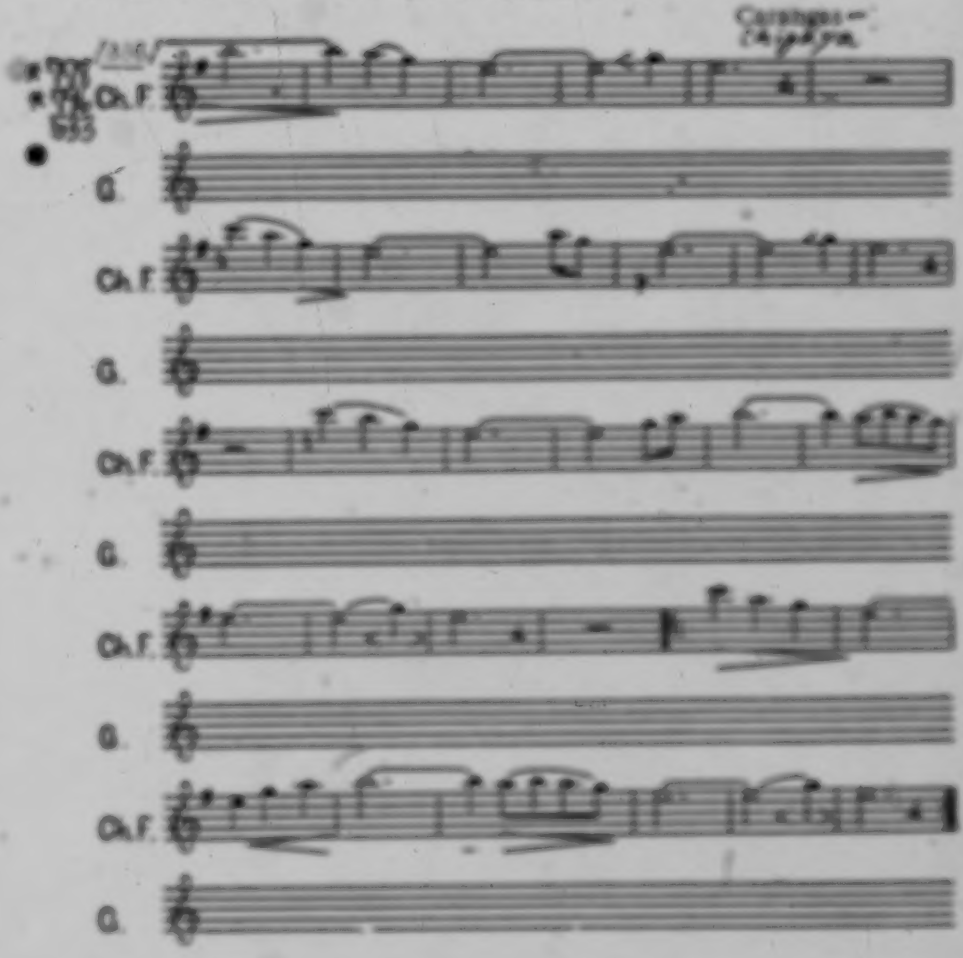
/365 cont./

Song of the Pigs



Song of the Female Llama





Festival of the Seya Tanata (February 2, day of Candlemas).

This festival was celebrated only by the seya tsanna. In the morning "the mass" took place, i.e., a procession in which the children, the alcalde, and a part of the members of the seya took part.

After remaining several moments in their chapel to say prayers and to perfume the altar with incense, the Indians came out abruptly in a group to form a procession which walked around the church, banners unfurled, to the sound of dance tunes played on the flutes of Pan.

Stanford--95 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SP34 Uru SP34
Cavengia--
Ch/page

/368 cont./

A notable detail is that during the whole day a little fire burned a few meters from the gathering.

The end of the ceremony was announced by the beating of a drum in a special rhythm.

Second day. In the afternoon the villeress, her son, and an Officiant met in front of their ayni's chapel. Not having been warned, I arrived at the place only at the moment when the latter had finished preparing the mixture destined to be offered as a libation. I have every reason to believe that the ingredients added to the water or to the chicha in the 16 small cupules were the same as in the previous festivals. As usual the Officiant had planted a sacred stick (kamac-pacu) garnished with a cross in front of him facing east. He offered up the customary libations on his knees. The contents of two phials were poured before the cross that stands about ten meters from the chapel door. The Officiant had put some coca leaves in two cupules probably containing alcohol, before pouring them as a libation in front of his stick. The priest, his helper, and two of those present knelt before the carpet and kissed the ground; then the Officiant, getting up, sprinkled the four corners of a little oratory situated near the chapel with chicha. A long prayer was then said, in which Christian saints were mingled with those of the ancestors, and the Officiant headed toward the chapel after having touched the oratory with his stick and kissing it devoutly. The villeress and her son went to pray on the steps of the chapel, and all began the usual drinking, congratulating and greeting each other.

The villeress had covered a small table with coca, where all came to help themselves /369/ in turn. Those who took this coca first touched the table with the hand and kissed it as a sign of respect.

The assembly, very sparse in the beginning, became more numerous, upon which the market of the electo took place. The Indians, both men and women, bought from each other small

Baldwin--97 0-1 (1930-1932) 1935, 1938 0754 (no 0754

Carnegie--
CA

/369 cont./

which he added silver leaf and paper plumules. The women, for their part, stretched garlands of bread rings and pieces of cheese and fruit to the festive altar, while keeping watch over the vegetables and grain which they were tending for the next day's feast. To encourage his helpers the alferez was generously giving an installment of the /371/ festival to come, and, therefore after therium, the alferez, officiant, and friends finally became drunk out of their minds.

During the night I was awakened by strange melodies which sometimes seemed very close to my hut, and sometimes receded in the distance of the desert. Intrigued by these confused noises, I went outside and saw five or six young girls holding each other by the hand, led by a guitarist they were going through the village at raving speed, circling each hut. In spite of the rain, the cold, and the darkness of the night, they did not pause an instant to catch their breath; ever subtle, ever more monotonous melodies (transcribed below) were followed by intervals of silence and then taken up again a little later in the midst of pants of fatigue. In the huts and in the church, the Indians were offering up their libations, disfigured by their ponchos and heavy coverings. Silent and unmoving, illuminated by the dim lamps of their huts, they had the fantastic aspect of ghosts.

Kaduna—68 0-0 (1000-1001) 1001.1068 SFD4 Uru SFD4

Cavanga:—
Chijoya

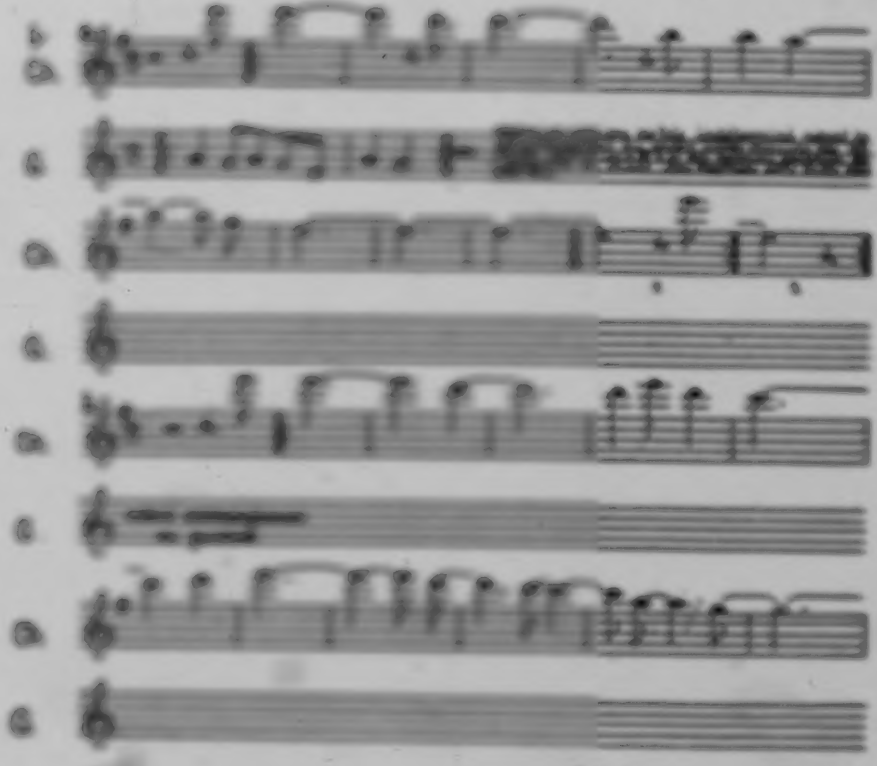
SFD 1001 /

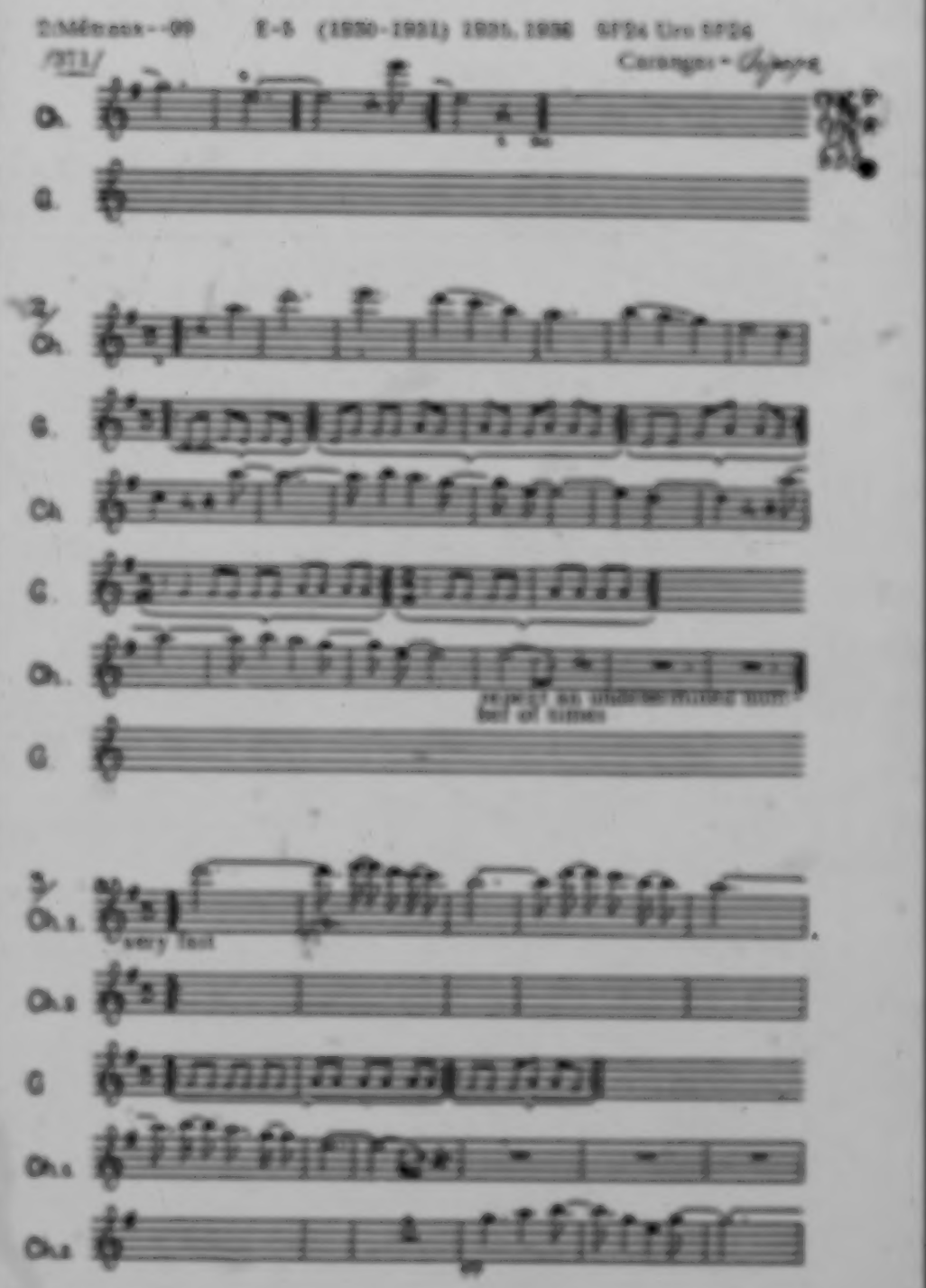
Translation of notes in the transcription of the first melody below are: behind half of melody, marked G., i.e. guitars: "Repeat an indefinite number of times before the start of the singing after each of the partial refrains 1a and b and the general refrain of the whole song. The repeats are done each time."

Sixth staff "same accompaniment of guitars."

G. (Chant "singing") marks the lines that are sung.

Singing (young girls) with guitar accompaniment




Cl.
G.
Cl.
G.
Cl.
C.
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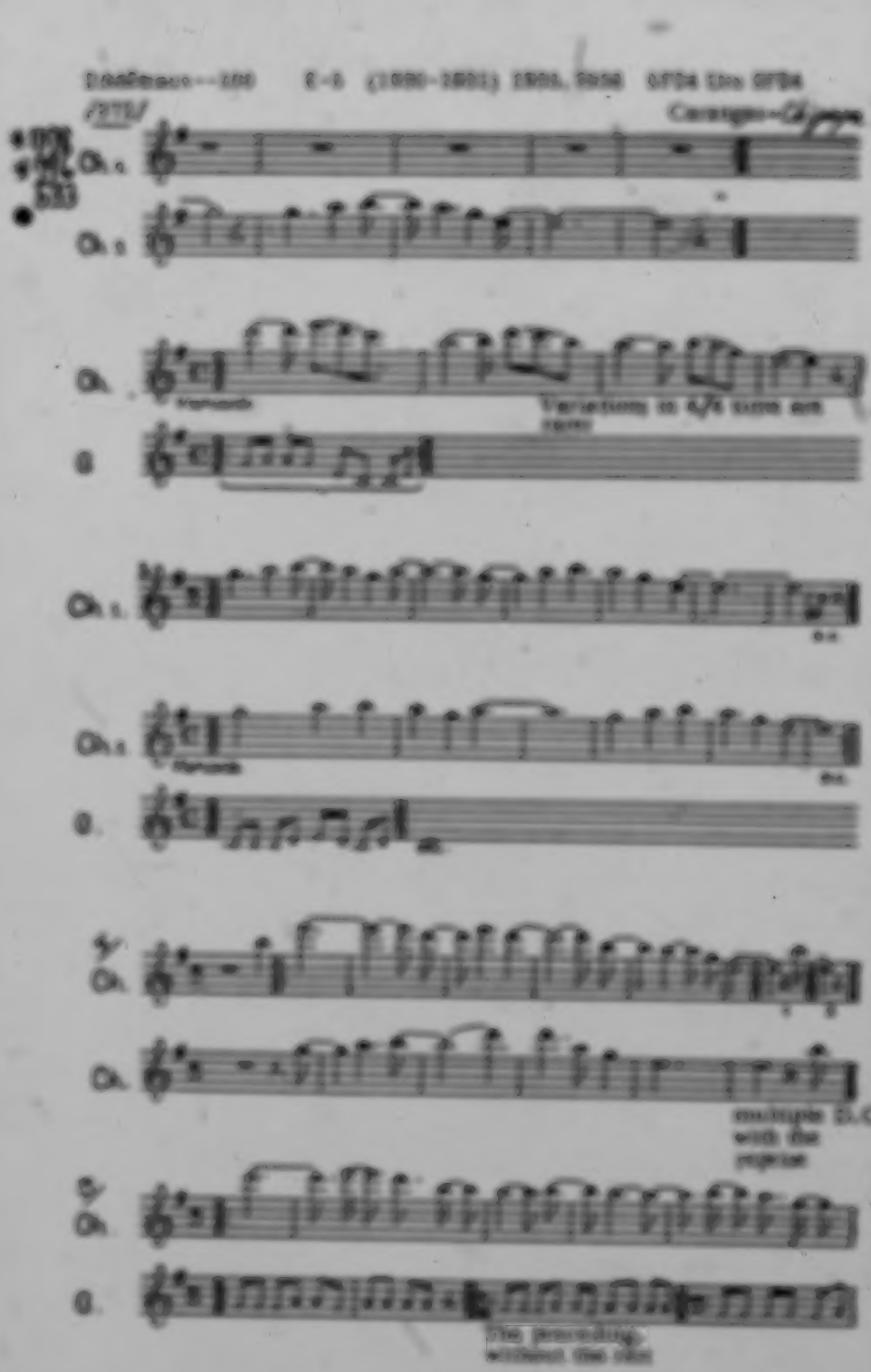
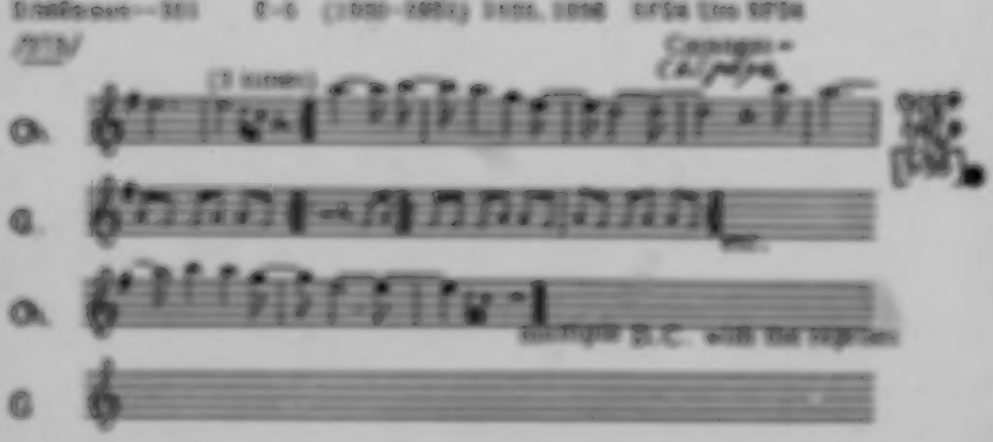
G.
very fast
Cl.s
G
Cl.s
Cl.s


Variations in 6/8 time are here
multiple D.C. with the repeat
the preceding without the last



On the following day all are out early in order to reach the Eyewear-mal'ko situated 15 kilometers southeast of the village in the middle of a plain submerged by several days' rain. The flooded expanse went so vast that to maintain the offering, in agreement with the Officiant, decided to perform the festival in honor of the Eyewear-mal'ko near the Cumbrini-mal'ko. The rites would be the same but an offering would be made to the Cumbrini-mal'ko, and delegates would be sent to the Eyewear-mal'ko, among them the bearer, Espiritu Blanconi, to bring in the insertions of the victims, the bones, the necklaces of bread and of cheese, cane, Wine, and sugar. So that there would be no doubt as to who was the object of the festival, the Officiant and the participants always took great care during the rites which they performed to turn in the direction of the Eyewear-mal'ko, i.e., toward the southeast. Thus upon their arrival at the mal'ko's manual, for example, all knelt down, first toward the southeast, then toward the east, and finally in front of the cane representing the mal'ko. Likewise the Officiant, before offering up his libation threw his second stick into the ground facing the same cardinal point. The blood of the victims was, nevertheless, poured upon the Cumbrini-mal'ko, which was fumigated by all new arrivals (1).

1. When one arrives in front of the cane, one must kneel before it or touch it with one's hand and then kiss the latter.

Gardiner--102 0-5 (1930-1931) 1955.1936 5734 Izm 5734

Carnegie-
Cayuga

/211 cont./

The prayer which received most often on the Officiant's lips clearly indicated that the Sonowa-mai'ko alone was to receive the honors apparently being paid to his colleague:

Sonowa-mai'ko	hoshi	on	hongio	wnio
Trophies-demon	in this manner	then	to accomplish	I have

ki	gah ai'onno	gah ai'o	ray-laiko
come	three heads of livestock	heads of livestock	three far

hoin	ongwa	ohon-laiko	hoshi
married-persons	beside her		in this manner

hongiwaio /214/	hoshi	t'ega	hongoio
I have accomplished	in this manner	all	assembly

tgwa-sa0	hongiwaio	on-ki	mai'ko.
today	I accomplish	then	demon.

"Trophies-demon, I have come to acquire myself towards thee (by offering thee) three animals on behalf of our three kinds of farms and on behalf of married people. At this moment I have fulfilled my duty. at this moment, today, with the entire assembly I acquire myself towards thee, demon."

Aside from these insignificant details all the accessories of the festival of the nation figured in this one but with more abundance. The sheaves of straw were more numerous and more ornate than before, and had some parrot (flamingo) eggs placed on their tops.

I observed only one new rite: the prayer that the silleya and his wife made successively to the four cardinal points. At the moment when they got up to proceed to this duty, the fiutes began to play a melody backed by drumbeats. When they returned to the village in the evening, the silleya and silleyaa both had a tuft of straw on the back.

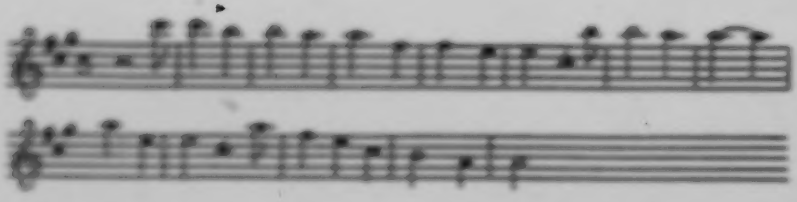
Goldman--110 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SP24 Uru SP24

Caranga s —
Chipaya

/379 cont./

As I said above religious or magical rites have only an insignificant place in this festival: the important survivals of paganism are displayed in the trappings of the participants (Pl. XIV, D /see p. 136/). The majority had put on around their bodies festive slings, whose fringes fashioned a motley costume for them. Some had encircled their heads with a kind of artificial hair made from horse hair (Pl. XVI, C /see p. 137/) or with crowns of flamingo feathers. The most original headdresses which I noticed were a few crowns made of flamingo eggs threaded together (Fig. 36."A /see p. 109/). A large part of the young people had water birds on their backs, attached by the straw boia which had killed them (Fig. 36, [illegible]). The alferez's and alferezas had loaded on their backs the sheaves of straw behind which they had pressed at the festivals of the various mal"ku and samiri. The latter were decorated with garlands of fruit, cheeses, and bread. Those who had not had the honor of being alferez were no less decorated with ornaments symbolizing prosperity and abundance.

Tunes of the Carnival Dances



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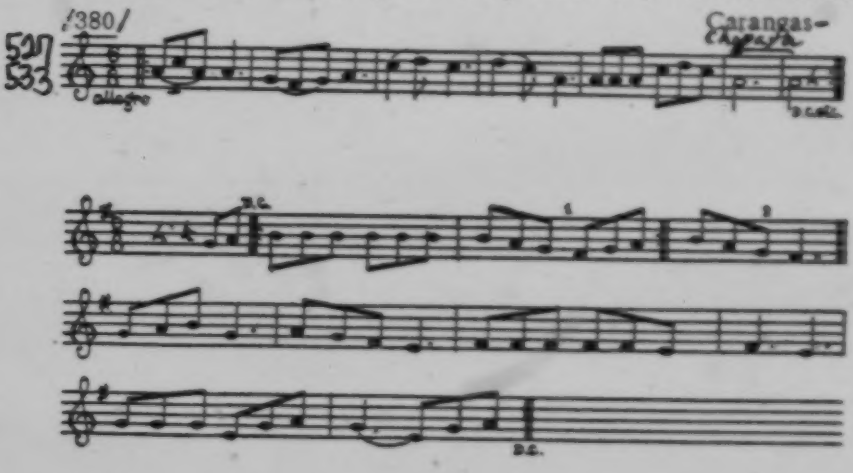

527 Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most
535 monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection
574 with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to
[616] everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

527 In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed
718 into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of
[529] straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the
[530] festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

527 The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week.
[533] At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few
[273] madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol
[54] did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not
[171] present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

/185 cont./

534 In La Musique des Incas /The Music of the Incas/,
113 R. d'Harcourt reproduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

[237] While examining the contents of one of the huts that the Čipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 8, G /see p. 173/). The block inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to here are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkul'u, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pinkul'u, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The

[171 839] Čipaya pinkul'u are identical and without doubt come from some Bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The tola flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these perfected instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

[178] The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-Čipaya dialect, täks, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used for /186/ secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

533 While there are very few Čipaya who know how to play the
535 quena, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The dancers accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may also play a little melody from time to time while seated.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-*malku*, Kemperani-*malku*, Estewan-*malku*), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-*malku*). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (*patio-malku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malkus* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

Tulane Caribbean 1-4 jan decay 1880 8754 Ure 8754
Chipaya

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *kenos de pino* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *cola de shrub*, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayra*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *malkus*; the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P 22 - B]

ratus; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Madre Mayor*. The other mallkus are represented by small conical and towers scattered around the cemetery-aisle. Sacred stone fetishes or *wanis* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; flowers and other fronds—symbols of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *mallcu*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the mallku stones and the *wanis* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land. [illegible]

[P. 22-C]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*piri*) and *bolas* (*ikawi*), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peks* (Aymará *pusipïa*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'ox*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusipïa* or *peks* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *kesana*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *t'axu*, *coca*, net-thread, *kaxawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*kesana* and *t'awara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organisation. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organisation is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: [illegible] are, Titicana, Konko, Kama, Kuipa.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa ku; young girl = pax-pak-uk; young woman = ux.

Marriage. Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

Political Organization. If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *kilacata*, commonly called *alcate* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde*?) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *suratwičiki* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *kilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[20] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchku* (*kuču*) or *zi:a quirkitku* (*kirkiʼa*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilanta* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusipʼis* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[20] Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.

2:566fmeco--84 E-5 (1930-1931) 1930.1936 SFD4 Uto SFD4

Carangue-
Chigaye

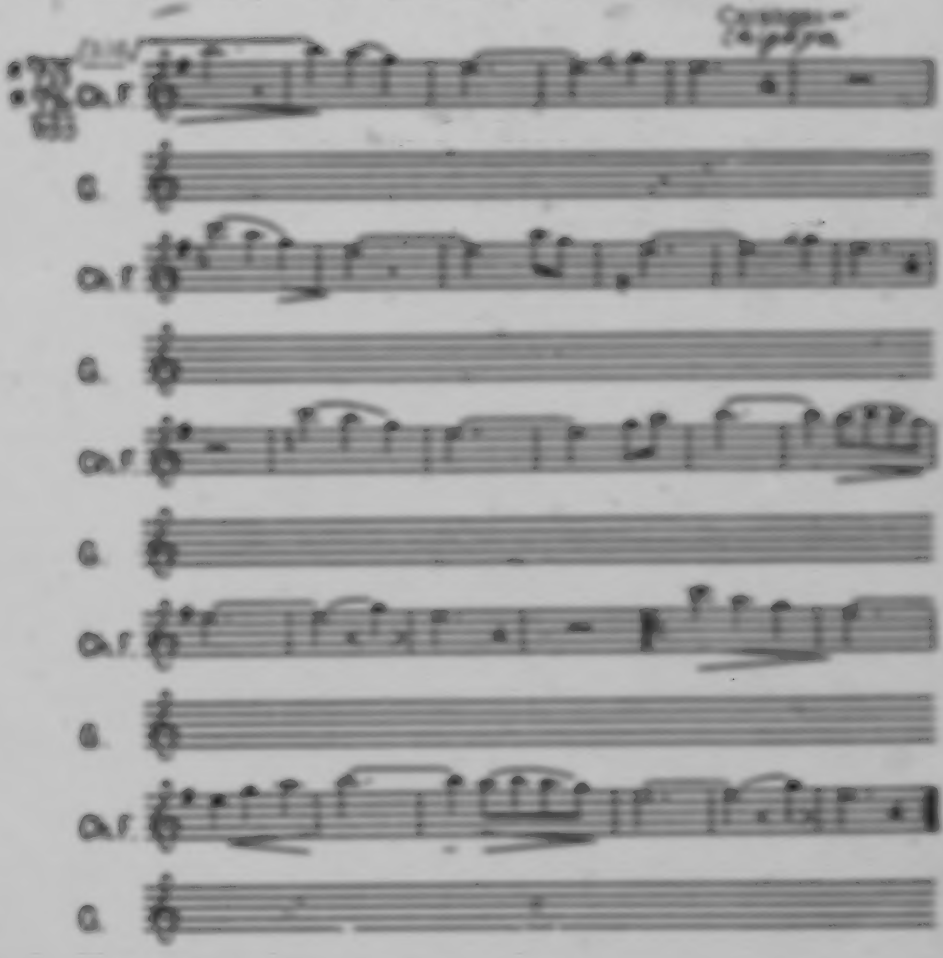
/360 cont./

The orchestra, composed of two gunnas players, two tarca (flutes with mouthpieces) players, and one drummer, played the airs reproduced on the opposite page /see p. 81/ at various times.

Shortly afterward the musicians got up to perform a dance, in which the alferez, his wife, and several others took part. Facing each other, they began by forming a circle around a glass of water put down by the Officiant. Immobile at first for a certain number of measures, they soon began to walk sideways in a circle in one direction, and then, /361/ at a sign from one of them, in the other direction. The dance ended as usual at the order of one of the players, who made a piercing sound with his instrument by stopping up all the holes at once. Soon all the musicians played the same note and the dance stopped. At other moments the tarka players formed in a row and advanced, made a half turn, and retraced their steps and performed evolutions by making voits around the circle of spectators. They carried out a series of directional changes from time to time with military precision. /Musical notation appears here./

The drum players did not respect the grouping followed by the flutists but revolved at the same time as the other musicians, i.e., when the latter had formed a circle, the drum players turned around them, and when the first outlined their one-step on the side, they turned in the direction indicated to the dance step. When the flutists were performing evolutions in a line, while changing direction, no precise placed seemed to be assigned to the drummer.

The dance step is a trotting walk on tiptoe allowing voits, the repetition of which is entirely left up to the dancer's initiative. These voits seem to be carried out successively in one direction and then in the other, after intervals of walking. The music, whose rhythm is difficult to make out, seems to constitute only an inducement to dance. In the course of the dance the dancers make gestures with their arms, which they hold apart from the body horizontally in order to bring them into a vertical position.



Festival of the Saya Tasaia (February 2, day of Candlemas).

This festival was celebrated only by the saya tasaia. In the morning "the mass" took place, i.e., a procession in which the sideya, the akaklde, and a part of the members of the saya took part.

After remaining several moments in their chapel to say prayers [illegible] to perform the altar with incense, the Indians came out abruptly in a group to form a procession which walked around the church. Banners unfurled, to the sound of dance tunes played on the flutes of Pan.

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Carangas—
Cipaya

Plate XIV

A. — Festival of the Carnaval (February 2). Dance around a human...

B. — Festival of the mal'ku: Indian beating a drum near the effigy of a demon (mal'ku).

C. — Cipaya Indian in prayer before the cupula containing magical substances.

D. — Cipaya Indian in his festival attire (wig, festive slings, etc.).

2:Mémoire--171 E-8 (1930-1931) 1930, 1936 S'24 Ure S'24
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/180 cont./

Musical Instruments

[534 114] The musical instruments that I got among the Chipaya have been the subject of a detailed monograph by Mr. Izikowitz, assistant at the Museum of Göteborg and an outstanding specialist in that field. I am allowing myself to refer the reader to this work (1), as

[113]

1. Izikowitz (K.G.). "Les instruments de musique des Indiens Chipaya /The musical instruments of the Chipaya Indians/." Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán. Vol. II. entry 2a. 1932.

he will find only a brief summary of it here.

Membranophones. There is not one family in Chipaya which [121] does not have at least one drum. This instrument, very common on the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, in Chipaya presents the peculiarity of having a square shape (Fig. 8. A /see p. 173/). It is made up of a wooden frame whose sides, made of small boards brought together with tenons, are about 20 centimeters long and six [339] to seven centimeters high. This skeleton is covered on its two faces with sheep or llama skin stretched by means of ligatures passed in a zigzag across the holes in the membrane. Along the latter there has been fastened a drum cord, or a string holding a splinter of wood which hits the membrane. They play the drum by holding its handle in the left hand and beating it with a single drumstick, the enlargement at the end of which is covered with rags.

[126] I was able to acquire a round drum in Chipaya (Fig. 8. E). The mounting is formed by a piece of flexible wood bent into a ring, with the ends sewn together by means of leather thongs. This specimen measures 37 cm. in diameter and nine cm. in height.

2.666/mexe--272 E-5 (1930-1931) 1930, 1936 G'24 Uru G'24
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/180 cont./

The maya tanata (west) came a very old, very large drum, the only one of its kind in the village; unfortunately, the Indians did not want to sell it to me at any price, alleging that it was the property of the whole community. Its construction was, from what I could see, similar to that of the round tambourine which I have just described. A very special importance devolved on this drum during the festival /181/ /Figure 8 appears here./ /182/ of the Comadres. During the whole day it remained hanging from a flagstaff and was the object, at the same time as the standard, of real worship.

The drum bears in Cipaya the Spanish name caja. We should not conclude from this that the instrument is of Spanish origin among them. Some details at the most are of post-Columbian origin, but they are not numerous. The "drum cord," for example, is certainly an element added to it in the course of the centuries which followed the conquest. It is possible that for lack of flexible wood to make round drums, the Cipaya were obliged to make them with boards from old boxes and consequently to modify the original type.

Wind instruments.

Trumpets. Cipaya trumpets are of the most rudimentary kind: they are made up of a cow's horn sawed off near the point and of a bell formed of the dried tail of the same quadruped.

Only very rarely did I see the Cipaya make use of this instrument, which makes a hollow sound resembling the lowing of cow in the state of having breath of exceptional power. The trumpets which figure in all the festivals play the role of ritual or decorative accessories in them. They are placed in front of the sacred sheaves or on the table in front of the heads of the sacrificed animals. They bear the name t'oti in Cipaya.

Clarinets (Fig. 8, f /see p. 173/), which like trumpets have a cow horn for a bell, also have a reed mouthpiece from which a small tongue has been cut out and smoothed to make it more flexible. So that it would be easier to play on, it has been raised by means of a string passing under its lower part. It is made to vibrate by

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P 174]

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Fig. 8.—Cipaya musical culture. Musical instruments.

A: Square drum.
B: Xylion.
C: Pinkul'a. Flute with mouthpiece at the bottom of the calabash and sixteen of the mouthpiece.
D: Xylion with two pipes.
E: Circular drum.
F: Clarinet (Pan).
G: Flute with mouthpiece made from the wing bone of a condor.
H: Bone flute with mouthpiece.

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SM seeming practically the whole tube in the mouth. This instrument, closely pan-Colombian, is rather rare in Chipaya. The Indians part with it willingly, ascribing to it only minimal value. They play it for the pleasure of making noise without any musical pretension.

[pe] The quena. The abundance of different kinds of flutes may be considered typical of the Indian music of South America. This variety is displayed even among the Chipaya. One finds here the quena, different sorts of flutes with mouthpieces, and lastly Panpipes, or the sipius.

[pe] Quena is the old Quechua word for the ancient long flute of Peru. As the quenas of the Chipaya are exactly the same as those of the /Uru/ Aymara or the Quechua, we have only to reproduce here what d'Harcourt says on the subject of the latter: "This flute is open at both /Figure 9 and 10 appear here/ /Uru/ ends. A square opening has been carved in a portion of the upper end of the instrument. The edge of the opening is very thin, and it is blown against while the lower lip practically closes the opening. One must place the lips in such a way as to allow a stream of air to meet the edge of the opening. Before one is used to playing this instrument, it is very difficult to adjust one's breath and find the suitable position. All the more so as it changes according to the tones."

As bamboos and reeds split easily in these basically dry regions and, on the other hand, the raw material for these instruments comes from faraway places, it is easy to understand the care with which the Indians take care of them and the value which they attach to them. The quenas I collected are carefully strengthened with un- /re/ ed leather thongs and the interiors have been glued with so much care that no breath of air can escape and render the flute unusable.

The quena (Fig. 9 /see p. 175/) has six holes and a hole for the thumb at the bottom. All are on the lower part of the instrument. If we start from the mouthpiece and begin with the upper hole, the respective distance of the holes, calculated in centimeters, is the following (Fig. 10. > /see p. 175/):

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 196]]

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Carangue-

Fig. 9. — Quena.

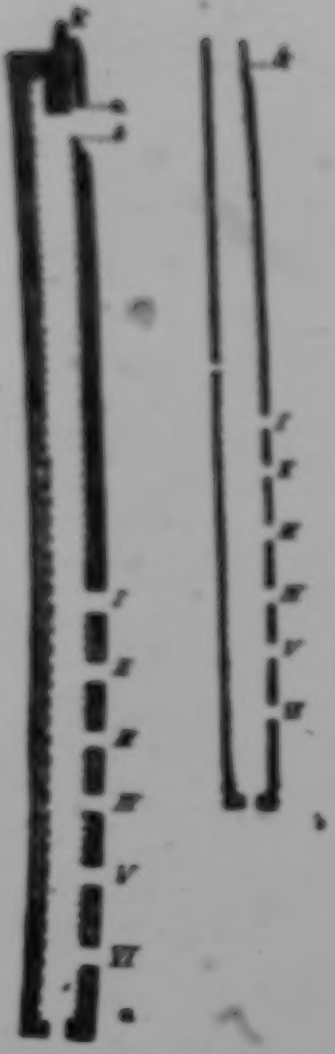

Fig. 10. — a: Cross section of a flute with mouthpiece; b: Cross section of a quena.

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Cayapa-
Chipaya

/16c cont./

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Thumb
*234	29.8	28.6	25.7	28.9	21.6	25.8	1.65

The total length of the flute is 38.8 cm.

[109] We do not find the same disposition of the holes on pre-Spanish quenas; according to all probability European influence has played a part here.

Flutes with mouthpieces. When the quena is played the current of air is shaped and directed with the lips and must be conducted against the beveled edge of the mouth to break up there and set the column of air in the pipe vibrating. For flutes with mouthpieces (Fig. 11) the formation of the current of air and the direction given to it are produced automatically; it is sufficient to blow and to control the strength of the air current. The air is led through a "vent" (see Figure 10, a /see p. 175/, which shows us a flute with mouthpiece in section) composed of the space between the walls of the pipe and a block of some material inserted in the opening of the flute. The air passes through this channel and strikes against the lower brim (lip).

[104] Čipaya flutes with mouthpieces are made of tola (Baccharis tola). These Indians /185/ make them themselves, taking an old one as a model to give them the [105] distance between the holes. These flutes are made of a branch which is split along its entire length. The two halves are hollowed out and then joined again in such [114] a way that the air cannot escape. Where a perfect joint could not be made, the chinks have been sealed with resin. Since it is difficult with the bushes at the disposal of the Čipaya to come across straight branches, most of the flutes are not straight. Some even have the shape of a segment of a circle, a form which is perhaps intentional (Fig. 8, H /see p. 173/).

Fig. 11. Flute with mouthpiece.

/185 cont./

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[113] R. d'Harcourt reproduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

While examining the contents of one of the huts that the
[237] Čipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 8, G /see p. 173/). The block inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to here are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkul'u, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pinkul'u, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The
[171 839] Čipaya pinkul'u are identical and without doubt come from some Bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The tola flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these perfected instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-
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/186 cont./

●534 Panpipes. The Čipaya Indians have two types of Panpipes. The first (maiso) is extremely simple. It is composed of two tubes of unequal length, closed at one end and tied together with a wool cord (Fig. 8, D /see p. 173/). One of the tubes is 10 cm. long and the other 12.1 cm. This instrument was a particularly difficult acquisition for me. There was only one specimen in the whole village, [144] and it was moreover the property of the mayordomo, the official entrusted with maintaining places and objects of worship. He only resigned himself to giving it to me after much hesitation. Even before I had acquired this object it had been mentioned to me as a venerable piece. I had only one occasion to see it in use: this was at the Carnival, a particularly solemn and clearly pagan festival.

[126] One Čipaya had the happy idea of selling me a whole series of syrinxes which present several very interesting peculiarities. They are composed of a single row of bamboo tubes (five or seven) closed by a natural node and held inserted between two sticks themselves joined by a crossed string. Each of these pipes is provided on one side with a splinter of bamboo cut obliquely on its lower part (Fig. 8, B).

What is the purpose of this arrangement, which has not been found on any other Panpipes in the Old or New World? Mr. Izikowitz conjectures that it is a question of accessories of no practical value which have been substituted for a second series of tubes. This [114] hypothesis appears very far-fetched to me, and I ask myself if it is not a matter here of the fantasy of a flute-maker who thought of reinforcing the ligature by this means. The latter, in contrast, merits [171] our attention: it is actually a type which has only been found at Arica in the Andean region, but which still has a wide distribution in the west of the Amazon basin. Let us add that this ligature is always used for flutes with a single series of tubes.

The syrinxes which I have just described are apparently very [171] old specimens. I have seen newer ones among the Čipaya of the type common among the Aymara and among all the Indians of the altiplano in general.

534 the altiplano in general. The ligature in this case is made of a reed rolled around the two rows of pipes.

When the Indian who sold me the old syrinxes wanted to show me how to use them, he was careful to take two of them and to play them by placing one on the other so as to have actually a Panpipe with two series of pipes.

[177] Few Čipaya play the syrinx, the few who were capable of it having learned it from the Aymara, and I noticed that during festivals it was almost always some Indians of this race who made the slightly hoarse sounds of this instrument resound. The Čipaya give it the name taks or use the Aymara term phusa.

[439] String instruments. The only string instruments of the Čipaya are manufactured guitars which come to them through the intermediary of Aymara traders.

The conclusion which Mr. Izikowitz draws from his study on Čipaya instruments are the following:

1) These Indians lack idiophones and original string instruments.

[180] 2) They have adopted flutes with mouthpieces and clarinets from the Europeans.

3) In the post-Columbian period they changed the shape of their drums which have become square and are also provided with a drum cord.

4) The trumpets are probably old but the material is entirely modern.

[179] 5) The Čipaya received from the Aymara the quena, an old, pre-Columbian instrument whose system of holes has, however, been modified under the influence of European flutes.

6) They have two kinds of syrinxes which appear of a type more archaic than the modern Andean Panpipes and even than the archaeological flutes with two series of tubes. The Čipaya syrinx, however, seems to have been modified in one way or another under the influence of the syrinx with a double series of tubes; only in this way can one explain its peculiar form. With the exception of the

/187 cont./ With the exception of the
584 bamboo splinters placed against each tube, these syrinxes are very
[191] like the rather similar ones which have been discovered at Arica and also like the Panpipes used by the Indians of the area northeast of the Andes in our day.

As for the small syrinx with two tubes, it is too simple an instrument to be considered at great length. In any case, up to the present its equivalent has been found nowhere.

[179] /188/ Aymara influence and through its medium that of Europeans have been strongly exerted on their musical instruments, just as on the rest of their culture. This penetration can be very simply explained when one thinks that aside from tola, they have no other material out of which they could make a musical instrument, and that they are obliged to import those that they use for their festivals.

Objects for purely ceremonial use

796 There are a certain number of objects which I acquired among the Čipaya, whose use is purely ceremonial and which should be
[126] examined in a special chapter. These are, in the first place, the festive slings, several specimens of which I was able to get (1).

1. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, B.

These slings are passed over the wrist or carried crossed on the chest of individuals participating in the dances during great clan or tribal
[301] festivals. Another accessory of the Indians on these occasions is the
[237] wig made of horsehair (2).

2. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, C.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade. 325 [439]

Pottery.—Although not now made at Ancoaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles. 323

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone. 324

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas. 322 [439]

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara:* the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipia, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkilu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-choklo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charanga. 534 [177] [237]

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes. 439

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas. 462

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into ayllus, named Titicana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Inca* anansaya), and xanacha (*Inca* mana-saya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like 178 621 616 601

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

172
252
415
291
[534]
[524]

PLATE 120.—**Chipaya country and Chipaya Indians.** *Top (left):* Chullpa, or ancient burial tower. *Top (right):* Woman shelling with feet. *Bottom (left):* Dancer. *Bottom (right):* Playing a game. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P 2-H]

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymara haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year to the various families by the head of each moiety.

women. The hair is divided into innumerable tiny braids, each decorated with a small flat piece of bone, or a miniature bronze idol exactly like those found at Tiahuanaco.

Chipaya men wear a costume similar to the *tipoy* used by various Indians in eastern Bolivia. It resembles the shirt worn by the women, but is fuller because it is square. In former times it was the only garment worn by the men; trousers are a recent addition. Colorful decorated pouches are always slung from the belt. The short striped poncho is known as the Chipaya cape. The hair is cut short all the way around and is covered with a cap similar to the *chullo* of the Aymaras; the distinction lies in the broad ear flaps worn by the Aymaras in contrast to the smaller ones and the much finer cloth of the Chipaya caps.

Every Chipaya family owns at least one drum. These instruments are common in the altiplano, but the square shape of the Chipaya drum makes it unique. It is also unusually small, measuring six to eight inches on a side and about two inches in thickness. It is covered with tanned llama skin, stretched over a wooden frame. This instrument is thought to be pre-Columbian, since its unusual construction is so dissimilar to that of the drums introduced by the Spaniards. The Chipayas make two kinds of flutes. The straight Andean flutes are generally made of bamboo, which is brought from other regions and becomes brittle very quickly in the dry climate here.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-B]

Tshuis Camacho J-8 (no date) 1980 SP34 Um SP34

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the añu shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the ayo, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women [illegible] water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carry them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *mallcus*; the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P 22-B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*piri*) and *bolas* (*škuni*), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peks* (Aymará *pusiṗia*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *ṗ'oa*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusiṗia* or *peks* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *kesana*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *čuñu*, *coca*, net-thread, *kañawa* (quiñoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*kesana* and *čawara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: [illegible] are, Titicana, Konko, Kama, Kuipa.

/343 cont./

*796 627 them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

692 The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the 692 other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex 576 came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They [273] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

622 Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the out- 535 going alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He [282] had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He [301] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold [824] at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead. [939] Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

Caranga-
Chipaya

/344 cont./ white banner, he led the troup of musicians and dancers, stopping in front of each hut to obtain a tribute of alcohol for himself and his troup. In exchange for this gift he gave his momentary host the privilege of seizing the white banner and putting himself at the head of the dancers. The end of the day was only a succession of rounds and drinking which went on until complete exhaustion.

Brandishing his

622 535 [131] [313]

The second day. On the next day, noticing that all the Indians were going toward a particular hut, I in turn went. There I found about 30 individuals, men and women, squatting on the floor around the alcalde taking office, who was seated on a pile of cloth behind a table facing the door. He was holding his stick of authority in his arm and had bunches of flowers and a napkin full of coca in front of him. His physiognomy did not act in his favor; his ravaged, closed face was scarred with smallpox; his thick features, aquiline nose, and projecting chin gave him an air which was both cruel and bestial. I sat down next to the men immediately to the right of the host. All were keeping a profound, almost disturbing silence. At long intervals a man would rise to profer his bag of coca to the alcalde. The latter would take a few leaves from it and tender his own chuspa with a bored gesture. Others moved toward the table, took a pinch of coca leaves, some of which they left in front of the flowers, and swallowed the rest. The drinkers never forgot their libations directed, as were the offerings, toward the flowers on the table. On that day the chicha of maize and quinua, in exception to the rule, competed with the alcohol. It was served by the women in terra-cotta bowls. I had the opportunity to be present that afternoon at a scene, the significance of which remains a mystery to me. A man got up and greeted a young woman in the usual manner; /345/ she replied to his greeting and went to kneel at the head of the audience. The individual who had greeted her took the young woman's head and shoved it against that of a man squatting next to her. Several seconds later the young woman gave way to weeping identical to that with which the church had resounded the day before. Silence

622 [316] [312] [313] [169]

2:Méxaus--04 E-S (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 5924 Uru 5924
Cayapa-
Chipaya

/360 cont./

The orchestra, composed of two quenas players, two tarca (flutes with mouthpieces) players, and one drummer, played the airs reproduced on the opposite page /see p. 85/ at various times.

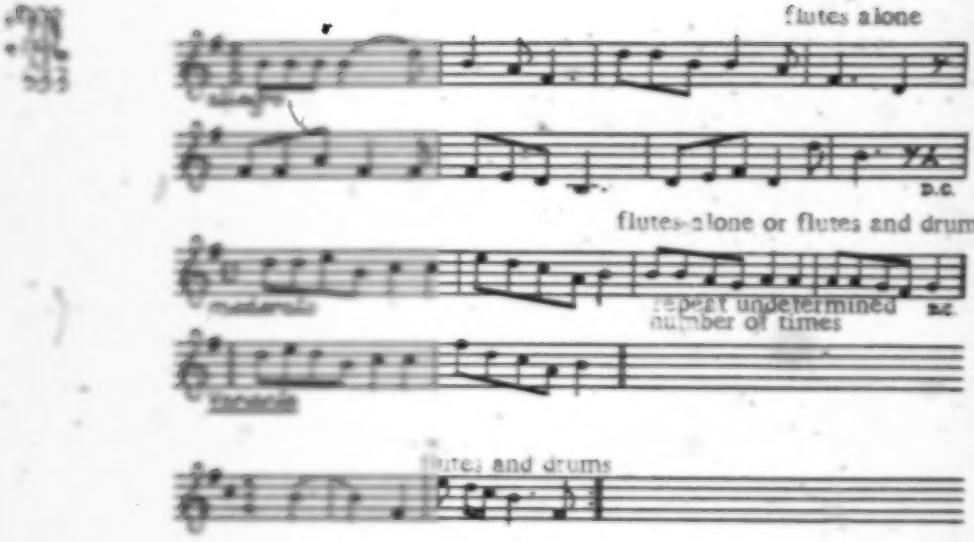
Shortly afterward the musicians got up to perform a dance, in which the alferez, his wife, and several others took part. Facing each other, they began by forming a circle around a glass of water put down by the Officiant. Immobile at first for a certain number of measures, they soon began to walk sideways in a circle in one direction, and then, /361/ at a sign from one of them, in the other direction. The dance ended as usual at the order of one of the players, who made a piercing sound with his instrument by stopping up all the holes at once. Soon all the musicians played the same note and the dance stopped. At other moments the tarka players formed in a row and advanced, made a half turn, and retraced their steps and performed evolutions by making volts around the circle of spectators. They carried out a series of directional changes from time to time with military precision. /Musical notation appears here./

The drum players did not respect the grouping followed by the flutists but revolved at the same time as the other musicians, i.e., when the latter had formed a circle, the drum players turned around them, and when the fifst outlined their one-step on the side, they turned in the direction indicated to the dance step. When the flutists were performing evolutions in a line, while changing direction, no precise placed seemed to be assigned to the drummer.

The dance step is a trotting walk on tiptoe allowing volts, the repetition of which is entirely left up to the dancer's initiative. These volts seem to be carried out successively in one direction and then in the other, after intervals of walking. The music, whose rhythm is difficult to make out, seems to constitute only an inducement to dance. In the course of the dance the dancers make gestures with their arms, which they hold apart from the body horizontally in order to bring them into a vertical position.

Carangas-
Chipaya

/761 cont./



Of course the alferez and his wife, furnished with the white banners, their insignia of office, displayed especial zest /362/ and danced with still the more enthusiasm for being rather tipsy.

The Indians remained seated for hours, constantly exchanging civilities in the form of alcohol, coca, and cigarettes. The most frequent verbal civility consisted of uttering the word xal'al'a or xal'al'a alferez ("Hallelujah alferez"), which some member of the assembly

/367 cont./

*796 invocations to the mal'ku, the saints, and the samiri, the professional rezadores /"prayers"/ were notable for their assurance and their volubility. The alfereza and her infirm son busied themselves with seeing that no one was overlooked in the distribution of coca and alcohol. The wooden bowls were refilled and proffered to the alcaldes, who shortly afterward were fumigated by a woman. The latter repeated the same ceremony in front of the alfereza. During the entire time that she, kneeling, burned her incense, those who were the objects of this rite uncovered themselves with a meditative air.

*796 535 A dance, which I only saw on this one occasion (Pl. XIV, A /see p. 135/), was organized next. The women placed themselves in a row facing their husbands. Taking each other by both hands, all began to pivot without changing place. Men and women turned their upper torsos in an opposite direction each time. During this time the musicians walked around /368/ the line, playing in a very slow rhythm. Toward the end some dancers made a demi-volta and with back turned put the hand to the mouth. One of the dancers had put a dead young llama on his back, which he passed to his neighbor.

Toward the end of the day the alfereza and her son, with white banners knotted around their necks, took other participants by the hand and formed a circle inside the circle of musicians. After having turned around for a few seconds, the circle opened up and made itself into a chain which ran to one side, then to the other, and then reformed into a circle. One of the figures of this dance consisted in making a quarter-turn and bringing the hand to the mouth.

*796 Toward the end of the ceremony the alfereza and her son, accompanied by numerous other participants, surrounded the banner and prayed before it for a long time, while offering up libations; then some kissed the post, others the banner.

/377 cont./

Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

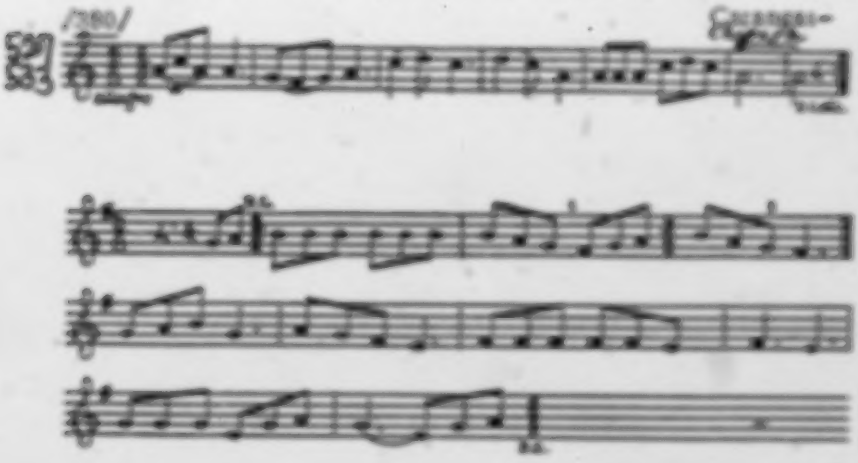
Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Chipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Chipaya Indian is the festival par excellence beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /379/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other saya are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only leaven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its sottishness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extoled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya beyond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Chipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Chipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 110]



Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to everyone. Although the members of each saya preferred to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' mouth.

The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week. At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

Smithsonian--177 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Chipaya

/165 cont./

In La Musique des Incas /The Music of the Incas/, R. d'Harcourt reproduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

While examining the contents of one of the huts that the Cipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 8, G /see p. 173/). The block inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to here are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkul's, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pinkul's, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The Cipaya pinkul's are identical and without doubt come from some bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The sola flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these prefered instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-Cipaya dialect, siku, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used /166/ secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

While there are very few Cipaya who know how to play the quena, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The dancers accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may also play a little melody from time to time while seated.

9:La Barre E-8 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the Uru distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Pöle (1901) states that the Uru were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the Uru ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native kilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The Uru worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient Uru dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huaihlo or sun quirkilla, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main Uru fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimulo, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood over the entrance of each hut. Most of the Uru beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most Uru-Chipaya folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal trickster.

THE CHIPAYA

The Chipaya of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the Uru of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the Uru are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the Chipaya are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The Chipaya, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the Chipaya do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Chipaya

paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The maλku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own maλku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant. The cult of the maλku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "sevarios," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the maλku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candies are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

tains; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Mallcu Mayor*. The other *mallcus* are represented by small conical sod towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; cheeses and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *yatiri*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa šu; young girl = pax-pak-uš; young woman = ux.

Marriage. Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

Political Organization. If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *hilacata*, commonly called *ilacate* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde?*) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *zoraturčički* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *hilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[28] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *huchhu* (*hučʉ*) or *sisa quirkitha* (*kirkiťa*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilančа* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *ṗusiṗ'ia* and *ɋena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[28] Bertonio, *Vocabylario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.

/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Chipaya tales have a small rodent, the toxo (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), promoted to the rank of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 230 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jímenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

/204 cont./

Intelligence, character, and morality

123 Every consideration of the character of a human group, no matter how small, demands closer contact with the individuals than that which I was able to maintain with the Čipaya. The impossibility which I experienced in most cases of being able to communicate directly with them especially was an obstacle to my observations. The judgment that I make of the Čipaya is hence necessarily summary and without scientific grounds. The Čipaya inspired in me more disgust and antipathy than pity. Neither by their physique nor by their disposition did they draw the affection which the ethnographer /205/ from professional bent would be prone to offer them. Their
142 features are heavy and thick, and only a few individuals, products of mixtures with their neighbors the Aymara, present the handsome profile with the curved nose characteristic of the conquering race of the Bolivian Altiplano. Their short and thick-set body is made even heavier by the thick woolen clothing with which they cover themselves. Only their slender, well-formed legs are pretty to see when crossing
[515] a river. Their complexion would not be so dark if they would consent at least once in their lives to wash. The filth and the rags which cover them accentuate even more the wretched and miserable appearance of this group of human beings.

157 Intellectually the Čipaya are on a rather low level: they have a dull and narrow mind and visibly feel an aversion to any coherent
[538] mental effort. Without fantasy and without imagination, they have for their total literature only a few insipid and short tales, which anyway seem to be Aymara in origin. Some women are an exception to this rule and struck me by a certain vivacity in their character and intelligence. Two or three young people also appeared better endowed than the average member of the tribe.

157 The Čipaya nourishes no ambition, and the desire for any
46 worldly gain cannot draw him out of his apathy. His movements are slow and measured, his ability to remain motionless is without limits. He seems to pursue constantly an internal dream which is always the

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Chipaya

ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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Bertonio, 1879 b; Brinton, 1890; Chamberlain, 1910; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1925–27; Ehrenreich, 1905; Forbes, 1870; La Barre, 1941; La Grasserie, 1894; Latcham, 1910; Métraux, 1934 c, 1935 b, 1935 c, 1936 a, 1936 b, 1936 c; Ore, 1607; Polo, 1901; Posnansky, 1934; Rivet, 1925–27; Uhle, 1896; Vásques de Espinosa, 1942.

[For a sample of Uru language texts with a literal French translation, see 3: Vellard, this file, category 116, foreign text, pp. 151-169.]

[For an extended French-Uru (Chipaya dialect) word list, and fuller Uru texts, see 2: Métraux, this file, category 116, foreign text, pp. 188-239.]

188 cont. They are as good and as bad
771 Catholics as the Aymara, and the little church constructed in the
171 center of the village is the type which is prevalent on the high plateau. The pagan practices to which they are given seem to be the same as those of the Aymara.

776 The Pačamama, or "Earth-mother," is their principal
[171] divinity, as everywhere else on the high plateau. They also spoke to me about mal'ku and samiri although I was not able to obtain anything specific or any details about the cult rendered them. I noticed on the wall near the entry of all the huts a spot of blood, a reminder of the sacrifice which had been made to the local spirit at the moment when the house was covered with its roof. A pile of potatoes which had just been grubbed up was surmounted with a straw cross, a bottle of alcohol, and some coca leaves; these were, no doubt, offerings made to the Pačamama.

778 An old Indian man dictated to me several of the prayers
539 addressed to this divinity on different occasions. She is spoken of as mal'ku, i.e., "chief," as in Chipaya. Here are the prayers:

Samtña Mal'kwa	pïčnača		Čal'tama.
Holy Divinity	come		let us offer up libation.
Tïča	ti koka	samtña	tača.
Here is	this coca	Holy One	I will give.
K'ïškina	koka	taki.	
Potato	coca	I give.	
Xpaia (ρ)	tača	Samtña	Mal'ku.
Llama	I will give	Holy	Divinity.

773 Mythology. I was able to gather fragments of an old
[171] myth at Ancoaqui, of which I possess a more complete version which was narrated by the Čipaya. "In former times there was

/88 cont./
773 a cataclysm which annihilated all of humanity with the exception of the Uro. This explains why they speak a different language than the other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its church existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky the church and Tiahuanacu melted." The vestiges of the old myth which 773 539 Betanzos (1) has preserved for us are recognizable here.

[113]

1. Betanzos (Juan Diez de), "Historia de los Incas y Conquista del Peru /History of the Incas and the Conquest of Peru/," Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru. (Lima, 1924), Vol. 8, second series, pp. 82-83.

Tuki	pača	(čamak tiempo)	čoñi	ekanščinnakčai
Former times	former times		people	have remained

tokananakki	estancias		tiksi	ekanastkalačai
people of the others	"estancias"		they died	we have remained

nekatai	ti	čiaki	sisasučai.
then	this	language	we know.

157 [69] /89/ Disposition. In disposition and nature the Uro are as sombre as the Aymara. A stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold and slightly hostile reception. To this ill-will is added the unhealthy rapacity shown by the Aymara and the Bolivians, besides the apathy and that heaviness of spirit which makes the Indian highlander frankly so odious. I am not, however, unaware of the causes of the mental atrophy of the 155 649 Bolivian Indian; the Uro have not escaped the brutalities and exploitation of their Spanish masters, nor that of their even

/345 cont./

622 re-established itself little by little, and during the entire day the Indians remained in their hut, as apathetic as I had found them in the morning.

*796 The festival of San Geronimo (January 7)

[803] [805] Very early in the morning an Indian ran through the saya tuanta, beating on a drum and stopping before each hut to wake the inhabitants and call them to the festival which was about to begin. Not knowing the significance of this household-rousing, I attributed little importance to it and thus missed the initial [982] ceremonies. I could ascertain, however, that two piglets had been sacrificed on the threshold of the chapel of the saya: the cross which stands in front of the door, the outside walls, and the altar had been splattered with fresh blood. Inside two tables had been set up on which coca leaves had been spread out. Some Indians [874] squatted in the chapel chewing coca leaves and drinking alcohol, [873] preceding each mouthful with a prayer and libation. Espíritu *796 Mamani subsequently recited the text of the prayer to me, uttered, ● 539 no doubt, at the moment when the blood of the pigs is sprinkled:

Araxpaču	auki,	suma	tiempo	apanitaʾa,	wainu
Sky	lord,	good	weather	send me,	good

mara,	suma	mara,	araxpač-patruna,	todos
weather,	good	weather,	sky master,	all

wawataki.	Lo mismo	Virxin-taika	xumapeuyuwaxista,
children for.	Likewise	Virgin-earth	thou feedest me,

katokanta	(taki)	wawanakataki,	todos	mondos,
thou wilt receive	(all?)	children of,	all	the world,

wawanakataki	ukˣaro	todos	mondos	pakˣalis	aka
children of	then	all	the world	animals	these

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/345 cont./

*796 539 loktaña suma ora resibitanta. lo mismo. araspeča.
I give thee good hour receive. Likewise. sky.

pobri wakča wawmat aka wakča. Tatai. istitai
poor orphans children these orphans. Father. bear me

laiku suma tiempo apanitaï'a. San Xeronimo.
for them / good weather send me. Saint Jerome.

"Lord of the sky, send me good weather, good weather, master of the sky (send good weather) for all thy children. Likewise, /346/ Virgin-earth, thou who feedest me, thou wilt receive (these offerings) from all they children, from all the world. (In the name of) all the world, of they children, I give thee these heads of livestock, receive them under good protection. Likewise, o sky, we, poor orphans, are thy sons. Father, bear me on behalf of these orphans, send me good weather, Saint Jerome."

*796 I succeeded in joining a group of Indians who were heading east of the village, going along the line of oratories and chapels of which I have spoken. The women had flowers stuck in their plaits, and one of them was carrying a box which contained a papier-mâché effigy of Saint James on his horse. All, men and women, were holding a long stick topped with a cross surrounded with wool threads of different colors in their hands, and some also had brought their kaman-para, or sacred stick. They proceeded at a rapid pace to the sound of a drum which an old Indian was playing incessantly; I shall refer to him by the name Officiant from here on. It was actually he who carried out the chief rites.

In front of each of the altars which marked the plain in a straight line, the little band made a halt and kneeled down to recite a prayer in chorus. Then all went around the oratory several times on their knees with the exception of the Officiant, who remained in his place, beating frantically on his drum and loudly intoning a monotone Aymara song. Before setting out again, at a given

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/347 cont./

prehistoric necklaces, in each cupule. He did the same with a piece of iron pyrite. His helper put small pieces of gold and silver leaf, small quantities of pink and blue mineral powder, incense, cinnamon bark, white and black maize flour, etc., in each cupule.

The Officiant then planted a cross and his sacred stick facing east and knelt before them. He then began to recite, with eyes half-closed, in a loud and penetrating voice a series of prayers, of which I was able to record the following:

Tata	Santiago.	arapeʔa	Santiago.	kimatunamanani
Father	Santiago.	sky	Santiago.	36

platu	resibise	tarapitaʔa.	sbʰaro	Santo	San Felipe.
dishes	receive	thou wilt receive.	crest	Saint	Saint Philip

sbʰaro	Santo	San	Geronimo.	Santo	Tunguyo(1)	resibe
crest	Saint	Saint	Jerome.	Saint	Tunguyo	receive

[103]

1. Tunguyo is the name of a group of huts where Espíritu Mamani, who recited this prayer to me, lived.

tarapitaʔa	aka inensio.	resibe	tarapitaʔa
thou wilt receive	this incense.	receive	thou wilt receive

todos abogados	arapeʔa.	sumo karpa.	waina (2)	karpa.	
all intercessors.	sky.	good rain.		rain.	

[92]
[93]

2. This word, which always precedes a significant word = "rain," "weather," or "year," has always been translated for me by "good"; I have felt some doubt, however, about the precision of my transcription. Its pronunciation

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has seemed to me sometimes waisa, sometimes t'axu. In the first case one could relate it to the Kíkan waisa and conjecture that through a strange semantic evolution the word "young" came to mean "good." It is also possible that t'axu is the Uru word for "good," which has today been replaced by the Aymara suma.

ayaxuta'o	t'axu(2)	korpa	arapata'o	hasiru.	hallara
send to me	good	rain	sky	shadow	lagoons of water

2. /Refers to preceding cons./

siriru.	arapata'o	makisuna.	arapata'o	herkiru
snow	sky	engineer	sky	boatmen

/348/ "Sontiago, (our) father, Sontiago of the sky, receive these 36 dishes, next Saint Phillip, next Saint Jerome, next Saint Tunguya, receive them as also this incense. You all who are our intercessors in the sky, send us good rains, shadows of the sky (clouds), lagoons of water and snow, you who are the engineers, the boatmen of the sky."

Taki kimsa	pak'al'a	uywiri	Wirsina.	
All three	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin.	
pa'a	pak'al'a	uywiri	Wirsina.	
large	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin.	
kuimaya uywiri	Wirsina.	'Ina	mama	uywiri.
pig foster-mother	Virgin.	sheep	mother	foster-mother.

/748 cont./

Kimsa-Pata. | lo mismo | kaĉa | mal'ku. | L'auka-mal'ku.
"Three summits." | likewise | great | demon. | Lauca-demon.

Lauka tal'a. | apeyaniri | taki | parwal'a | apeyaniri.
Lauca-demon woman. | who sends | all | the grass | who sends.

lo mismo | rumapekĭsoktanta. | Estewan-mal'ku. | Čunkirini-
likewise | thou wilt receive | Stephen-demon. | Čunkirini-

mal'ku. | katoxtanta | marka-kol'o. | pokara.
demon. | thou wilt receive | country mountains. | demon?.

katoxtanta | Korisančuri-mal'ku. | katoxtanta
thou wilt receive. | Korisančuri-demon. | thou wilt receive

Kemperani-mal'ku. | Kemperani-tal'a. | tunkapeyani
Kemperani-demon. | Kemperani-demon woman. | 12

parwal'a. | todos | parwal'a. | katoxtanta | Kilimint-mal'ku.
grass. | all | grasses | thou wilt receive | Kilimint-demon.

Kilimint-tal'a. | Kustil'er-mal'ku. | marka-kol'o.
Kilimint-demon woman | Kustil'er-demon. | country-mountains.

marka-tal'a | Waxma-mal'ku. | mamita-señov(a)
land female demons. | Waxma-demon. | little mother lady

Sant(a) Ana. | pá | pokarani. | turi | mal'ku | kaĉa | pokara.
Saint Anne. | two | demons(?). | tower | demon | great | demon.

pá | wertani. | mamit(a) | Sant(a) Ana. | pá | kaĉa | kotani.
two | plants. | little mother | Saint Anne. | two | great | lakes.

/348 cont./

*796 539 "Virgin foster mother of all these three kinds of livestock, foster mother of the large livestock (the llamas), foster mother of pigs, foster mother of sheep. (You) the "Three summits," likewise thou, great demon, divine river Lauca, Lauca demon woman, who sends us all our grass, receive (these offerings). Demon Stephen, demon Čunkirini, receive (these offerings), receive them also, mountains of the country, demons, receive (these offerings) and you also, demon Korisančuri, demons Kemperani, male and female, (give us) 12 kinds of grasses, all the grasses, receive (these offerings), demons Kilimint, male and female, demons /349/ Kusil'er, mountains of the country, female divinities, demon Waxma, little-mother, lady Saint Anne, two demons, sacred Tower, great demon, little mother Saint Anne, (give us) the two plants, two great lakes."

*796 Without interrupting his invocations for a single second, with nervous and rapid gestures, as if he were being urged to finish, the Officiant threw in front of him the contents of the cups which his assistant held out to him two by two.

The last cup emptied he got up with two mugs of alcohol in one hand and a pinch of coca in the other and, turning toward the north, he called on all the mal'ku one by one.

*796 539

Čiksa-č'al'a	aka	mal'ku	tal'a
Together let us offer libations	this	demon	female demon

taki	takpača	L'auka-mal'ku	Saxama-mal'ku	Čunkirini
for	all	sacred Lauca	sacred Sajama	Čunkirini-

mal'ku	son	mal'ku	ilxpax	Estewan	mal'ku	turi-mal'ku
demon	are	greatest	demons	Stephen	demon	sacred tower

son	marka	mal'ku.
are	country	demons.

/349 cont./

*796 539 "Let us together offer up a libation to the male and female demons, to all, to the sacred Lauca River, to the sacred Sajama, to the demon Cunkirini. The greatest demons are Stephen and the sacred tower. They are the demons of the country."

He sprinkled several drops of alcohol on the ground and threw his handful of coca leaves to the wind. He did the same looking to the south. Then he knelt again before the cross to begin again all his prayers accompanied this time by libations of alcohol and offerings of coca; the act was attended by the following formula:

Mal'ku	tapa	tal'a	Virxina	pawartasă.
Demons	all	woman demon	Virgin	I throw some coca.

Before getting up again he addressed himself to the Pachamama in these words:

Paca-mama,	wirxin,	taika	mama,	xuma	uyuwaskista.
Pachamama,	Virgin,	earth	mother,	thou	thou makest

grow for me (thou feedest me).

"Pachamama, Virgin, mother of the earth, it is thou who makest the plants grow for me, it is thou who feeds me."

*796 He ended this last invocation by kissing the earth with a strange fervor.

/350/ During the entire duration of this ceremony, men and women had approached the cross one after the other and knelt near it, fumigating it by blowing on the embers of their censers.

*796 576 All then reassembled in the little enclosure attached to the chapel and the festival properly so called began. There were interminable exchanges of civilities which lasted almost until evening. The Indians accosted each other and bowed, with hat off, knee on the ground, and with a circular motion of the arms as if they wanted to press the man or the woman to whom they were

U /350 cont./
*796 making these signs of respect to their breast. Some made a pre-
576 tense of kissing the wrist of those who inspired them with a special feeling of respect. Each of these embraces was accompanied with the word tatai or mamai, according to whether they were addressed to a man or to a woman, said in a plaintive tone. They were answered with the same suffering murmur. While engaging in these manifestations of courtesy from time to time, the participants exchanged their bags of coca and offered each other mugs of alcohol (1). The one who invited another to drink would indicate,

A
175
576

1. These rites of courtesy certainly date from pre-Columbian times. They were observed among the Aymara in the sixteenth century: Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 72: "and for this operation they gather in groups in special houses, dancing with drums and dull instruments; and it is customary that none of these Indians ever drinks this drink alone, but all hold their drinking vessels in pairs, and one having drunk from one of the said vessels has to give his companion a drink from the other." /Cited in Spanish./

U
*796 by means of a hallowed formula, the name of the saint to whom he
●539 wished the libation to be offered up. The person thus favored had
576 to sprinkle a few drops of the precious liquid on the ground and address a prayer to the saint who had been named, in which he requested prosperity and the increase of the flocks.

Here are some examples of these formulas: "San Xeronimištan čuta, San Mikelištan čuta, San Filipištan čuta, Antonio tatašan

/350 cont./

*796 ●539 596 čuta, Tata unkuštan čuta, Tata san Rafaelištan čuta, Santa Martaštan čuta, Taikas Mariaštan čuta, Tata San Xoakinaštan čuta, Kosé Kristoštan čuta, Waralupaštan čuta, Wirxina-altaštan čuta, Pačamamaštan čuta: L'auka Mariaštan čuta, Kimša pakˣal'a nasimiente čuta, mantinšon parwal'a čuta."

*796 [554] The drinking was presided over as usual by an alferez, who this time was hardly able to make a display of his munificence, since the alcohol and coca that were being consumed had been brought by each of the participants. Nevertheless, he was greeted with the cry: "Xal'al'a alferez" (Hallelujah alferez) and was treated to several refrains of asiento de paloma, i.e., "pigeon next."

This agreeable pastime did not, however, cause them to neglect their /351/ religious duties. Each moment two or three Indians who were especially pious or endowed with a good memory would throw themselves on their knees and in a rythmic and moaning tone recite prayers, some of which have been transcribed above. Espíritu Mamani gave evidence of very special ardor and zeal. He was as if possessed by a fit of mystical enthusiasm. The following prayer was the one which recurred most frequently on his lips:

*796 539

Araxpača	auki,	wawaxinaka	taki	suma	waina	tiempo	
Sky	master	children the	for	good	young	weather	
aka	mara	taki	čuranipkita,	owa-naka-taki			
this	year	for	that thou givest us	sheep the for			
kaura-kal'u,	kuči-kal'u	usa-kal'u,	pakˣal'a				
llamas young,	piglets	lambs,	livestock				
nasimiento	taki.						
birth	for						

/351 cont./

*796 [539] "Master of the sky, grant good weather to thy sons this year. Give us sheep, young llamas, piglets and lambs, (increase) the births of our livestock."

Frequently, a single Indian, or still more often a couple, would leave the enclosure and go kneel down a certain distance from the chapel facing east. They would each carry a censor or light a handful of khoa beside themselves. They would remain there about ten minutes, meditatively murmuring invocations to the mal'ku, and then would offer up a libation to them followed by several pinches of coca.

Others would go in the chapel to kneel before Santiago and pray to him. The Officiant beat the drum for several minutes at short intervals, probably with the intention of chasing away the evil spirits who were prowling around thereabouts.

Toward the end of the afternoon two old men, turning toward the north, offered up a libation and an offering of coca to Cerro Sajama, "father of the Lauca River which makes us live," and to the Lauca River itself. Both were given the title of mal'ku (Saxama-mal'ku, Mal'ku-xuna-Saxama, L'auka mal'ku).

[273] As the hours passed spirits revived under the influence of the alcohol which provoked a recrudescence of piety. Libations were offered more frequently, prayers were repeated after shorter and shorter intervals, and xal'al'a burst out at the slightest opportunity.

[796] They invited each other to offer alcohol to the foster-parent divinities:

[539]

Taki	čulma	č'al'tama	uyuwirinaka	taki.
All	we	offer up libations	foster parents the	for

/352/ And they expressed the wish to gather together again the next year at the same place to drink and offer up libations: Mara kičur(u) hama ("That next year [we offer libations] likewise").

/353 cont./

*798 *796 Some, kneeling before the latter, passed a censer in which copal or khoa were burning under their noses.

[782] Without waiting for the assembly to grow larger, the Officiant and his helpers proceeded to slaughter the llama, the pig, and then the ewe (Pl. XI, B, D /see p. 132/). The sacrifice done with a knife of poor quality was a painful sight. At the moment when the blood splashed from the severed arteries, the Officiant took from two bags a pinch of white maize flour (k^{x}uli l'umpaka) and black (tsox k^{x}uli l'umpaka), which he sprinkled on the spurt of blood. Then catching the blood in a bowl in the bottom of which [823] he had mixed a bit of the two kinds of flour, he walked around the animal sprinkling the ground at the four cardinal points. A certain amount of blood was poured on the samiri.

The rites were repeated identically for each of the victims. /354/ When the Officiant had ended his sprinkling, the sacrificed animals were drawn aside to be skinned and prepared immediately.

Only at this moment did the spectators, who up to now had remained bareheaded, their eyes fixed on the ground, put their hats back on and come out of their meditation.

Shortly afterward the Officiant, armed with an old bayonet, walked around the knoll, making holes in which he put a little copal and a small plant stuck in a pellet of fat the size of an egg.

*798 *796 He accompanied each of his offerings with short invocations to the Paǰa-mama, the text of which he recited to me later.

539

Werxina	unto-k^{x}al'u	Werxina	tima	am	amura	lo mismo
Virgin	fat pellet	Virgin	that	thee	love	likewise

parwal'a	am	amura	tunčis	am	amuraǰa.
grass	thee	love	today	thee	it is thy love.

"Virgin, (take) this pellet of fat which thou lovest, likewise the grass which thou lovest, today (thou receivest?) that which thou lovest."

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Chijaya

/354 cont./

*778	Werxina	yu(u)wiri	t'apa	čivi	kʷal'u	tanšni	tija
*796	Virgin	foster mother	all	white	pellet	take	this
539							

amura	hasiki	šskatoktišina	t'apa	čivi	kʷal'u.
love	in this moment	receive	all	white	pellet.

"Foster-mother Virgin, take this white pellet of fat which thou lovest. In this moment receive this white pellet of fat."

*778 *796 During this part of the ceremony his helper spread a napkin in front of the cellar on which he set out 36 small mugs filled with water; then the Officiant prepared the libation (1). He began

1. On the day of the festival of Kemperani-mal'ku I observed several variants in the preparation of the čʿal'a. Here they are: the yatiri rubbed the first two cupules of the first row with a blackish stone, which he deposited beside the second mug, and did likewise with the two following, but this time with a reddish stone, which he placed after the fourth. The bottoms of the two latter were also rubbed with a greyish stone, which he left on the rug. The Officiant then proceeded to do the same operation with beads from stone necklaces of pre-Columbian origin. After having grated the bottom of a mug with one of these beads, he took another of them and followed suit until all the beads of the necklace had soaked in the cupules full of water.

/357 cont./

*1778 *1796 824 alferez and his wife received in addition cheeses, eggs, and even some small silver coins which they placed in front of the sheaves along with two horns and some flutes. They then proceeded to the distribution of part of the straw, which the women passed between the twists of the braids on their temples. The men decorated their hats with it.

In the samiri's cellar (Fig. 35, A /see p. 78/) the Officiant placed four small bags of white paper tied with strings of red wool, which contained respectively the following items: in the first, lozenges and white, yellow, and pink candy destined for the Earth-mother to make her sweeter; in the second, cloves, pimento, cinnamon bark, pallios (a type of cinnamon), and maté leaves; in the third, olives, orange peel, Carob-tree pods (k^{x}oka), dried pieces of peach, guava, quince, and apple; and in the fourth, dark red, clear blue, and brown mineral powders (sevarios), each in a separate little paper bag, rosemary, starch, and lastly two white and pink candies. Next to the little bags he then placed two small plants stuck into a pellet of fat and a bunch of pinks.

*1778 *1796 On the other hand he then took out a bottle which had /358/ been in the cellar, into which those present one by one came to pour the contents of a drinking cup of alcohol. At the same time as this offering they sprinkled several drops of alcohol on the samiri and pinches of coca into the cellar. This libation was ceaselessly

● [539] [231] accompanied with this prayer muttered in a low voice:

Haĉa	pak^{x}al'a	samiri	kulumayo	pak^{x}al'a	samiri	kon
Large	livestock	"	pigs	livestock	"	with

usita	pak^{x}al'a	samiri	maitarapita.
sheep	livestock	"	give to me.

"Samiri of the large livestock (llamas), samiri of the pigs, samiri of the sheep, give to me."

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Chipaya

/358 cont./

*798 *796 Several women came to add new tufts of red wool to the samiri, so much that the stones finally were no longer visible.

[296] At the same time the rest of the assembly drank, chewed coca, and exchanged the usual civilities.

Then several handfuls of khoa were lighted; they burned on the place of sacrifice all day.

[252] While these ceremonies were under way, several men and young girls were busying themselves at the side with the cooking. The victims were cut up, their bones crushed with a stone, and the entrails boiled in large receptacles of tin. Once cooked pieces [264] were carried to the assembled people in large clay dishes and distributed through the efforts of the Officiant, who first of all threw a few slices destined for the spirits and demons to the four cardinal points as if to mark the formula then uttered:

● [539]

hal'pa	tija	mal'ku	resevita
pieces	these	demons	receive

"Demons, receive these pieces."

[296] This preliminary meal ended all began to drink and chew [533] coca again. From time to time the Officiant took one of the horns placed in front of the sheaves and drew muffled and distant sounds from it. He or some other qualified person recited rapid prayers *798 *796 without interruption, in which the names of the saints and of the 539 mal'ku were closely bound together. Here is one of them:

Haču-pakʸal'a-samiri			samanta
Samiri of the large livestock (llamas)			thou wilt stay
kulumay(u)-samiri	/359/	samanta	čʸital'a-samiri
samiri of the pigs		thou wilt rest	samiri of the sheep
samanta	hani-hewtiri		patakwaranka
thou wilt rest	in order not to die		hundred thousand (years?)

/359 cont./

*778 *796 539

samanta taki pilu samanta. Mal'ku, pokara
thou wilt rest all wool thou wilt rest. Demon, demon

Korisančuri-mal'ku hiča kumplusmawa.
Korisancuri-demon now I have acquitted myself.

Kimsa pakʸal'a loktitánta kasisposa
Three kinds of livestock thou wilt give me married people

saluro maitanta. Pasiensia-amta, pasiensia
health thou wilt give me. Patience thought, patience

rixta suma čuyma suma korasón, suma
righteous good heart good heart, good

loktitanta todos mal'kunaka suma amta
thou wilt give me all the demons good thoughts

(čura)nipxitata (?) todos santos y santas kurixo
you will give me (?) all male and female saints always

mantamiento loktital'a. (i)yawsital'a, huma araxpača,
nourishment give. Accept me, thou sky

wirxin-taika (i)yawsital'a palxayatalaiku,
Virgin-earth concede it to me by that which has been said,

(i)yawsital'a ma pori wawa laikusa. (i)yawsital'a
concede it to me a poor child for that. Accept me

ma wawa-wakča wawa-matulaiku. (i)yawsital'a
an orphan child son for. Give it to me

/359 cont./

San Sebastian alto kalo yatunka parwal'a bbrrrrr
St. Sebastian high generous nine grasses bbrrrrr

patakawaranka surti mal'ku surti tal'a
hundred thousand fortunes demon fortune female demon

todas kumpañas saluru bbrrr hayankiri
all the gatherings health bbrr those who are far,

hakankíri todös saludos, taki kumpaña
those who are near all safety. all the gathering

pak^xal'a saluru surti mal'ku, mal'ku surti.
flock health good fortune demon, demon luck.

tal'a saluru brrr.
female demon health brrr.

"Samiri of the large livestock (llama), thou wilt stay here, samiri of the pigs, thou wilt stay here, samiri of the sheep, thou wilt stay here so as not to die. Thou wilt stay here a hundred times a thousand (years). Thou wilt stay here covered with wool. You will stay here, you, demon, you pokara, Korisanˇuri-demon; now I have acquitted myself with these three head of livestock, thou wilt give health to married people, thou wilt give me a patient mind, a righteous mind, a good heart, thou wilt give it to me. You, all the demons, give me good thoughts. Male and female saints, give me always something to eat. Show favor to me, thou, sky, Virgin-earth, be favorable to me for that which has been said, for that be favorable to me. I am a poor child, /360/ be favorable to me, I am an orphan, I am thy son, for that be favorable to me, Saint Sebastian, high, generous, give us nine grasses brrr, 100,000 fortunes, demon, female demon, give health to all the gathering,

/360 cont./

*1098 to those who are near, to those who are far away, health to all,
*1096 to those who are there, health, luck to the herds and flocks, demon,
539 female demon, health, fortune, brrr."

Others contented themselves with enumerating in a loud voice the various types of vegetation that grow in Chipaya and assure the life of the flocks and, indirectly, that of the Čipaya: "Lurumpa-parwal'a, kolča-parwal'a, lumča-parwal'a, čunka-parwal'a, skawri-parwal'a, kapara-parwal'a, uśku-parwal'a, awa-parwal'a, waila-parwal'a, tola-parwal'a, wiču-parwal'a, kora-parwal'a, l'apa-parwal'a, kaču-parwal'a."

*1098 These recitations were interrupted by imitations of the noise
*1096 of the wind which various people did by making their lips vibrate rapidly. From time to time some Indian would detach himself from the group to go offer a libation to the samiri or to offer them coca.

Toward the middle of the afternoon some women took out some boxes of quinua from their shawls, took them in their arms and went with them to kneel down facing the east and to pray for a rather long time. When they had finished they offered their boxes to the alferez and his wife, who thanked them and tied the stalks of quinua to the sheaves of straw.

This rite, the magico-religious significance of which is obvious, was followed by another, the character of which is no less apparent. The alferez wife, taking a handful of maize kernels in her mantle, showered them on the assembly, crying out: "They will sprout well, luck, luck," or: "Wefã, bindišiuna, hača pakčal'a, bindišiuna, kulumayo, bindišiuna, čital'a." — "Offering, benediction, large livestock (llamas), benediction, pigs, benediction, sheep," and all rushed to gather them in the midst of general confusion. The slightest kernel was carefully kept as a relic.

[533] The musicians, who up to this point had only made themselves heard at rare intervals, began to appear more active.

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*708 *796 [596] repeated immediately in echo. It seemed to me that this cry was raised each time that the alferez began to drink or refilled his drinking cups. More direct compliments were frequently addressed to the alferez, who was treated as in the previous festival.

Several times the alferez' wife, displaying as much conviction as enthusiasm, threw out handfuls of white maize or peas over which the audience fought.

Practically the whole afternoon passed in this way beneath a leaden sky. When the prayers and wishes ceased to be heard, a mournful silence momentarily reigned, uninterrupted by any [273] [154] particular conversation. Although most of them were drunk, the Indians remained as apathetic and indifferent as usual.

*708 *796 262 514 Toward five o'clock the meal for which all had been patiently waiting was served. Two blankets were spread out in front of the alferez, and the cooks, led by the Officiant and his helper, placed the food on them. Boiled barley brought in bowls was poured out in ribbons forming a large oval cut again lengthwise by several parallel lines. At this point several guests got up to add either cuño (frozen potatoes) or roasted maize which was scattered between the ribbons of barley. The boiled meat brought in bowls was arranged magisterially on the ribbons of barley at regular intervals and in equal amounts. But part of the meat was directly distributed by the Officiant and the cooks, who first offered the llama, then the pork, and last the mutton. At the same time bowls of stinking boullion were passed from hand to hand and everyone took several gulps.

*708 *796 Before closing the samiri's cellar, the Officiant recited a prayer that was listened to by all with bared heads. This prayer is addressed to the mal'ku and the samiri. The cellar was then shut and hidden under a yareta.

● [539] At the moment of departure the Officiant turned once more to the samiri and directed several words of farewell which put an end to the ceremony:

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Hasiki	suma	l'autita	suma	kumpltita	hasiki	
Now	well	shut	well	acquitted	now	
katokta		suma		katoktaki ya.		
you have received		well		you have received.		

/363/ "Now you have been well shut in, we have acquitted ourselves well toward you. Now you have received offerings, you have received well of them."

Little by little the group dispersed. Each, before going away, approached the site of the cellar, knelt, and said a short prayer, at the end of which he touched the mound with his hand, which he brought to his lips. The alferez' wife epitomized the gesture by kissing the ground. I heard them murmur while getting up, "Verxina-mal'ku lisinta" — "Holy Virgin, with thy permission." Some couples, before leaving the area, went to salute the alferez and his wife in the customary fashion.

The latter, moreover, did not seem to consider the merry-making ended, and it was with flags flying, dancing and drinking, that the most enthusiastic returned, forming a procession which disappeared toward the "water houses."

On the same day the saya taxata held a similar festival on its territory.

Second day (January 21). On the preceding day only a part of the meat of the sacrificed victims had been eaten on the spot. The rest was served in the course of a feast which the alferez offered to the members of his saya the day after the festival. The ceremony which I will describe took place at Taxata.

The alferez' two white banners were planted before the door of his hut toward noon. The members of the saya had gathered near the threshold, men on one side and women on the other, waiting for the food (Pl. XII, B /see p. 133/). It was served to them as on the day before, on blankets spread on the ground. The menu was, moreover, substantially the same, but completed

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/363 cont./

this time with two soups, one of quinua and the other of Zuño and quinua leaves. They were distributed in small individual bowls which, as soon as they were filled by the efforts of the alferez' wife and several other women, were carried to the guests by a group of little boys. Inside the hut the alferez was standing behind a table on which the heads of the sacrificed animals and the sheaves which had been used the day before were placed. As usual, the alferez' wife was in her place, to the left of her husband. The most respected guests were seated inside the hut.

The meal did not last long. When the last guests were on the point of leaving, the flag was rolled up and carried away by an individual, undoubtedly the person who the day before had been proclaimed katokere, i.e., alferez of the next festival.

/364/ Several hours later a large group formed again in the alferez' hut, this time occupied in drinking according to the usual ritual. Two old men uttered prayers to the mal'ku without pause, even while drinking. At a given moment they knelt in the middle of the hut, their bodies turned toward the east, and, in this position, addressed a long invocation to them, which they concluded by kissing the ground.

Kant-mal'ku,	Kusil'er-mal'ku,	Kilimint-mal'ku,	Kusil'aviri,
Kant-demon,	Kusil'er-demon,	Kilimint-demon,	Kusil'aviri,

márka-kol'o,	Kemperan	mal'ku,	Estewan-mal'ku (1).
country mountains	Kemperan	demon,	Stephen-demon,

1. During the feast of the Estewan-mal'ku, the alferez threw beans, peas, and dried fruit to the winds.

/364 cont./

xal'al'a	L'auca,	wasi	ʧoksã,	awiatori,	maitiñi,
hallelujah	Lauca,	?	?	shepherd,	he who grants,

Saxama	mal'ku,	ʧep-pakˣal'a,	awianta,	
Sajama	demon,	three kinds of livestock,	make graze,	

Sikwanku (2).	Paʧata (3).	Turi-mal'ku,	t'apa	pokara,
Little bench,	Pachata (3)	Tower-demon,	all	demons,

[03]

2. Sikwanku: "chico banco" "little bench." Name of a mountain which is visible from Chipaya.

3. Summits visible from Chipaya.

L'auka-mal'ku,	Maria	tokatoka	Mama sapo,	Tata-sapo,	
Lauca-demon,	Mary	toad	mama toad,	father toad,	

uruisapo,	Sinata,	Pumari (3)	/see above/	mara
to create for,	?	Pumari		year

aka	paʧa	arax-paʧa.	mamita	Santa-Ana,	Samiri.
this	time	sky.	mama	Saint Anne,	Samiri.

"Demon Kant, demon Kusil'er, demon Kilimint, Kusil'aviri, let graze, mountains of the country, demon Kemperan, demon Stephen, hallelujah, Lauca river, ??, thou who makest graze, thou who grantest, demon Sajama, we the three kinds of livestock of our herds, Mount Sikwanku, Mount Pachata, Demon Tower, divine Lauca, Mary toad, mama toad, father toad, create for us, Sinata, Pumari, grant us a new year like this one, you, sky, Mama Saint Anne, Samiri."

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The prayer which recurred most often on the Officiant's lips clearly indicated that the Estewan-mal'ku alone was to receive the honors apparently being paid to his colleague:

Estewan-mal'ku	hasiki	am	kumpla	tonuja
Stephen demon	in this moment	thou	to accomplish	I have

ti	pak al'istan	pak al'a	cep-laiku
come	these heads of livestock	heads of livestock	three for

kasit	esposa	sahut-laiku	hasiki
married-spouses		heath for	in this moment

kumplataja /374/	hasiki	t'apa	kumpaña
I have accomplished	in this moment	all	assembly

tonx-tuñi	kumpltuja	am-ki	mal'ku.
today	I accomplish	thou	demon.

"Stephen-demon, I have come to acquit myself toward thee (by offering thee) these animals on behalf of our three kinds of flocks and on behalf of married people. At this moment I have fulfilled my duty, at this moment, today, with the entire assembly I acquit myself toward thee, demon."

Aside from these insignificant details all the accessories of the festival of the samiri figured in this one but with more abundance. The sheaves of straw were more numerous and more ornate than before, and had some parina (flamingo) eggs placed at their base.

I observed only one new rite: the prayer that the alferez and his wife made successively to the four cardinal points. At the moment when they got up to proceed to this duty, the flutists began to play a melody backed by drumbeats. When they returned to the village in the evening, the alferez and alfereza both had a truss of straw on the back.

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Cajaya

/374 cont./

The festival ended in general intoxication, of which the court in front of the chapel was in part a witness. The drinking continued practically without interruption until the next day, when the alferes held a feast for 120 people. In spite of the relative dearth of alcohol, the alferes, the Officiant, and his relatives found the means to finally roll on the ground, dead drunk.

Several days later on February 12 (Comadres /Gossips' Thursday, the last Thursday before Shrove-Tuesday/), it was the turn of the Kemperani-mal'ku to receive alcohol and presents. The poor idol did not seem to enjoy much favor, for there were few who came to "acquit themselves," and although the rites were faithfully observed they were carried out rapidly. Several small details that I was able to perceive in the gestures of the Officiant and in the composition of the liquids offered to the mal'ku have been mentioned in the footnote on pages 74 and 75. One fact is worth keeping in mind: when the cone was dripping with blood, those present got up and prostrated themselves in front of it. Some touched it lightly with their fingertips and brought them to their lips. The individuals who took part in this festival all belonged to the saya, with the possible exception of the Officiant. The absence of families or of a few representatives at least from taxata did not fail to surprise me, as in the prayer addressed to the Kemperani-mal'ku one is given to understand that the east (manta) side of the cone which stands on the border of the two saya "looks at" both of them:

Kemperani-mal'ku	porap-ibina	inkiñi	mal'ku lenta
Kemperani-demon	the two behind	who looks	demon border

towantiña	/375/	taxatiña	maiñi	hasibi
east of		west of	who hearkens	in this moment

porap-ayi'u	kumplatuja	qeqi-ki	towanta	taxata
the two clans	acquit themselves	today	east	west

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//3Th cont.//

kompeta	kompeti-inan	tsap	pasᵊai-pako
accompany	company with	three	heads of livestock in order to

kompianᵊa	pasᵊai's	hanihi
they acquit themselves	head of livestock	at this moment

matsinankiᵊa	para simpre	kompitisanpa.
grant us	forever	to be acquitted.

"Dennen Kemperani, thou who lookest at the two clans which are behind thee. Today the two clans have come to be acquitted before thee, that of the east and that of the west. All of these accompany me, they come in this moment to acquit themselves on behalf of the three kinds of animals. Grant us in this moment flocks, so that we may always acquit ourselves before thee."

The Cunkirini-mai'ku is the last of the cones of earth for which a festival is performed during the year by the seya tsoats. Also this festival is clothed with a brilliance and solemnity which make it the most perfect expression of the ceremonies and pagan rites preserved by the Cipaya. The alferes of the preceding festivals come to it, carrying their straw trunks hung with garlands on their backs, and they set up small improvised altars all around the Cunkirini-mai'ku as if they were going to exercise their forever role. The cone of earth is covered with garlands of fruit, bread rings, cheeses, and emerges red with blood above the bunches of straw and the groups of Indians squatting around it. The numerous prayers which are uttered on this day are pleas for the assistance and generosity of the demons and saints of the tribe. The Cunkirini-mai'ku, whose "anniversary" is being celebrated, is naturally the most often invoked. It is implored in the following terms:

Cunkirini-mai'ku	hanihi	an	kompli
Cunkirini-demon	in this moment	thee	to acquit myself

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/775 cont./

umuñ	paᵐpaiʼañan	humpiamñ	uuu-ndi	
I have come	heads of livestock with	I acquit myself	today	

Yep	paᵐpaiʼa	paiaramñ	ana	inahaya
three	heads of livestock	are placed	not	in vain

Tatai	Mamai	niwinaqa	hañi	maiñiñañ
Father	Mother	to serve for	in this moment	grant me

ñaya	humpañan.
all	assembly with.

"Dennen Cumbirini, I have come in this hour, to acquit myself towards thee with these animals. I acquit myself today with these three head of livestock who are placed (before thee) — that this be not in vain — /775/ to serve thee, father, mother, in this hour, hearken to me and to all those who accompany me."

In contrast to the previous festival, which took place at the foot of this same cone of earth, a sort of cellar hewned at its base was opened this time, and various offerings, half-rotten, and a bottle of alcohol were taken out, the latter of which the Officiant and his helpers piously drank. It is necessary to add that the bottle was then refilled and that fresh magical substances and provisions replaced those which were thrown out.

The Indians used the occasion to go prostrate themselves in front of another cone, a real dwarf beside its congeners, for it was hardly 50 centimeters high. Perhaps this miniature mal'ku is the protector of children, for the corregidor of the tribe offered it a sheep in the name of his three-year-old son.

Prayers to the Kilimuntu-mal'ku and to the Kusi'awari-mal'ku. The Aymara Anacleto Mollu dictated two more prayers to me, one addressed to the Kilimuntu-mal'ku and the other to the Kusi'awari-mal'ku. These two cones of earth stand on tasaña territory, and their worship is reserved for this ayllu. I was not able to attend the

/376 cont./

ceremonies of which they were the object, for they were performed at the same time as those in which I took part at tuanta in honor of the mal'ku of that saya. It is highly unlikely that the rites in the two sections differ; in any case, the prayers, judging from those which I am giving here, are of the same type:

Kilimemo-mal'ku,	hasiki	am	kumpli
Kilimemo-demon,	in this moment	thee	to acquit myself

tonuja	ti	ʧep	pakʷal'litan	palantasuja
I have come	these	three	head of livestock	are placed

pakʷal'-laiku	ti	kasat-ispo-laiku	ana	ina-hapa-ki	
herds for	these	married spouses for	not	in vain	

Tatai	Mamal,	serwishapa	t'apa	kumpaña.
Father	Mother,	to serve for	all	assembly.

"Demon Kilimemo, in this moment I have come to acquit myself with these three animals who are placed in front of thee, on behalf of the herds and the married people. That this be not in vain, Father, Mother, that all those who accompany me (are come) to serve thee."

Konil'awari-mal'ku,	tal'a	hasiki	am
Konil'awari-demon	female-demon	in this moment	thee

kumpla	tonuja	tun-čis	samča	tonxiki	
to acquit myself	I have come	today	anniversary	today	

ʧep	pakʷal'litan	tonuja	pakʷal'laiku
three	head of livestock with	I have come	herds on behalf

salut-laiku	t'apa	kumpaña	kumpinuja	tonx-tuñi.
health for	all	the assembly	acquits itself	today.

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*1178 *796 ● 539 "Demon Kosil'awari, wife of the demon, in this moment I have come to acquit myself with these three animals, on this day, the day of thy anniversary. I have come with the whole assembly to acquit ourselves on behalf of our herds and (our) health."

[782] In conclusion I shall reproduce the prayer which is addressed to Mount Sajama and to the Lauca River when a specimen of each of the three kinds of animals which comprise the herds of the Čipaya is sacrificed to the latter:

Saxama-mal'ku	awiaturu	awitiškal'a	Maria	L'auka	ti
Sacred Sajama	shepherd	make feed	Mary	Lauca	these

čep	pakčal'a	awitiška	parwal'a	para	simpre
three	heads of livestock	make feed	grass	for	always

awitiška.
made feed.

"Sacred Sajama (thou) the shepherd, make us able to feed, Mary Lauca, (grant us) to feed these three kinds of animals, (give us grass) to feed them."

*796 23 236 Religious Practices at Sheep-shearing Time.

In the beginning of February the Indians of the saya taxata went away to shear their sheep. They came back from their "water houses" with huge packs of llama and sheep wool which they piled [532] up in their huts. This return was the occasion for a festival which chiefly consisted of offering libations of alcohol over the piles of wool and of offering coca and alcohol to the small earthen llamas (Pl. XVII, B /see p. 138/) lined up inside the hut on a table. A few llamas had been led to the village, and the Indians came from time to time to drop some coca leaves and drops of alcohol on their backs, while imploring the demons and saints to increase these animals, to protect them, and to make the grass on which they feed grow.

527 /380 cont./ They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and
578 exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations
833 to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.
1171

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and
1178 were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

527 The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Čunkirini-
782 mal'ku, is common to the two saya, was recited in the course of
996 this sacrifice:
539

Turi-mal'ku,	Čawk	mal'ku,	Santa Ana,	mal'ku	tuanta,
Tower-demon,	great	demon,	Saint Anne,	demon	east,

taxatištan,	maitiñi,	roktiñi	hasiki
west of	he who obtains,	who prays,	in this moment,

suma,	waino,	tiempo	šmaitišimal'a,	wale,	wale,
good	young	weather	hearken to me,	good,	good,

suma	wata	šmaitišiña	t apa	serwintišta.
good	year	grant us	all	servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuanta and Taxata saya, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

527 The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol.
1080 Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred sticks. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

/382 cont./

592 The number of spirits which rule over a household may be
342 even more considerable. In a prayer of Aymara origin which I
*978 recorded among the Čipaya, in the course of a sacrifice made to the demons of the house, the shed and the kitchen are invoked at the same time as the court.

342 Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which re-
[171] cur uniformly throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara.
[982] There is no Čipaya hut on which one does not see to the left of the door upon entering the blackish spot of blood with which it was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears
[574] traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the costs of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided
342 him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up
982 many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirits,
539 that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

Ačokžal'a	kžoya	kamantaika	suma	hašk	wata
Straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

awantil'a (1) kžoya-ki.
endure house this.

1. From the Spanish aguantar, "to endure."

[192] /383/ A beautiful example of the frightful jargon, a mixture of Čipaya, Aymara, and Kičua /Quechua/ words, which the Indians use in their conversations with the divinities.

*708 The titi-mal'ku is honored each time that an Indian returns
782 home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the
[221] number of titi-mal'ku in Chipaya is limited, I would not have

/383 cont./

*778 782 been able to be present at this intimate ceremony if my neighbors in the saya tuanta had not just made a sacrifice to their stuffed cat upon their return after a prolonged absence. They began by choosing a splendid white sheep from their flock, which they decorated with red pompoms and stretched in front of the door of their hut, its head toward the east. Next to him they placed a small tablecloth which they covered with coca leaves. They let fall several drops of alcohol and several pinches of coca on this [539] victim and uttered the following formula:

Mal'ku patio	titi-mal'ku	suma	katosimal'a
Spirit (of the) patio	sacred cat	well	receive very much

vila.
blood.

The Indian's two huts were sprinkled inside and out with the blood of the slaughtered sheep, and the last gush which poured from his severed artery was thrown eastward with a prayer to the demons, to the Earth-mother, and to the saints.

*778 The titi-mal'ku occupied the place of honor inside the hut. It was decorated with a festive sling wrapped around its body; red pompoms hung from its ears and a bag had been hung from its neck. I made a list of the contents of the latter: besides coca there was a small bottle of alcohol, various magical substances such as colored mineral powders, fetish money (il'a), a stone calcareous in nature, and lastly a dried pear and an orange peel.

*778 782 A bowl full of blood was offered to the titi-mal'ku and near it was put a napkin covered with coca leaves which the neighbors came to renew. The owner and his wife sat near their titi-mal'ku to do homage to him with a small private ceremony in which they were the only ones to participate, but which soon attracted several interested visitors. With each libation, before drinking, they turned toward the wildcat so that he could not

/383 cont./
doubt the homage being paid him. Each offering was accompanied with this phrase:

Titi-mal'ku	suma	resiba-tamal'a	hiča	xunlu
Sacred cat	good	receive very much	now	together

vila	amora.
blood	love.

/384/ "Sacred cat receive this in abundance, now at the same time as this blood which we offer thee with love."

At the moment when the drinking cup was emptied, it was proper to cry "xal'al'a" (hallelujah).

In each Čipaya hut without exception one notices several poles of palm wood with a hole for hanging fastened to the wall facing the door. I did not find out the exact nature of these pieces of wood, nor the character which the Čipaya attributed to them. They give them the half-Aymara, half-Spanish name of kamana-para (house stick). During the great public festivals the magician goes toward the place of the ceremony armed with one of these sticks and plants it infront of himself before offering either a sacrifice or a libation. Sometimes the sheaves of sacred straw are attached around these sticks. One day I saw the Indians burn incense in front of their kamana-para, and they assured me that before Carnival and the festival of the Conception they sacrifice a sheep to it. I do not know if it is on this occasion or when a sheep is killed for the demon of the patio that the long prayer is recited which a Čipaya dictated to me when I questioned him on such family worship:

Takpača	(wawanataki)	xukalañaka	kˣoka	hača
All	child for	plant	cactus	large

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*778 782 539

pakχal'a	kulumayu	pakχal'a	kon	usita	pakχal'a
herd	pig	herd	with	sheep	herd

haĉa	pakχal'a	maitarapita	kamana	katoktarapita
large	herd	let me have	house	thou wilt receive

akel	mal'ku	mama	mal'ku	pati-sitio	kimsa
this	demon	mother	demon	patio place	three

pakχal'a	nasimiento	humakatoktanta.
herds	births	thou wilt receive.

"Let me have, for us thy children, plants (?), large cacti, pigs with sheep and large livestock (llamas), let me have it, thou shed (where the mal'ku stays), thou kitchen of the house. Thou wilt receive as an offering the young of the three kinds of animals, thou spirit, thou mother spirit, thou court (demon of the court)."

782 One afternoon when I had gone to visit my friend Anacleto Mullu, I found him in the process of offering up libations in the company of his nephew and his wife. They had placed a censer in front of them and held out the two twin drinking cups to each other, part of the contents of which they poured out, reciting a prayer on the invitation of and under the direction of the yatiri. Insofar as I could understand the meaning of their mournful pleas, they must have been addressed to the sacred sticks of the hut and to the protecting spirit /385/ of the house, who were asked to make the grass of the fields grow and to make rain fall on the bare Chipaya plains.

Here are a few bits of the prayers they recited that day that I was able to snatch on the wing:

[539]

Verxina	ĉal'anta	uyuwiri	Araxpâĉa
Virgin	I shall offer a libation	foster mother	Sky

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782 539	karpa	marka	kol'u	uyuwiri	Virxina	Mamita
	rain	country	mountains	foster mother	Virgin	Mama

Rosario,	palta	šenekina	benitnis	te	k'anasa	kanavita.
Rosary,	speak	us	bless		light	?

"Virgin, foster mother, I shall offer thee a libation, (give us) the rain of the Sky and you also, mountains of the country, foster mother Virgin, Mama Rosary, speak to us, blessed be thou."

782 In another hut on the same day I noticed a censer that was smoking in front of the sacred sticks (kamana-para).

Each Thursday the Čipaya burned a little khoa at the end of the little wall which separates their group of houses from the others. [777] They have borrowed this custom from the Aymara who practice it even in cities such as Oruro.

The Samiri of the sheepfold.

*778 *796 In the company of Anacleto Mullu I was invited to attend the burying of a samiri in the sheepfold of one of the families of the warta clan.

The first care of the yatiri upon arriving at the places was to dig the earth to uncover a small cellar made of limestone slabs, 20 cm. deep and 20 cm. long, which was situated approximately in the middle of the sheepfold. The Officiant took out of it four five-centavo coins, dried flowers, and a little bottle of eau-de-vie. The flowers were thrown away but the coins and the bottle of alcohol carefully put to one side. Meanwhile a black sheep [782] decorated with tufts of wool on its ears and neck had been led into the enclosure. He was as usual consecrated with libations and offerings of coca and slaughtered on the edge of the hole. The yatiri, facing east, offered a little of this blood to the demons whom he invoked and implored in a long prayer; then turning toward the hut of the man who was offering the sacrifice, he poured out the rest of the blood in honor of the protecting spirit of his

539

[For an analysis of Uru language texts consisting of a free translation, a cultural commentary, and linguistic notes, see category 116, pp. 7-27.]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.[29] The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Ṫuintatiṫo* (= Aymara *Ṫunupa?*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotsamptñi* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Tukun-wawa-samptñi* (the goddess of the Lake), *Pačani-samptñi-maḷku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *maḷku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kalwari-čiči* (god of potatoes), *Kjoni-samptñi* (god of the earth) and *Samptñi-maḷku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uro est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,[30] however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

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[29] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprizingly, believe in the superstition of "three-on-a-match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper reserves and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps; for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

[30] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya: "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanacu fell down."

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

We the Kjotsuñi [*q'otʒoñi*, from Aymará *q'ota*, "lake", and Uru *ʒoñi*, "men people"][1] are the oldest on this earth. A long time we were here, before when the sun was hidden.

Here where you see the suñi, in the time of our *Achichis* [ancestors], everywhere there was water with many fish; many rivers rose and flowed. Then our nation was large and happy.

Before the Sun hid himself for a long time we were in this place. Then the Kollas [Aymára] came, despoiling us of our lands; they used our bodies for *Kjuchos* [*kučo*, human sacrifice] when they laid the foundations of their temples.

When the Lake dried up we came out in search of food and thus encountered the Aymára.

Before *Čamak-pača* [Aymará, "time or epoch of darkness"] Tiahuanacu was built.

We have built our houses where our ancestors lived. The broken pots of many colors, and *topos* [copper pins] you find when plowing the ground, belong to them.

Métraux recorded in Quechua at Oruro a myth which tells of the tricking of the armadillo by the fox, who misled him concerning a fiesta; hence (say the Uru) the mantle of the armadillo is uneven on his neck and shoulders. Most of the Uru-Chipaya tales were learned from the Aymára.

Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes. Small children own property which cannot be sold without their consent; when a little girl refused to sell me a small cloth, in spite of my offering what must have appeared a fabulous sum, that was the end of it.

In greeting a white man on the road, the Uru, like the Aymára address him as *Wiracocha*, "sir," or *karai* "mister."

The Pleiades are called *kerkeru*, Venus *čauk-kola* ("big-?"), the Milky Way *čatu-likščai* (from *liks* "road"?) and another constellation *tsoxotsoxa;* a comet is called *mekala* (from the Aymará).

[1] Not, as Posnansky supposes, from the Aymará *suñi*, "puna." The meaning "men" is again obvious from the reference in the second paragraph. Further, the phoneme *ʒ* is lacking in Aymará.

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/125 cont./

59 1977 585 551 621 The family. The Čipaya family like the Aymara is copied on the Creole model. Marriages are performed at the church and registered at Huachacalla. When I made a census of the population, I was able to observe that individuals of the same name have a tendency to group themselves in a specific part of the village. Certain names are characteristic of each of the sectors of the village; thus the Alabe, the Lopez, and the Pirka in Warta-ayl'u; the Kondori (1), the Mul'u, the Losa in the other part of Tuanta; and the

[199]

1. Family names such as Mamani (hawk), Kondori (condor), and Kispe are purely Aymara and are borne by almost all the Indians of this race who do not have Spanish names.

Varači, Lazaro, Felipe, Kispe, Kopa, and Ilaka in the saya Taxata. Some other names, in contrast, are found disseminated throughout the village; thus /126/ the Mamani (1) /refers to footnote above/, who are as numerous in Tuanta as in Taxata. The Vilka overlap in Taxata and Tuanta. With the exception of the Mamani, the individuals whose names are distributed in all three sectors of the village alike represent only a few families that are practically isolated and probably emigrants. For example, there are only two Čino households, one of which occupies a hut built on the periphery of Warta, and the other at the end of Tuanta properly so called. This far-out position in the village indicates a nonlocal or recent origin. It is the same for the two Pirka, father and son, who are neighbors of one of the two Čino households in Warta.

616 My attempt at a census gave me the means to examine the question of exogamy at close range. The results of the study following this line confirmed the testimonies of the Čipaya on the absence [551] of any restriction in this respect. The members of each "moiety" take wives from the other "moiety" as well as from their own. Tuanta wives are in large part from the Taxata section, but in

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/126 cont./

616 [551] Taxata, in contrast, although there are numerous Tuanta wives, the greatest number of households are made up of individuals from the same section but with different names. I was able to establish that in a few cases within the same section a husband and wife had the same name. Since on these two occasions it was a question of patronymics without equivalents in another sector, one may conclude that the spouses were somehow related to each other; I do not know how.

591 [611] Filiation is rigorously paternal. The wife during her first year of marriage lives with her husband's parents. After one or two children are born the couple builds a hut for themselves beside that of the husband's parents. This rule is not absolute for there 428 are huts belonging to households without children. I gathered some information on inheritance law that is unfortunately vague and of which the accuracy is suspect. In case of the husband's death, if the wife has no children her husband's property passes into the hands of her father (he becomes custodian of it?). If she has a [556] child her husband's possessions are left to her, and in a case where the child is still small, "another family" takes care of the sheep, i.e. of the pre-eminent part of a Čipaya's fortune. One Čipaya man told me that, orphaned at an early age, he was raised by a woman of his "moiety." His father's flock passed into the hands of his brother, who gave him his share when he was old enough to go himself to herd his sheep.

Kinship terms.

601 Although the nomenclature of the kinship terms teaches us nothing /127/ about the former organization of the Čipaya, I am recording them in any case to relieve my conscience:

grandfather	mastñil'a, Čaukal'a
grandmother	mā-tĩl'a
father	hep
mother	mā
father's brother (oldest)	čax-hep
father's brother (second)	taipir-tata

/195 cont./

142 Nose depressed at the base, a slightly convex profile. A very accentuated malo-marginal fold.

162
551

List of the Population

Uru men:

Manuel, Inta, 80 to 90 years old.
Tomas Inta, 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son.
Luis Inta, 40 to 50 years old, Manuel's nephew.
Andrés Vila, 90 to 95 years old.
Luis Vila, 80 to 90 years old.
Carlos Kispe, 40 to 50 years old (characteristics of an Uru-Aymara half-breed).

Uru women:

Santusa Inta, 30 to 35 years old, Manuel's niece.
Célestina Inta, 35 to 40 years old, Manuel's daughter.
Andréa Inta, 40 to 50 years old, Manuel's daughter.
Justina Vila, 30 to 35 years old.
X , 80 to 90 years old.
Y , 80 to 95 years old.

Uru children:

Francisco Inta, masc., 14 to 15 years old, Santusa's son.
Sabina Inta, fem., 12 to 13 years old, Santusa's daughter.
Angelita Inta, f., 11 to 12 years old,
Jesus Inta, m., 9 to 10 years old, Santusa's son.
Juliana Vila, f., 5 to 6 years old, daughter of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
Esteban Vila, m., 4 to 5 years old, son of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
Francisca Vila, 3 to 4 years old, daughter of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
/196/ Miguel Salinas, m., 4 to 5 years old, orphan.
Miguel Kispe, m., 5 to 6 years old, half-breed, son of Carlos Kispe.

/196 cont./

162 Aymara women:

551 Rosa Choque, 60 to 70 years old, Aymara from Machaca.

Francisca Arosquipe, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

María Chura, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

Half-breed children:

Victor Inta, m., 10 to 11 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Eugenio Inta, m., 8 to 10 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Ramon Inta, m., 2 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Manuela Inta, f., 3 years old, daughter of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Domitilia Tacon, f., 6 years old, adopted Aymara.

162 Total:

6 Uru men, from 40 to 90 years old (one of whom is certainly of mixed blood).

6 Uru women, from 30 to 90 years old.

9 Uru children, 5 boys and 4 girls, from 4 to 15 years old.

3 Aymara women.

4 Uru-Aymara half-breed children.

1 adopted Aymara child.

[125] The age of all these subjects was, of course, estimated approximately. Even the relationship of several of them is doubtful.

164 One of the children of mixed blood, Victor Inta, was struck by typhus exanthematicus.

[61] This list shows the deep decline of the group. In 1938 [62] there were four patronymic names, those of the four big [551] families in Iru-Itu: the Inta, the Vila, the Kispe, and the Salinas. In 1942 the Salinas /family/ had emigrated or disappeared, leaving only an orphan. The Kispe /family/

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 [191] All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[30] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uru, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

171 179 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incaica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

141 [142] [198] *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [55] [62] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Salina, Bila and Qispi (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 192 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[30] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90-110.

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Chipaya

/829 cont./

there is generally a small oratory or altar with a circle, where the Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries, where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes every Cipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration of the ceremony the Indians burn thus there, a resinous plant which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

In the mind of the Cipaya these cones of earth are "statues" representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were designated to me when I heard about them for the first time. "These are," the interpreter translated, "todos a manera de hombres/ents in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a name (Cunbirini, Koricachuri, Kemperani, Kaun, Kilimon, Kuil'er, Kuil'awari, Enewen, Wasma, etc.), and if the majority of these names are Cipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of the uru tuntu is called Enewen, or Stephen (1). When I asked the

1. I am tempted to see in the Kilimon (o) mal'ku a demon whose Spanish name, Clemente, has been indicated.

recognized officiant of the uru tuntu about the nature and attributes of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied to me that they were spirits who crossed the pampa disguised as white men dressed in a tunic (ua) of the same color, and with a large hat on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

Each uru has its own mal'ku near which it acquits itself, i.e., makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the Kemperani mal'ku) constructed at the boundary of the urus, which is worshiped by the whole tribe.

These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous waka (huaca) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

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/TOS cont./

them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism. But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Sometimes even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

There would be little required for certain festivals, such as those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous ecclesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their cure.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez, "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard (=andera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

/340 cont./

*908 of Huachacalla whom I questioned replied to me that they were
191 used for "superstitions," and that he did not want to know anything about the cult and the pagan ceremonies which were clandestinely performed there.

*796 The agents of worship. Each festival is presided over by an
● 554 alferez who bears the costs of it. It is he who furnishes the victims for the sacrifice and who distributes the coca and alcohol, the main attractions of these ceremonies. He must, moreover, offer a feast for all the inhabitants on the day after the festival. This generosity gives him the right to occupy a place of honor in the middle of the assembly, to sit behind the sheaves of sacred straw, and to /341/ receive the homage and compliments of those present. These privileges do not end with the ceremony of which he took charge. On Carnival day the alferez of the preceding festivals dance, carrying on their backs the sheaves which they acquired while they were in office and which the rites have consecrated. On this day they bear once again the white banner, the insignia of their rank from which they draw their name. A rivalry exists among the
[578] alferez which is translated into a desire to eclipse each other and to surpass each other in largess. If the festival for which they had responsibility was particularly successful, if the people of their saya were well entertained and intoxicated, and if the garlands of cheese and fruit were plentiful, they gain a certain prestige which flatters their vanity. For vanity is the weak point of the Indian character. I do not know if an alferez who has proved himself generous has more of a chance than another to get the title of alcalde or
[171] corregidor. The institution of the alferez is very widespread in the
[174] entire Andean region. It is so strongly impregnated with Spanish and Catholic elements that one hesitates to see the survival of indigenous traditions in it. Nevertheless, this idea of rivalry and certain details recall the forms of potlatch too much to allow us to attribute an exclusively post-Columbian origin to this important office. One must read in Paredes (1) the pages which he devotes to —

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*796 554 /341 cont./ in Paredes (1) the Pages which he devotes to One must read

1. Mitos, superstitiones y supervivencias, etc., p. 176-186.

the alferez's to realize what the rank of alferez means to an Indian or Bolivian cholo. The pointless glory of bearing this title for one day generally brings the ruin of the hero of the festival with it. *796 554 426 This expense is so crushing that in order to meet it the alferez are often obliged to have recourse to their relatives or friends for help. This consists of small gifts, and those who give them are called ayni. The debt which is contracted in these circumstances is, Paredes tells us (2), sacred, and one cannot fail to discharge it.

2. Ibid., p. 162.

*796 431 During the Čipaya festivals I have actually seen Indians who came to offer the alferez either eggs, sheaves of straw, coca, or alcohol. These little gifts were most welcome and accepted with gratitude by the alferez, whose resources had been singularly strained by the world-wide crisis. Dr. Rivet (3) observed customs in Ecuador

*796 554 191 [113]

3. Rivet (Paul). "Étude sur les Indiens de la région de Riobamba /Study on the Indians of the Riobamba Region/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Paris, New Series, Vol. I, No. 1, 1903, p. 76.

identical with those described here, the only difference being that in that land the alferez bears the name of prioste. "The Indians have a strong desire to give festivals which will eclipse all previous ones. This folly pushes some unfortunates to work a whole year, denying themselves stubbornly all but the strictly necessary, /342/ even on Sundays (strange contradiction). Then the festival arrives,

/342 cont./

*796 559 171 there they are priostes, and in eight days of orgy the fruits of one year of work are devoured."

One cannot give the officiant of Čipaya festivals the title of *796 791 "magician," although the Indians designate him by the name of yatiri (magician in Aymara). The personage who operates at the sacrifices, who prepares the masterly mixtures offered as libations to the demons, and who says the prayers, is not at all like a medicine-man /given in English/. He is generally an old Indian who has maintained the traditions of the past. Beyond the service which he renders the younger generation thanks to his knowledge of the ritual, he fills no particular office and enjoys no more esteem 791 than any other elderly man. It is not, however, impossible that my friend, Anacleto Mullu, was actually a real yatiri. This is only a supposition on my part after having seen him officiate at several festivals and having admired the competency with which he accomplished his task. The Indians frequently pointed him out to me as the man who best knew the prayers to the mal'ku. He also had some talent as a fortune-teller and was a past master of the 791 956 art of "reading in the coca." I do not know, however, if his skill was called upon in cases of illness. The only cure at which I was present was made by a Čipaya whom I had never seen officiate in any festival and whom I would never have suspected was versed in these superstitious practices.

*796 799 159 Espíritu Mamani, a bearded giant with the head of a faun, made himself noticed by his zeal during festivals. His functions were, however, limited to reciting prayers, which for the most part had a marked Christian character. He discharged this duty with a fervor and enthusiasm which made me doubt his mental equilibrium. Among all the Čipaya he alone was animated with exuberant life. He appeared truly possessed by an internal demon when with half-shut eyes he prayed as if in ecstasy. Immediately afterward he would wink and laugh with an air of complicity, as if he had just pulled a good trick. He was affable and pleasant in spite of this, but fickle, unapproachable, and as wild as a forest god.

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/350 cont./

*796 529 576 čuta, Tata unkuštan čuta, Tata san Rafaelištan čuta, Santa Martaštan čuta, Taikas Mariaštan čuta, Tata San Xoakinaštan čuta, Kosé Kristoštan čuta, Waralupaštan čuta, Wirxina-altaštan čuta, Pačamamaštan čuta: L'anka Mariaštan čuta, Kimša pakʸal'a nasimiente čuta, mantinšon parwal'a čuta."

*796 534 The drinking was presided over as usual by an alferez, who this time was hardly able to make a display of his munificence, since the alcohol and coca that were being consumed had been brought by each of the participants. Nevertheless, he was greeted with the cry: "Xal'al'a alferez" (Hallelujah alferez) and was treated to several refrains of asiento de paloma, i.e., "pigeon next."

This agreeable pastime did not, however, cause them to neglect their /351/ religious duties. Each moment two or three Indians who were especially pious or endowed with a good memory would throw themselves on their knees and in a rythmic and moaning tone recite prayers, some of which have been transcribed above. Espíritu Mamani gave evidence of very special ardor and zeal. He was as if possessed by a fit of mystical enthusiasm. The following prayer was the one which recurred most frequently on his lips:

*796 539

Araxpačʸa	auki,	wawaxinaka	taki	suma	waina	tiempo
Sky	master	children the	for	good	young	weather

aka	mara	taki	čʸuranipkita,	owa-naka-taki
this	year	for	that thou givest us	sheep the for

kaura-kal'u,	kučʸi-kal'u	usa-kal'u,	pakʸal'a
llamas young,	piglets	lambs,	livestock

nasimiento	taki.
birth	for

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/362 cont./

Hasiki	suma	l'autita	suma	kumpltita	hasiki
Now	well	shut	well	acquitted	now

katokta	suma	katoktaki'a.
you have received	well	you have received.

/363/ "Now you have been well shut in, we have acquitted ourselves well toward you. Now you have received offerings, you have received well of them."

Little by little the group dispersed. Each, before going away, approached the site of the cellar, knelt, and said a short prayer, at the end of which he touched the mound with his hand, which he brought to his lips. The alferez' wife epitomized the gesture by kissing the ground. I heard them murmur while getting up, "Verxina-mal'ku lisinta" — "Holy Virgin, with thy permission." Some couples, before leaving the area, went to salute the alferez and his wife in the customary fashion.

The latter, moreover, did not seem to consider the merry-making ended, and it was with flags flying, dancing and drinking, that the most enthusiastic returned, forming a procession which disappeared toward the "water houses."

On the same day the saya taxata held a similar festival on its territory.

Second day (January 21). On the preceding day only a part of the meat of the sacrificed victims had been eaten on the spot. The rest was served in the course of a feast which the alferez offered to the members of his saya the day after the festival. The ceremony which I will describe took place at Taxata.

The alferez' two white banners were planted before the door of his hut toward noon. The members of the saya had gathered near the threshold, men on one side and women on the other, waiting for the food (Pl. XII, B /see p. 133/). It was served to them as on the day before, on blankets spread on the ground. The menu was, moreover, substantially the same, but completed

/363 cont./

this time with two soups, one of quinua and the other of Ẍuño and quinua leaves. They were distributed in small individual bowls which, as soon as they were filled by the efforts of the alferez' wife and several other women, were carried to the guests by a group of little boys. Inside the hut the alferez was standing behind a table on which the heads of the sacrificed animals and the sheaves which had been used the day before were placed. As usual, the alferez' wife was in her place, to the left of her husband. The most respected guests were seated inside the hut.

The meal did not last long. When the last guests were on the point of leaving, the flag was rolled up and carried away by an individual, undoubtedly the person who the day before had been proclaimed katokere, i.e., alferez of the next festival.

/364/ Several hours later a large group formed again in the alferez' hut, this time occupied in drinking according to the usual ritual. Two old men uttered prayers to the mal'ku without pause, even while drinking. At a given moment they knelt in the middle of the hut, their bodies turned toward the east, and, in this position, addressed a long invocation to them, which they concluded by kissing the ground.

Kant-mal'ku,	Kusil'er-mal'ku,	Kilimint-mal'ku,	Kusil'aviri,
Kant-demon,	Kusil'er-demon,	Kilimint-demon,	Kusil'aviri,

márka-kol'o,	Kemperan	mal'ku,	Estewan-mal'ku (1),
country mountains	Kemperan	demon,	Stephen-demon,

1. During the feast of the Estewan-mal'ku, the alferez threw beans, peas, and dried fruit to the winds.

/379 cont./

520 537 292 301 As I said above religious or magical rites have only an insignificant place in this festival: the important survivals of paganism are displayed in the trappings of the participants (Pl. XIV, D /see p. 135/). The majority had put on around their bodies festive slings, whose fringes fashioned a motley costume for them. Some had encircled their heads with a kind of artificial hair made from horse hair (Pl. XVI, C /see p. 137/) or with crowns of flamingo feathers. The most original headdresses which I noticed were a few crowns made of flamingo eggs threaded together (Fig. 36, A /see p. 109/). A large part of the young people had water birds on their [323] backs, attached by the straw bola which had killed them (Fig. 36, B). The alferez's and alferezas had loaded on their backs the [554] sheaves of straw behind which they had presided at the festivals of the various mal'ku and samiri. The latter were decorated with garlands of fruit, cheeses, and bread. Those who had not had the honor of being alferez were no less decorated with ornaments symbolizing prosperity and abundance.

520 533 Tunes of the Carnival Dances

2:Métraux--133 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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Plate XII

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A. —Festival of Candlemas: libation to a banner.

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B. —Čipaya women feasting the day after a festival.

2:Métraux--135 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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Plate XIV

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A. — Festival of the Comadres (February 2). Dance around a banner.

B. — Festival of the mal'ku: Indian beating a drum near the effigy of a demon (mal'ku).

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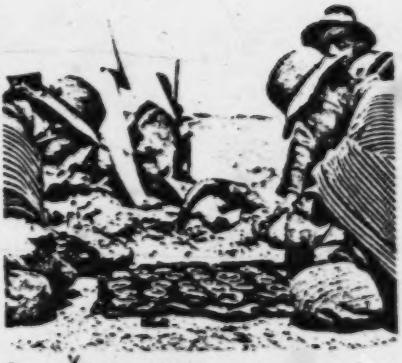

C. — Cipaya Indian in prayer before the cupules containing magical substances.

D. — Cipaya Indian in his festival attire (wig, festive slings, etc.).

/191 cont./

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1. Forbes (David), "On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru," The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, London, New Series, Vol. II, 1870, p. 255.

in his classic monograph on the Aymara has left us an excellent description of the conical huts made entirely of stone which he encountered in his wanderings in Bolivia. The lines he devotes to them could be applied word for word to the "water houses" of the second type of the Čipaya Indians. "In the out-of-the-way places I observed circular or oval stone huts; such have been called beehive houses, the stones forming the roof and sides not being arched, but approaching one another little by little until they meet in the form of a dome; I found an excellent example of this construction, well and neatly put together, on the slope of the mountain of Illampu. This measured, internally, 9.5 feet long by 5 feet broad, and 5 feet in height; the door which was on the longer side of the oval was straight, 3 feet high and 18 inches broad; no chimney or other opening for smoke was visible." /Cited in English./ (2)

A
[113]

2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), "The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia," Comparative ethnographical studies, 3, Göteborg, 1924, p. 19. He describes this form of hut among the Aymara of the region of Tunari near Cochabamba.

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In the entire village of Chipaya there are only five rectangular huts; they all belong to rich men who have traveled and have brought the cactus joists which support the roof from far away. The rectangular form is naturally considered chic, exactly as after the

/191 cont./

342 554 Conquest it was perfectly natural that the chiefs should be the first to adopt it. In my opinion it would be a mistake to see in the round hut of the Čipaya a culture trait which is characteristic of this ethnic group and capable of furnishing a clue to their origin. The modern Čipaya have retained the round hut solely because it was more practical and the only type which they could erect easily and without too much expense on the wretched plain where they are cantoned. If in place of tola they had had some other tougher shrub, their picturesque hovels would have given way to the dull sheds of the Aymara long ago.

*191 342 /192/ The Uro Indians of Ancoaqui build their huts on the model of those of the Aymara. Up to recent times they must have had to retain the circular hut, for I noticed two or three houses in their village which, without exactly being round, had at least considerably rounded corners. The wretched abodes to be seen among the Uro have exactly the same form as those of the Čipaya and, consequently, the second type of huts, i.e., those which are dispersed in the pastures. In contrast to the Aymara or Čipaya, the Uro cover their huts with totora mats, which they fasten with wooden pegs stuck in the walls.

Facing Ancoaqui on the other bank of the Desaguadero I saw several huts of a type new to me, one which I think has not yet been described. These are cubes with thick walls covered with a masonry dome, a middle term between pyramid and cupola. These huts were grouped exactly like the estancias of the Čipaya. They were, moreover, as it seemed to me, the dwellings of shepherds who certainly had a house in the village. The huts on the Desaguadero recall chullpas much more than do the Čipaya huts which have been compared with these funerary buildings.

*191 172 342 764 Whoever has traveled by mule on the altiplano and ascertained the fabulous number of chullpas left by the pre-Columbian inhabitants must have asked himself what befell the actual habitations where the Indians who are incarcerated in these strange sepulchers lived. It

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Chipaya

/126 cont./

616 [551] Taxata, in contrast, although there are numerous Tuanta wives, the greatest number of households are made up of individuals from the same section but with different names. I was able to establish that in a few cases within the same section a husband and wife had the same name. Since on these two occasions it was a question of patronymics without equivalents in another sector, one may conclude that the spouses were somehow related to each other; I do not know how.

591 [611] Filiation is rigorously paternal. The wife during her first year of marriage lives with her husband's parents. After one or two children are born the couple builds a hut for themselves beside that of the husband's parents. This rule is not absolute for there 428 are huts belonging to households without children. I gathered some information on inheritance law that is unfortunately vague and of which the accuracy is suspect. In case of the husband's death, if the wife has no children her husband's property passes into the hands of her father (he becomes custodian of it?). If she has a [556] child her husband's possessions are left to her, and in a case where the child is still small, "another family" takes care of the sheep, i.e. of the pre-eminent part of a Čipaya's fortune. One Čipaya man told me that, orphaned at an early age, he was raised by a woman of his "moiety." His father's flock passed into the hands of his brother, who gave him his share when he was old enough to go himself to herd his sheep.

Kinship terms.

601 Although the nomenclature of the kinship terms teaches us nothing /127/ about the former organization of the Čipaya, I am recording them in any case to relieve my conscience:

grandfather	masthil'a, čaukal'a
grandmother	mā-tĭl'a
father	hep
mother	mā
father's brother (oldest)	čax-hep
father's brother (second)	taipir-tata

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/366 cont./

In this case the alferez was an old woman, wrinkled and respectable, /367/ assisted by her son, a young boy 18 to 20 years old who was a deaf-mute. She led the procession dressed in her most beautiful attire with flowers stuck in her hair.

The procession returned to the chapel to kneel and to perfume again the altar, on which a spot of still fresh blood stood out. The procession broke up shortly afterward, but part of those present accompanied the alfereza and her son, who proceeded with one of the banners from the church up to the door of their hut. There the standard, which the alfereza and her son kissed respectfully, was rolled up and attached to a stake of Cereus.

The authorities of the ayllu seated themselves behind a table, and a mantle (talu) was spread out on the ground a certain distance away, on the edge of which the alfereza and her daughter-in-law squatted. They were promptly surrounded by a large number of women who grouped themselves in a horseshoe. A small table-cloth covered with coca leaves was placed on the table, as on the talu.

The alfereza and her son began to pray on their knees before the banner and offered up a libation of alcohol to it; then the young man went to get his wife and repeated the same ceremony with her (Pl. XII, A /see p. 139/). The alcaldes congratulated the alfereza, repeating the sacred formula of suma hora. This rite of politeness accomplished, they went to kiss the post against which the standard had been fastened, and then, taking two wooden cups with two bulls carved on the inside from the table, they offered up a libation of chicha accompanied by a prayer (Pl. XVII, A /see p. 138/).

On the two sides of the talu behind which the women were seated a very old footless wooden cup, very old, had been placed, from which the women one after the other drank chicha (Pl. XVII, D).

The audience began to chew and to offer up libations. Prayers crossed each other, and in this exchange of vows and

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa ku; young girl = pax-pak-uk; young woman = ux.

Marriage. Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

Political Organization. If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *kilacata*, commonly called *ilacata* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde*?) is called in Uru *čapuli* or *xuxuwčilki* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čouk čapuli* ("big čapuli"). Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *kilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[8] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchku* (*kuču*) or *si:a quirkitku* (*kirkit'a*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "guaiquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilawča* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusip'ia* and *qoso* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurilo* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawo* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurilo" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

[8] Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.

Reference--192 E-6 (1930-1931) 1930, 1936 9734 Uro 9734
Carnegie-Capilla Aymara 525

/194 cont./

the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and inca were long and square and the wood was brought from the Yungas." /Cited in Spanish./

On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Montell, Dress and ornament, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /Cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

The ayllus of the Aymara explain the formation of the small social units also called ayllus, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayllu, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Aymara to fertilize their wrenched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often ornamental, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

Near Icaro, in the chullpares, I found bolas coiled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 197/).

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/123 cont./ Aside from one chapel

the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

The Čipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Čipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the saya tuanta overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the homes of the authorities.

The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Čipaya give them: o°su-k°aya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancias.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

/362 cont./

*778 *796 [596] repeated immediately in echo. It seemed to me that this cry was raised each time that the alferez began to drink or refilled his drinking cups. More direct compliments were frequently addressed to the alferez, who was treated as in the previous festival.

Several times the alferez' wife, displaying as much conviction as enthusiasm, threw out handfuls of white maize or peas over which the audience fought.

Practically the whole afternoon passed in this way beneath a leaden sky. When the prayers and wishes ceased to be heard, a mournful silence momentarily reigned, uninterrupted by any [573] [557] particular conversation. Although most of them were drunk, the Indians remained as apathetic and indifferent as usual.

*778 *796 262 594 Toward five o'clock the meal for which all had been patiently waiting was served. Two blankets were spread out in front of the alferez, and the cooks, led by the Officiant and his helper, placed the food on them. Boiled barley brought in bowls was poured out in ribbons forming a large oval cut again lengthwise by several parallel lines. At this point several guests got up to add either cuño (frozen potatoes) or roasted maize which was scattered between the ribbons of barley. The boiled meat brought in bowls was arranged magisterially on the ribbons of barley at regular intervals and in equal amounts. But part of the meat was directly distributed by the Officiant and the cooks, who first offered the llama, then the pork, and last the mutton. At the same time bowls of stinking boullion were passed from hand to hand and everyone took several gulps.

*778 *796 Before closing the samiri's cellar, the Officiant recited a prayer that was listened to by all with bared heads. This prayer is addressed to the mal'ku and the samiri. The cellar was then shut and hidden under a yareta.

[539] At the moment of departure the Officiant turned once more to the samiri and directed several words of farewell which put an end to the ceremony:

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Hasiki	suma	l'autita	suma	kumplrita	hasiki
Now	well	shut	well	acquitted	now

katokta	suma	katoktakiʸa.
you have received	well	you have received.

/363/ "Now you have been well shut in, we have acquitted ourselves well toward you. Now you have received offerings, you have received well of them."

Little by little the group dispersed. Each, before going away, approached the site of the cellar, knelt, and said a short prayer, at the end of which he touched the mound with his hand, which he brought to his lips. The alferez' wife epitomized the gesture by kissing the ground. I heard them murmur while getting up, "Verxina-mal'ku lisinta" — "Holy Virgin, with thy permission." Some couples, before leaving the area, went to salute the alferez and his wife in the customary fashion.

The latter, moreover, did not seem to consider the merry-making ended, and it was with flags flying, dancing and drinking, that the most enthusiastic returned, forming a procession which disappeared toward the "water houses."

On the same day the saya taxata held a similar festival on its territory.

Second day (January 21). On the preceding day only a part of the meat of the sacrificed victims had been eaten on the spot. The rest was served in the course of a feast which the alferez offered to the members of his saya the day after the festival. The ceremony which I will describe took place at Taxata.

The alferez' two white banners were planted before the door of his hut toward noon. The members of the saya had gathered near the threshold, men on one side and women on the other, waiting for the food (Pl. XII, B /see p. 133/). It was served to them as on the day before, on blankets spread on the ground. The menu was, moreover, substantially the same, but completed

/363 cont./

this time with two soups, one of quinua and the other of ču̇ño and quinua leaves. They were distributed in small individual bowls which, as soon as they were filled by the efforts of the alferez' wife and several other women, were carried to the guests by a group of little boys. Inside the hut the alferez was standing behind a table on which the heads of the sacrificed animals and the sheaves which had been used the day before were placed. As usual, the alferez' wife was in her place, to the left of her husband. The most respected guests were seated inside the hut.

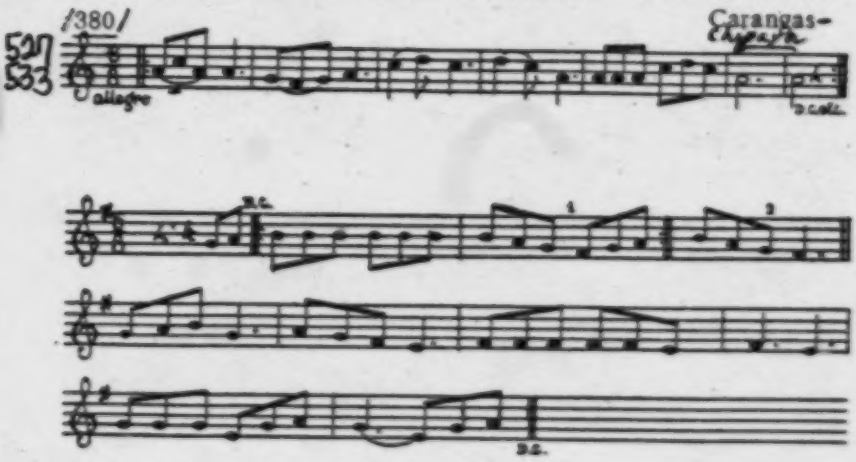
The meal did not last long. When the last guests were on the point of leaving, the flag was rolled up and carried away by an individual, undoubtedly the person who the day before had been proclaimed katokere, i.e., alferez of the next festival.

/364/ Several hours later a large group formed again in the alferez' hut, this time occupied in drinking according to the usual ritual. Two old men uttered prayers to the mal'ku without pause, even while drinking. At a given moment they knelt in the middle of the hut, their bodies turned toward the east, and, in this position, addressed a long invocation to them, which they concluded by kissing the ground.

Kant-mal'ku,	Kusil'er-mal'ku,	Kilimint-mal'ku,	Kusil'aviri,
Kant-demon,	Kusil'er-demon,	Kilimint-demon,	Kusil'aviri,

márka-kol'o,	Kemperan	mal'ku,	Estewan-mal'ku (1),
country mountains	Kemperan	demon,	Stephen-demon,

1. During the feast of the Estewan-mal'ku, the alferez threw beans, peas, and dried fruit to the winds.



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574
Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to
[616] everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

527
[718]
[824]
[889]
In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

527
[533]
The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week. At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding *each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few*
[973] madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol
[541] did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not
[971] present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

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592 The number of spirits which rule over a household may be
342 even more considerable. In a prayer of Aymara origin which I
*978 recorded among the Čipaya, in the course of a sacrifice made to the demons of the house, the shed and the kitchen are invoked at the same time as the court.

342 Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which re-
[971] cur uniformly throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara.
[982] There is no Čipaya hut on which one does not see to the left of the door upon entering the blackish spot of blood with which it was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears
[974] traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the costs of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided
342 him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up
982 many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirits,
539 that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

Ačokʷal'a	kʷoya	kamantaika	suma	haĺk	wata
Straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

awantil'a (1)	kʷoya-ki.
endure	house this.

1. From the Spanish aguantar, "to endure."

[992] /383/ A beautiful example of the frightful jargon, a mixture of Čipaya, Aymara, and Kičua /Quechua/ words, which the Indians use in their conversations with the divinities.

*978 The titi-mal'ku is honored each time that an Indian returns
982 home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the
[921] number of titi-mal'ku in Chipaya is limited, I would not have

/392 cont./

These civilities were of the usual type, i.e., they were carried out by bending the knee before the person honored and simulating an embrace.

Two dishes of meat were then carried in, signaling the beginning of the feast which the patient offered his doctor and his relatives, doubtless to repay them for their trouble.

The magician, who up to now had preserved a serious and imperturbable expression, appeared afterward in a more cheerful mood and with a smile on his lips accepted the cups of alcohol and the dishes which his client, full of gratitude, offered him.

However great the respect of the sick man for his healer was and the impression caused by the ceremony, the patient did not consider it superfluous to question me on his case and took the laxative I administered to him with gratitude. He had great need of it, all the more so since, to celebrate his return to health and the beneficent treatment of which he had been the subject, he ingurgitated a remarkable portion of the sacrificed sheep and washed down this feast with impressive bumpers of alcohol. I still do not know how this unfortunate man was able to endure these new excesses. He got well nevertheless, and this complicated ceremony seems at least to have had the positive result of actually transforming his deportment. Up to this point I had had an enemy in him who had picked quarrels with me on every occasion; each time that I met him after this, he astonished me by his friendliness and courtesy.

I only wish that this good disposition had lasted as long as the memory of his experience.

Funeral rites.

In the course of the weeks spent in Chipaya only one death occurred in the village, that of a woman who had committed suicide for obscure reasons, probably out of resentment against her husband. Arriving at the spot shortly after the event, I did not notice any behavior among those present which could be interpreted as ritual.

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/326 cont./

[177] them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism.
177 But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or
[782] demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Some-
796] times even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

796 There would be little required for certain festivals, such as
177 those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous esslesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed
[994] hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character
[506] must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The
796 president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez,
554 "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard
177 (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

177 Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study
[495] of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

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*796 627 them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

692 The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the 692 other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex 576 came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They [303] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

627 Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the out- 535 going alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He [272] had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He [301] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold [324] at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead. [334] Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

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*796 539 "Let us together offer up a libation to the male and female demons, to all, to the sacred Lauca River, to the sacred Sajama, to the demon Čunkirini. The greatest demons are Stephen and the sacred tower. They are the demons of the country."

He sprinkled several drops of alcohol on the ground and threw his handful of coca leaves to the wind. He did the same looking to the south. Then he knelt again before the cross to begin again all his prayers accompanied this time by libations of alcohol and offerings of coca; the act was attended by the following formula:

Mal'ku	tapa	tal'a	Virxina	pawartaš.
Demons	all	woman demon	Virgin	I throw some coca.

Before getting up again he addressed himself to the Pachamama in these words:

Pača-mama,	wirxin,	taika	mama,	xuma	uyuwaskista.
Pachamama,	Virgin,	earth	mother,	thou	thou makest

grow for me (thou feedest me).

"Pachamama, Virgin, mother of the earth, it is thou who makest the plants grow for me, it is thou who feeds me."

*796 He ended this last invocation by kissing the earth with a strange fervor.

/350/ During the entire duration of this ceremony, men and women had approached the cross one after the other and knelt near it, fumigating it by blowing on the embers of their censers.

*796 539 All then reassembled in the little enclosure attached to the chapel and the festival properly so called began. There were interminable exchanges of civilities which lasted almost until evening. The Indians accosted each other and bowed, with hat off, knee on the ground, and with a circular motion of the arms as if they wanted to press the man or the woman to whom they were

/350 cont./

making these signs of respect to their breast. Some made a pretense of kissing the wrist of those who inspired them with a special feeling of respect. Each of these embraces was accompanied with the word tatai or mamai, according to whether they were addressed to a man or to a woman, said in a plaintive tone. They were answered with the same suffering murmur. While engaging in these manifestations of courtesy from time to time, the participants exchanged their bags of coca and offered each other mugs of alcohol (1). The one who invited another to drink would indicate,

1. These rites of courtesy certainly date from pre-Columbian times. They were observed among the Aymara in the sixteenth century: Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 72: "and for this operation they gather in groups in special houses, dancing with drums and dull instruments; and it is customary that none of these Indians ever drinks this drink alone, but all hold their drinking vessels in pairs, and one having drunk from one of the said vessels has to give his companion a drink from the other." /Cited in Spanish./

by means of a hallowed formula, the name of the saint to whom he wished the libation to be offered up. The person thus favored had to sprinkle a few drops of the precious liquid on the ground and address a prayer to the saint who had been named, in which he requested prosperity and the increase of the flocks.

Here are some examples of these formulas: "San Xeronimištan čuta, San Mikelištan čuta, San Filipištan čuta, Antonio tatalštan

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*796 539 576 čuta, Tata unkuštan čuta, Tata san Rafaelištan čuta, Santa Martaštan čuta, Taikas Mariaštan čuta, Tata San Xoakinaštan čuta, Kosé Kristoštan čuta, Waralupaštan čuta, Wirxina-altaštan čuta, Pačamamaštan čuta: L'auka Mariaštan čuta, Kimša pakʷal'a nasimiente čuta, mantinšon parwal'a čuta."

*796 [554] The drinking was presided over as usual by an alferez, who this time was hardly able to make a display of his munificence, since the alcohol and coca that were being consumed had been brought by each of the participants. Nevertheless, he was greeted with the cry: "Xal'al'a alferez" (Hallelujah alferez) and was treated to several refrains of asiento de paloma, i.e., "pigeon next."

This agreeable pastime did not, however, cause them to neglect their /351/ religious duties. Each moment two or three Indians who were especially pious or endowed with a good memory would throw themselves on their knees and in a rythmic and moaning tone recite prayers, some of which have been transcribed above. Espíritu Mamani gave evidence of very special ardor and zeal. He was as if possessed by a fit of mystical enthusiasm. The following prayer was the one which recurred most frequently on his lips:

*796 539

Araxpača	auki,	wawaxinaka	taki	suma	waina	tiempo	
Sky	master	children the	for	good	young	weather	
aka	mara	taki	čuranipkita,	owa-naka-taki			
this	year	for	that thou givest us	sheep the for			
kaura-kal'u,	kuči-kal'u	usa-kal'u,	pakʷal'a				
llamas young,	piglets	lambs,	livestock				
nasimiento	taki.						
birth	for						

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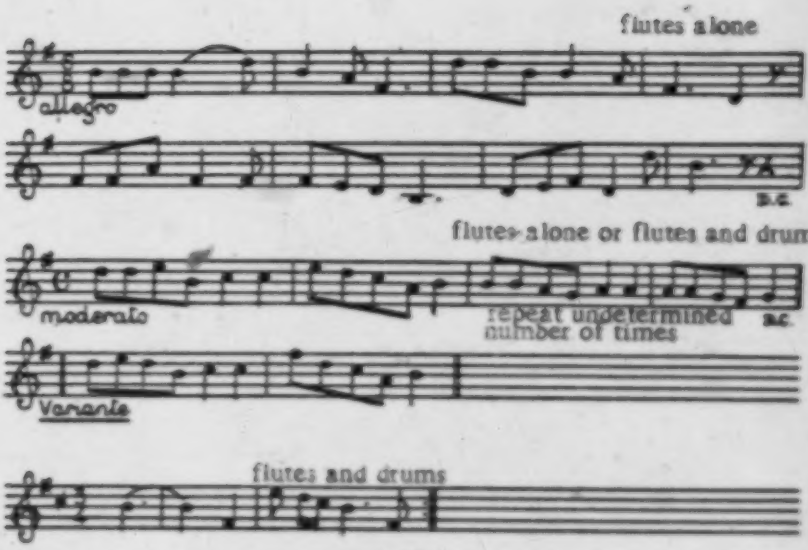

Of course the alferez and his wife, furnished with the white banners, their insignia of office, displayed especial zeal /362/ and danced with all the more enthusiasm for being rather tipsy.

The Indians remained seated for hours, constantly exchanging civilities in the form of alcohol, coca, and cigarettes. The most frequent verbal civility consisted of uttering the word xal'al'a or xal'al'a alfereza ("Hallelujah alferez"), which some member of the assembly

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*708 *716 [590] repeated immediately in echo. It seemed to me that this cry was raised each time that the alferez began to drink or refilled his drinking cups. More direct compliments were frequently addressed to the alferez, who was treated as in the previous festival.

Several times the alferez' wife, displaying as much conviction as enthusiasm, threw out handfuls of white maize or peas over which the audience fought.

Practically the whole afternoon passed in this way beneath a leaden sky. When the prayers and wishes ceased to be heard, a mournful silence momentarily reigned, uninterrupted by any [593] [594] particular conversation. Although most of them were drunk, the Indians remained as apathetic and indifferent as usual.

*708 *716 262 594 Toward five o'clock the meal for which all had been patiently waiting was served. Two blankets were spread out in front of the alferez, and the cooks, led by the Officiant and his helper, placed the food on them. Boiled barley brought in bowls was poured out in ribbons forming a large oval cut again lengthwise by several parallel lines. At this point several guests got up to add either cuño (frozen potatoes) or roasted maize which was scattered between the ribbons of barley. The boiled meat brought in bowls was arranged magisterially on the ribbons of barley at regular intervals and in equal amounts. But part of the meat was directly distributed by the Officiant and the cooks, who first offered the llama, then the pork, and last the mutton. At the same time bowls of stinking boullion were passed from hand to hand and everyone took several gulps.

*708 *716 Before closing the samiri's cellar, the Officiant recited a prayer that was listened to by all with bared heads. This prayer is addressed to the mal'ku and the samiri. The cellar was then shut and hidden under a yareta.

[594] At the moment of departure the Officiant turned once more to the samiri and directed several words of farewell which put an end to the ceremony:

/385 cont./
house and his patio. A few pinches of maize flour were thrown in the hole.

/386/ The yatiri then walked around those present to greet them according to all the rules of Chipaya etiquette. The master of the flock and his wife offered him some alcohol and coca and invited their relatives and friends to take some of the leaves which they had spread out on the ground. They drank and chewed for half an hour without exchanging a word and with all the gloomy gravity to which these Indians are accustomed. Next a stuffed lamb decorated with wool pompoms — the samiri — was brought out of a pile of material which enveloped it; the wife of the owner of the sheepfold added several supplementary tufts of red wool to it and all approached it in turn to offer a libation on its body, to offer it coca, and to recite a long prayer for it. It was then buried in the hole along with khoa, "copal," sprigs of rosemary, and a few pinches of coca which the Officiant threw with each lump of earth, continuously murmuring his prayers. His movements were imitated by the spectators, who rivaled him in zeal.

The hole was not entirely full. At one side of it on a small tablecloth the instigator of the festival had piled up the innumerable products with magical qualities which the Chipaya customarily offer to their divinities. The yatiri, after having subjected them to a detailed review, prepared paper sacks in which he put first pink, yellow, and green lozenges, pieces of pink and white candies, and lastly sprigs of rosemary and some starch.

He then proceeded to a minute selection from the ten to 12 colored mineral powders which had been put at his disposal. He kept only four: a deep green, a light green, a violet, and a brown. He poured them into separate little paper horns, with the exception of the light green, which he mixed with the brown. These colors undoubtedly had a special significance to judge from the attention which the yatiri gave to their selection and from the explanations which he gave to the master of the place. I have every reason to suppose that these four colors correspond to the

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These civilities were of the usual type, i.e., they were carried out by bending the knee before the person honored and simulating an embrace.

Two dishes of meat were then carried in, signaling the beginning of the feast which the patient offered his doctor and his relatives, doubtless to repay them for their trouble.

The magician, who up to now had preserved a serious and imperturbable expression, appeared afterward in a more cheerful mood and with a smile on his lips accepted the cups of alcohol and the dishes which his client, full of gratitude, offered him.

However great the respect of the sick man for his healer was and the impression caused by the ceremony, the patient did not consider it superfluous to question me on his case and took the laxative I administered to him with gratitude. He had great need of it, all the more so since, to celebrate his return to health and the beneficent treatment of which he had been the subject, he ingurgitated a remarkable portion of the sacrificed sheep and washed down this feast with impressive bumpers of alcohol. I still do not know how this unfortunate man was able to endure these new excesses. He got well nevertheless, and this complicated ceremony seems at least to have had the positive result of actually transforming his department. Up to this point I had had an enemy in him who had picked quarrels with me on every occasion; each time that I met him after this, he astonished me by his friendliness and courtesy.

I only wish that this good disposition had lasted as long as the memory of his experience.

Funeral rites.

In the course of the weeks spent in Chipaya only one death occurred in the village, that of a woman who had committed suicide for obscure reasons, probably out of resentment against her husband. Arriving at the spot shortly after the event, I did not notice any behavior among those present which could be interpreted as ritual.

/182 cont./

*539 191 824 the Aymara used by the Uru, who consider themselves as constituting a pre-human species (not a race) apart. There are two human species, the Uru, a primitive species representing the first, pre-human creations, and the Aymara, who belong, as do all the other present-day people, to the last creation.

*539 192 [48] 15. Note a Hispánicism, kumunitá, to designate the native community of Jesus de Machaca, upon which the Uru are now dependent; it is an idea which is foreign to their own sociology.

16-17. The narrator, tired by his interpretive efforts, has no more to say and wants to rest. Note the polite form háp'- pay, [50] "father," corresponding to "monsieur."

*539 537 821

VIII. Xoxi-cay, the Thunder
(Account by Carlos Klipe)

(See p. 186 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. It will still thunder very strongly; the storm is coming. 2. The roof of the house will let the water through; it is not good at all. 3. Look again to see if the storm is going away. 4. It is thundering again. 5. The thunder can only kill a person of another race. 6. Never, since the most ancient times, has the thunder killed one of us. 7. The thunder has made me very afraid.

Remarks

This text makes allusion to a very deeply rooted belief among the Uru: they cannot be struck by lightning, so feared [53] by all the population of the altiplano. According to them lightning only strikes the people "of another race": Aymaras, half-breeds, or Europeans. Also the Uru do not have any

[p. 20 omitted in pagination.]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

We the Kjatsuñi [q'uñetsi, from Aymará q'uñu, "lake", and Uru ñetsi, "men people"]* are the oldest on this earth. A long time we were here, before when the sun was hidden.

Here where you see the salt, in the time of our *Achichis* [ancestors], everywhere there was water with many fish; many rivers rose and flowed. Then our nation was large and happy.

Before the Sun hid himself for a long time we were in this place. Then the Kollas [Aymárans] came, despoiling us of our lands; they used our bodies for *Kjaskas* [fiesta, human sacrifice] when they laid the foundations of their temples.

When the Lake dried up we came out in search of food and then encountered the Aymára.

Before *Cunuk-pata* [Aymará, "time or epoch of darkness"] Tiahuanacu was built.

We have built our houses where our ancestors lived. The broken pots of many colors, and *tupus* [copper pins] you find when plowing the ground, belong to them.

Métraux recorded in Quechua at Oruro a myth which tells of the tricking of the armadillo by the fox, who misled him concerning a fiesta; hence (say the Uru) the mantle of the armadillo is uneven on his neck and shoulders. Most of the Uru-Chipaya tales were learned from the Aymára.

Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes. Small children own property which cannot be sold without their consent; when a little girl refused to sell me a small cloth, in spite of my offering what must have appeared a fabulous sum, that was the end of it.

In greeting a white man on the road, the Uru, like the Aymára address him as *Wirasocha*, "sir," or *kawai* "mister."

The Pleiades are called *kurkura*, Venus *kaak-kolo* ("big-?"), the Milky Way *kata-tikatai* (from *kita* "road"?) and another constellation *tuncutuncu*; a comet is called *mallala* (from the Aymará).

* Not, as Posnansky supposes, from the Aymará *uñi*, "pure." The meaning "men" is again obvious from the reference in the second paragraph. Further, the phoneme *ñ* is lacking in Aymará.

Smithsonian--IH E-5 (1930-1931) 1936, 1938 SI'34 Unc SI'34
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Chipaya

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Aymara and Kolua /Quechua/ communities recall the numerous *mestizos* /in English/ or *ghettos* of the North American Indians with which I could not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the *corregidor*.

An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two *ayus* inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-making. Rarely between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no domestic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two *ayus* ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan there are only rarely mingled.

When they are talking to a stranger the Chipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names *manan-uya* and *aran-uya*, but in their language *manan-uya* is called *tsanta* and *aran-uya*, *tsanto*. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (*tsanta* is derived from the root *tsa* back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about their social organization the Chipaya called these two sectors *ayl'a manan-uya* and *ayl'a aran-uya*. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

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/340 cont./

of Huachacalla whom I questioned replied to me that they were used for "superstitions," and that he did not want to know anything about the cult and the pagan ceremonies which were clandestinely performed there.

The agents of worship. Each festival is presided over by an alferez who bears the costs of it. It is he who furnishes the victims for the sacrifice and who distributes the coca and alcohol, the main attractions of these ceremonies. He must, moreover, offer a feast for all the inhabitants on the day after the festival. This generosity gives him the right to occupy a place of honor in the middle of the assembly, to sit behind the sheaves of sacred straw, and to /341/ receive the homage and compliments of those present. These privileges do not end with the ceremony of which he took charge. On Carnival day the alferez of the preceding festivals dance, carrying on their backs the sheaves which they acquired while they were in office and which the rites have consecrated. On this day they bear once again the white banner, the insignia of their rank from which they draw their name. A rivalry exists among the alferez which is translated into a desire to eclipse each other and to surpass each other in largess. If the festival for which they had responsibility was particularly successful, if the people of their saya were well entertained and intoxicated, and if the garlands of cheese and fruit were plentiful, they gain a certain prestige which flatters their vanity. For vanity is the weak point of the Indian character. I do not know if an alferez who has proved himself generous has more of a chance than another to get the title of alcalde or corregidor. The institution of the alferez is very widespread in the entire Andean region. It is so strongly impregnated with Spanish and Catholic elements that one hesitates to see the survival of indigenous traditions in it. Nevertheless, this idea of rivalry and certain details recall the forms of potlatch too much to allow us to attribute an exclusively post-Columbian origin to this important office. One must read in Paredes (1) the pages which he devotes to

/377 cont./

*796 231 236 535 Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

*796 781 857 At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Čipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public [185] prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand [262] were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

527 Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Čipaya Indian is the festival par excellence *[796 803] beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /379/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead ●[578] drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other saya are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only leaven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its sottishness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extoled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Čipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, [839] and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Čipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text Continues on P. 110]

/380 cont./ They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Čunkirini-mal'ku, is common to the two saya, was recited in the course of this sacrifice:

Turi-mal'ku,	Čawk	mal'ku,	Santa Ana,	mal'ku	tuanta,
Tower-demon,	great	demon,	Saint Anne,	demon	east,

taxatištan,	maitiñi,	roktiñi	hasiki
west of	he who obtains,	who prays,	in this moment,

suma,	waino,	tiempo	ǰmaitišimal'a,	wale,	wale,
good	young	weather	hearken to me,	good,	good,

suma	wata	ǰmaitišiña	t apa	serwintišta.
good	year	grant us	all	servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuanta and Taxata saya, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol. Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred sticks. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

/389 cont./

278 [177] The Čipaya Indians of Carangas have been so deeply impregnated with the influence of the Aymara Indians that we may presume that, in the sphere of medicine, they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbors of the altiplano. It is completely [439] justifiable if their knowledge is more rudimentary because of their isolation and the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the medical substances, almost all of which come from the Yungas. I was able to convince myself of this by examining one day a bag of medicine which had been left by a deceased Čipaya, the father of a young Indian with whom I had a friendly relationship. In the legacy of the old man I found several pharmaceutical products which I had obtained in the Oruro market. The deceased possessed small amounts of them which he had carefully wrapped in some small rags. His son refused to sell them to me, allegedly because [959] of their great value and the difficulty of procuring them. I doubt, however, that anyone in Chipaya could have benefited from them, for, to my knowledge at least, there is no Indian in this village who possesses sufficient skill to carry out their application.

164 759 123 Practically every day in the hut which I was occupying I received visits from Indians coming to ask me for remedies for various ills. The most frequent was constipation, which seems to frighten the Čipaya very much. I was also able to see a hernia and a terrible infection which the Indians treated by applying a piece of llama heart to the abscess. The Indians often called [578] upon me to care for swellings, the result of drubbings which they [842] had not spared themselves in their domestic quarrels. Some also came to beg me to cure them of impotence. In some not very serious cases of swellings or localized pains, the Indians content themselves with sticking a coca leaf on the skin.

757 At present the empirical medicine of the Čipaya seems to be limited to a certain number of insignificant recipes, frequently and easily applied. Faced with a serious case they have recourse to complicated magical processes which I had the good fortune to observe. I should not be able to say, however, if the exceptional

/166 cont./ When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is firmly bound with a wool rope and left to drip for a certain number of days. These cheeses, white and tasteless, are seasoned with salt which the Čipaya get from the great salt deposits which spread out about 30 kilometers from their village. /167/ /Figure 3 appears here./

/168/ Weapons

The small number of weapons that the Čipaya have is a direct consequence of the insignificance of hunting in their economy. As for war, it is an unknown phenomenon for them. Who would dream of coming to pick a fight with them for possession of the sand dunes or stunted pastures? The only occasions for giving free rein to their bellicose instincts are the festivals. The alcohol they absorb then accentuates the underhand rivalry of the sayas among themselves, and, awakening passions, leads them to often bloody fights. I do not know if any weapons other than sticks and fists enter into play in this case.

The sling (kxorawa) (Fig. 4, A /see p. 157/), which is the weapon par excellence of the Indians of the altiplano, has only a peacable use in Chipaya: it is used to hurl lumps of earth at llamas or sheep to prevent them from straying from the flock or from the route being followed. It is possible that the Čipaya might have recourse to the sling when they have some quarrels with the people of the other saya, but I was never able to get particulars on this subject. Another circumstance contributes to making the sling of the Čipaya a harmless instrument: the lack of stones able to serve as projectiles.

The bolas of the Čipaya play a role close to that of the sling: they permit them to catch the sheep. The most common type is the ordinary bola. The stones instead of being caught in a leather sheath, as is the case with the archaeological specimens (Fig. 4, D-B), are furnished with a groove which prevents the rope from slipping (Fig. 4, J).

[Text continues on p. 156]

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/205 cont./

same. Boredom and silence overwhelm the village. The children themselves share in this general sullenness: they never have fun, so to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a vague eye or stay squatting in their huts chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material or occupy their leisure time by looking for fleas on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

The Čipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mistrust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of strangers. They know how to appear well-wishing, and my relations with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /206/ liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they never forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for my collections in broad daylight: all feared the unkind comments of those near them.

/206 cont./

of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to drama: a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me, bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of freedom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They speak to their husbands in firm and decisive tones, and no decision can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never mistreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya compare very favorably with the Uro of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race, who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence. The last 30 Uro of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to stay with them.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-*malku*, Kemperani-*malku*, Estewan-*malku*), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-*malku*). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (*patio-malku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malkus* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

[16th Century]

/32 cont./

175 [491] [824] according to what they say. It[1] is crossed on a remarkable contrivance, peculiar to the Indies, a straw bridge placed on the water itself, which is of such light material that it does not sink, and it is a very safe and easy crossing...there grow large quantities of a type of reed that the Indians call totora, which they use for a thousand things, because it is food for pigs and for horses, and for the people themselves; and with it they make house and fire, and boat and whatever is needed; [101] so much do the Uros find in their totora. These Uros are so brutish that they themselves do not regard themselves as men. It is said of them that when asked what people they were they replied that they were not men but Uros, as though this were [341] another class of animals. Entire pueblos of Uros were found living on the lake on their totora rafts, joined together and fastened to some large rock, and they may fetch themselves off from there and move a whole pueblo to another location; and thus when sought today where they were yesterday, no trace of them is to be found, or of their pueblo...../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia natural y moral de las Indias /Natural and Moral History of the Indies/. 1590. Book II, Chap. VI.)

Noticia sobre los Indios Uros en un Memorial de la Epoca del Virrey Toledo /Note on the Uro Indians in a Memorial of the Epoch of the Toledo Viceroy/.

175 [48] [511] The Inca, being below Lima, sent one of his captains, called Casiracapa, to those heights with many men, to survey the land and recount to him what he saw there, /33/ and while traveling through the land he came across some people whose dwellings were like those of animals, and who lived in them like brutish animals, around a large Lake, naked, and eating nothing but roots of plants that grew in the Lake, and some Fish if they caught it, and when the Captain saw these people, [928] he recounted the fact to the Inca and was sent by him to re- [944] move them from the Lake and resettle them among the

[1] [ie., Lake Titicaca outlet--Ed.]

4:Vellard--6 D.E-4.5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Ura SF24

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them: The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the inhabitants, unable to bear with it, asked Casiracapa to rid them of those people, because they robbed them, ate their livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the Captain advised the Inca of this and he was ordered to return them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it; these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable; they are infidels in addition. Your Excellency would perform a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so that they and their descendants might become Christians, and giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings defy description. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima, 1568/.

This document from the General Archives of the Indies in Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed by Maria Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-130, 1951.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the buchhu or sica quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimula, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

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/125 cont./

The family. The Čipaya family like the Aymara is copied on the Creole model. Marriages are performed at the church and registered at Huachacalla. When I made a census of the population, I was able to observe that individuals of the same name have a tendency to group themselves in a specific part of the village. Certain names are characteristic of each of the sectors of the village: thus the Alabe, the Lopez, and the Pirka in Warta-ayl'u; the Kondori (1), the Mul'u, the Lasa in the other part of Tuanta; and the

1. Family names such as Mamani (hawk), Kondori (condor), and Kispe are purely Aymara and are borne by almost all the Indians of this race who do not have Spanish names.

Varal'i, Lazaro, Felipe, Kispe, Kispe, and Iaka in the ayu Tanata. Some other names, in contrast, are found disseminated throughout the village: thus /126/ the Mamani (1) /refers to footnote above/, who are as numerous in Tuanta as in Tanata. The Vilka overlap in Tanata and Tuanta. With the exception of the Mamani, the individuals whose names are distributed in all three sectors of the village alike represent only a few families that are practically isolated and probably emigrants. For example, there are only two Čima households, one of which occupies a hut built on the periphery of Warta, and the other at the end of Tuanta properly so called. This far-out position in the village indicates a nonlocal or recent origin. It is the same for the two Pirka, father and son, who are neighbors of one of the two Čima households in Warta.

My attempt at a census gave me the means to examine the question of exogamy at close range. The results of the study following this line confirmed the testimonies of the Čipaya on the absence of any restriction in this respect. The members of each "moiety" take wives from the other "moiety" as well as from their own. Tuanta wives are in large part from the Tanata section, but in

Bancroft--31 E-S (1930-1931) 1895, 1896 1934 Uru 1934
Carangas-
Chipaya

/1935/

The Religion

Preliminary Remarks

Aymara and Spanish influence. The Čipaya /Chipaya/ have probably been Catholic for a very long time. I do not know the date when they were converted but I presume it to have been a long time ago. It is possible that their conversion to Christianity took place at the time when a priest came to settle at Coipa, perhaps at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The churches of the neighboring Aymara villages were doubtless already in existence in the eighteenth century and perhaps even in the seventeenth. The one that stands in the middle of the Čipaya cities can hardly be more than 50 years old. The Indians were incapable of giving me information on this subject, as was the cura of Huachacalla on whom the Čipaya depend. These Indians are totally ignorant of all religious doctrine, for only once every, or less, do they receive a visit from their spiritual shepherd, who has nothing more pressing than to leave this desiert region and this wretched flock. The Čipaya nevertheless insist on celebrating their marriages or the birth of their children at the church; in each of these circumstances they undertake the trip to Huachacalla.

The religion of the Čipaya is essentially pagan as you will be convinced upon reading the following chapters. The relative isolation of this Uru tribe, the often superficial work of the first Spanish missionaries, the worldliness and lack of zeal of the modern Bolivian clergy have contributed in different degrees to the preservation of the beliefs and practices of the pre-Columbian epoch in this last village. So many causes must have favored the persistence of the past that it is difficult to explain to oneself /1935/ the number of Christian elements which are mingled with the ancient ones. The whole way of life of this fanatical people would make one think

9:La Barre E-6 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the Uru distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Like

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Pöle (1901) states that the Uru were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the Uru ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The Uru worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient Uru dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huaiño or sea quirkiña, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main Uru fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 24th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimetic, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood over the entrances of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are closely like the *Aymara*.

Most Uru-Chipaya folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The Chipaya of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the Uru of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the Uru are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the Chipaya are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The Chipaya, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the Chipaya do

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

female baby, little girl = ul-tukus-wawa, kus wawa, tukus-wawa lu; young girl = pas-pak-uk; young woman = us.

Marriage. Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymara women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

Political Organization. If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymara and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *kilcata*, commonly called *alcalde* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde*?) is called in Uru *lupuli* or *tawatawiki* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *lusk lupuli* ("big lupuli"). Squabbles with Aymara neighbors are led by the *kilcata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[*] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchka* (*kuča*) or *ni-a pairkiko* (*kirki'a*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "quelquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimula," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilancha* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusiji'a* and *qoos lluton* are played at the dance of *Tawrila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "tahanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panina" or "panonilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kamo* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimula" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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* Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.

Bodmer--28 E-5 (1950-1951) 1925, 1926 SFDA Uru 0726

Carangas--
Chipaya

/185 cont./

The family. The Chipaya family like the Aymara is copied on the Creole model. Marriages are performed at the church and registered at Huachacalla. When I made a census of the population, I was able to observe that individuals of the same name have a tendency to group themselves in a specific part of the village. Certain names are characteristic of each of the sectors of the village: thus the Alaba, the Lopez, and the Pirko in Warto-ayl'u; the Kondori (1), the Mol'o, the Lova in the other part of Tsaima; and the

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Varel'i, Lasaro, Pelipe, Kispe, Kayo, and Laba in the main Tsaima. Some other names, in contrast, are found disseminated throughout the village: thus /128/ the Mamani (1) /refers to footnote above/, who are as numerous in Tsaima as in Tsaito. The Vilka overlap in Tsaito and Tsaima. With the exception of the Mamani, the individuals whose names are distributed in all three sectors of the village also represent only a few families that are partially isolated and probably emigrants. For example, there are only two Cisa households, one of which occupies a hut built on the periphery of Warto, and the other at the end of Tsaima properly so called. This far-out position in the village indicates a maternal or recent origin. It is the same for the two Pirko, father and son, who are neighbors of one of the two Cisa households in Warto.

/186 My attempt at a census gave me the means to examine the question of exogamy at close range. The results of the study following this line confirmed the testimonies of the Chipaya on the absence /187 of any restrictions in this respect. The members of each "moiety" take wives from the other "moiety" as well as from their own. Tsaima wives not in large part from the Tsaito section, but to

Carangas—
Chipaya

/126 cont./

Taxata, in contrast, although there are numerous Tuanta wives, the greatest number of households are made up of individuals from the same section but with different names. I was able to establish that in a few cases within the same section a husband and wife had the same name. Since on these two occasions it was a question of patronymics without equivalents in another sector, one may conclude that the spouses were somehow related to each other; I do not know how.

Filiation is rigorously paternal. The wife during her first year of marriage lives with her husband's parents. After one or two children are born the couple builds a hut for themselves beside that of the husband's parents. This rule is not absolute for there are huts belonging to households without children. I gathered some information on inheritance law that is unfortunately vague and of which the accuracy is suspect. In case of the husband's death, if the wife has no children her husband's property passes into the hands of her father (he becomes custodian of it?). If she has a child her husband's possessions are left to her, and in a case where the child is still small, "another family" takes care of the sheep, i.e. of the pre-eminent part of a Čipaya's fortune. One Čipaya man told me that, orphaned at an early age, he was raised by a woman of his "moiety." His father's flock passed into the hands of his brother, who gave him his share when he was old enough to go himself to herd his sheep.

Kinship terms.

Although the nomenclature of the kinship terms teaches us nothing /127/ about the former organization of the Čipaya, I am recording them in any case to relieve my conscience:

grandfather	masthil'a, čaukal'a
grandmother	má-thl'a
father	hep
mother	má
father's brother (oldest)	čax-hep
father's brother (second)	taipir-tata

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

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CULTURE

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The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maʎku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maʎku, Kemperani-maʎku, Estewan-maʎku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maʎku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maʎku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maʎkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

601 female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa ku; young girl = paz-pak-uk; young woman = ux.

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●591 patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male
163 than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with
563 other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára
598 women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction
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692 fect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *kilacata*, commonly called *ilacata* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde*?) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *suxaturčičhi* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of
692 office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking
701 official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *kilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

195 *Dances and Ceremonies.* Bertonio[39] lists several ancient Uru dances of the
535 16th century which have since disappeared: the *ñuckhu* (*ñuñu*) or *sica quir-*
198 *kitha* (*kirkiña*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the
529 vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the
533 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of
535 the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilaula* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusip'ia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panita" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[39] Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.

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Cipaya

/382 cont./

The number of spirits which rule over a household may be even more considerable. In a prayer of Aymara origin which I recorded among the Cipaya, in the course of a sacrifice made to the demons of the house, the shed and the kitchen are invoked at the same time as the court.

Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which occur uniformly throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara. There is no Cipaya hut on which one does not see to the left of the door upon entering the blackish spot of blood with which it was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the costs of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirits, that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

ʌPoʌaiʻa	ʌOoya	hamantziha	suma	hallʌ	wata
Straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

awantiʻa (1)	ʌOoya-hi.
endure	house this.

1. From the Spanish aguantar, "to endure."

/383/ A beautiful example of the frightful jargon, a mixture of Cipaya, Aymara, and Kicua /Quechua/ words, which the Indians use in their conversations with the divinities.

The titi-maiʻku is honored each time that an Indian returns home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the number of titi-maiʻku in Chipaya is limited, I would not have

?:Métraux--145 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

/159 cont./

Means of Subsistence

Stock raising. The Čipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in describing the environment /160/ where they live, the pastures which cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the second type (Fig. 1, B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at littering time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large lacustral city.

The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Čipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Čipaya have their "water houses" (k^{x}as-k^{x}oya), or estancias, (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

Carangas-
Chipaya

/206 cont./

152 of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and
578 impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts
[SA] of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realise this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

593 Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the
578 characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic
[962] conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to drama: a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

836 Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me, bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of free-
848 dom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them
839 from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery
593 provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They speak to their husbands in firm and decisive tones, and no decision can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never
150 mistreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya com-
177 pare very favorably with the Uro of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race, who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence
609 The last 30 Uro of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust
167 of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to stay with them.

Bodleian--11 E-3 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SP34 Uro SP34
Carangas-
Chipaya

/116 cont./

that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

163 The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Ixaya seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

/193 cont./

142 Besides these 11 subjects, who considered themselves as pure Uru, three Aymara women living with some Urus had settled in the village with five children.

The concept of pure Uru is completely arbitrary; its value is more social than racial. At all times adoption in various forms made the incorporation of a subject of another origin into the group possible, and he was from then on considered a true Uru. This was the case with an Aymara child, whom we, of course, dropped from our list.

139 Children of an Uru mother and an unknown father were considered pure Uru.

One of our informants, Carlos Kispe, was himself, as we have seen, a "without father." Although considered an Uru, all his physical and mental characteristics clearly distinguished him from the other members of the group.

The Uru considered Aymara women born in neighboring villages and their children, even if born of Uru fathers, as foreigners. This matrilineal law is interesting to note.

126 Aymara women refused to let themselves or their children be examined. Nothing could persuade the two old Uru women.

We were hence reduced to the nine following subjects:

Men

142 Manuel Inta. An old patriarch 80 to 90 years old, born of Uru father and mother. White, rather thick hair; beard reduced to a few short hairs, entirely white. Thin lips; a straight-nosed profile. No Mongolian fold, /194/ but the presence of a malo-marginal fold, very distinct, on the far part of the eyelid.

143 Four living sons, Tomas and three others who have left the village; three daughters, among them Andréa and Célestina, and four dead children.

Tomas Inta. 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son. Considered pure Uru. No white hair. Thin lips, straight nose. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

Carangas-
Chipaya

/126 cont./

Tanata, in contrast, although there are numerous Tuama wives, the greatest number of households are made up of individuals from the same section but with different names. I was able to establish that in a few cases within the same section a husband and wife had the same name. Since on these two occasions it was a question of patronymics without equivalents in another sector, one may conclude that the spouses were somehow related to each other; I do not know how.

Filiation is rigorously paternal. The wife during her first year of marriage lives with her husband's parents. After one or two children are born the couple builds a hut for themselves beside that of the husband's parents. This rule is not absolute for there are huts belonging to households without children. I gathered some information on inheritance law that is unfortunately vague and of which the accuracy is suspect. In case of the husband's death, if the wife has no children her husband's property passes into the hands of her father (he becomes custodian of it?). If she has a child her husband's possessions are left to her, and in a case where the child is still small, "another family" takes care of the sheep, i.e. of the pre-eminent part of a Čipaya's fortune. One Čipaya man told me that, orphaned at an early age, he was raised by a woman of his "moiety." His father's flock passed into the hands of his brother, who gave him his share when he was old enough to go himself to herd his sheep.

Kinship terms.

601 Although the nomenclature of the kinship terms teaches us nothing /127/ about the former organization of the Čipaya, I am recording them in any case to relieve my conscience:

grandfather	masthil'a, čaukal'a
grandmother	mă-tĭl'a
father	hep
mother	mă
father's brother (oldest)	čax-hep
father's brother (second)	taipir-tata

Campaign—
Chipaya

/127 cont./

601 father's brother (younger) pʰʊ-tata, pʰʊtata

mother's brother tata, tuʃ'u, tuʃ'uta

father's sister ʊɲkaya, pʰʊ-mama

mother's sister mataʰʊ'a, pʰʊ-mama

son moʰ, (wet-moʰ: "my son")

daughter up to ten years old ʃiʃ, muh (wet-muh: "my daughter"), wet-wawa (lit.: "female child")

adult daughter ʊɲʰ-muh, ʊɲʰ-ʊʰ

grandson, granddaughter tuta

[111] brother hiʃa (Aymara)

brother (name a sister uses) wiki

younger brother ʊɲʰ (wet-ʊɲʰ: "my younger brother")

elder brother pʊʰ hila (lit.: "big brother")

[112] sister ʊuʃ'aka (Aymara)

younger sister tayiki ʊuʃ'aki, chuiku ʊuʃ'aki, pʰʊ-ʊuʃ'aki (lit.: "little sister"), ʊuʃʰ

older sister paka-ʊuʃ'aki (lit.: "big sister")

brother's son paʰ-ʊuʃ-uʃʰa, ʊuʃ-ʃ-maʰ, ʊɲʰ-ʊaʊ

sister's son ʊuʃ'aka-maʰ

brother's daughter ʊuʃ-ʃ-muh, paʰ-ʊʰ

sister's daughter ʊuʃ'aka-muh, paʰ-ʊuʃ'aka-ʊʰ, ʊuʃ'a-kaʊa-waʊaʃa, mataʰʊ'a-ʊʰa-uʃa

male first cousin hiʃaʃ-hʰa-uʃa

female first cousin ʊuʃ'aka-hʰa-ʊʰ

single woman turtaka

married woman tuɲ

a man calls his brother's wife: tuʃi, t'uʃi

a wife calls her brother's wife: tauʃ (wet-tau: "my sister-in-law")

Unknown--29 E-5 (1830-1831) 1931, 1936 Sp'an Ipo Sp'an

Carrington-
Chirapa

/127 cons./

60] a wife calls her cons's husband: cun (con-cun) "my brother-in-law"

/128/ a husband calls his wife's father: cuñor, cuñor tay

a husband calls his wife's mother: cuñ'ita

son-in-law ese

daughter-in-law ecuñ'o, econ'o

husband of a remarried mother: ey tē

wife of a remarried father: eiri-mā

[97] male cousin (without distinguishing degree) primiri-hijo (Spanish and Aymara)

[97] female cousin (without distinguishing degree) primiri hui'aka (Spanish and Aymara)

man °aā

young man ipa

child (boy) ckaita-cūñ

child (girl) ckaita-cūñi'o, ckaita-ecuna-cūñi'o, b'ai-ui, ui

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metal cutting. Some of the pins (topus) which women use to fasten their clothing on the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from ancient graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade. 325 [839]

Pottery.—Although not now made at Arowayni, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a square mouth and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a heavy-cut lip and two loop handles. 323

Stonework.—Manos, metates, and hammers made of a round stone bound with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone. 324

Woodworking.—Weaving battens, distaffs and spindles, bolas poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening bolas bindings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas. 322 [439]

Musical instruments.—All Uru musical instruments are duplicates of those of the Aymara: the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipin, and kenakena), fingerdrum (kena mani-mamka, koiko, pinkillu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, sikuchuluki), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukulele or charango. 534 [197] [237]

COMMERCE

The only Uru articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for beans and dried potatoes (chuñu), corn, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes. 439

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas. 462

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian Uru social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve its functioning. The Uru are grouped into cyths, named Titicana, Kotsis, Kema, and Kulpa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achui (corresponding to /sus anan-saya), and zuzucha (/sus mara-saya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like 198 621 616 601

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Pöle (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native kilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

Religion

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

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Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 200 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into noncongruous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a *year* or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymaraized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-*malku*, Kemperani-*malku*, Estewan-*malku*), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Lauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-*malku*). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (*patio-malku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malkus* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

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ence of this latter, however, is evident to anyone familiar with the Aymará. Inasmuch as the almost unique grammatical sketch of Uru has appeared in a somewhat obscure and inaccessible publication,[15] a summary of the language of this little-known group may be of value to scholars and linguists.

The sounds b, v, d, f, ll, rr and z do not seem to occur in the language of the Uros. The adjective always precedes the noun, and has no mark of gender. The infinitive of the verb has several different terminations, apparently according to the words from which, when secondary, it is derived. Three tenses, present, past, and future, are distinguished by prefixed or suffixed particles, but the material at hand is not sufficient to enable one to settle the whole matter of conjugation, etc. In compound nouns Polo says (p. 480), "the components are arranged in the order which their signification expresses, *e.g. chekere-koche* (shoe), from *chekere* (what is covered), and *koch.* (foot)." The number of Uran words, whose etymology is known is, however, too small to settle this point completely.

The nymerical system of the Uros deserves a few words. There are separate words for 1, 2, 3; then 4, 5, 6, are, respectively, *pacpic*, *paknucu*, *pacchui*, in which a common first element *pac* appears; 7, 8, 9, *tohoco*, *cohonco*, *samaco* (also *sankau*) seem to have a common terminal *-co; kalo*, 10, is unrelated to the other numerals; 11, 12, 13, etc., are *kalosi*, *kalo-piske; kalo-chep*, etc.; 100 is *kalo-kalo* (also *pac*); and 1000 could be expressed by *kalo-pac*.

Among the principal suffixes in the Uran language are the following:

-ai; in names of male relatives, etc. (*apai*, fathers; *suhuai*, son; *chichulai*, brother, etc.)

-chi; in certain names of female relatives, etc. (*achichi*, grandmother; *machi*, daughter; *ushakpischi*, girl).

-ni; in certain adjectives (*chakni*, green; *chikni*, old).

-si; a frequent termination in nouns (*coasi*, water; *muksi*, cigar; *chacsi*, coca; *lucsi*, spoon; *tucsi*, stomach; *potsi*, axe; *chequisi*, lasso; *chici*, moon; *masi*, stone; *tacsi*, bridge.

Among the suffixes of the infinitives are: *-ai*, *-ana*, *-ani*, *-ara*, *-chi*, *-i*, *-ini*, *-k*, *-n*, *-qui*, *-si*, *-u*, *-ui*, etc. There is a negative or privative particle *ana-*, used as a prefix (*e.g. ana- chuni*, "ugly," *i.e.* "not beautiful.") This particle is also used some times with nouns (*e.g. ana-karchichi*, handless.) Incorporation (or at least collocation) of the pronoun in the verb occurs, as, *e.g.*, *lulicunkipec*, "dost thou desire to eat"? This word is derived from *luli*, "to eat"; *cun*, "thou"; and *kipec*, "to desire." The Uran language belongs to the class of American tongues which do not possess grammatical

[15] Polo, in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima*, 10, 1901, pp. 445–482, from which Chamberlain's, and the present sketch, have largely been taken. Métraux' excellent work is predominantly on the Chipaya of Carangas; Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquinan" is not undisputedly identifiable with Uru; and Alonzo de Barcena's *Lexica et Precepta in Quinque Indorum Linguis* (Lima ?1590), which is said to have contained a sketch of the language, is not known to exist in even a single copy.

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they are, Titicana, Konko, Kama, Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities: anan-saya and mana-saya; their Uru names are ti ačai; xanača. They may be translated by their Aymara equivalents: "upper section" and "lower section."

Posnansky adds information for the Uru of Iruitu:

In the village of Iruitu may be noted—although somewhat blurred at the present time, as with the "markas" of the Aymara—the typical division into *Anansaya* and *Urinsaya* (*Manasaya* and *Arasaya*) which they call *Manka* and *Arrojo*. However, the real *Manasaya* for them is the *Titicana-Tojsa*, where the Aymaras live, to the east, in the high and mountainous lands. The expression *tojsa* has in their language the meaning "man of the *tierra firme*" (tierra seca).[37]

Kinship System. I collected the following kinship system at Ancoaqui:

father = apai	mother = ataloi
brother = čičai	sister = kaiyo
son = ampsuwa	daughter = tukunwau-us
husband = lukwawa	wife = tukunwawa
older brother = tuskačič	older sister = kustaknai
middle brother = moraščič	middle sister = moranai
younger brother = ačkačišk	younger sister = ačknai
father of father = texsapačani, tapsapačai	father of mother = tatale-ep
mother of father = apsma	mother of mother = [t]ata-lama, apsma
father of wife = ačičai	father of husband = texsapa
mother of wife = tatalama	mother of husband = tapsma
brother of wife = atalači'či	brother of husband = čičai
sister of wife = senai	sister of husband = čip'i
brother of father = sičisč, tululu	brother of mother = sičisč
sister of father = nai	sister of mother = nai
cousin (male) = [us]tululu, čuktululu	cousin (female) = malaqo
brother-in-law = wasi	sister-in-law = nai
husband of sister = tisunsmataluku	
son-in-law = wasi	daughter-in-law = wasi
son of son = alči [?Aymara], karwa	daughter of son = tukun-alči
son of daughter = učusa	daughter of daughter = usasu
son of brother = tičiš-suwa	daughter of brother = tičičimat'
son of sister = tičičsuwa	daughter of sister = tičipamat.

male baby, little boy = uč-šon-čula, učusa, ukala; little boy = uč usa; boy = usa; youth = čauk usa; young man = towi, tou; man (homo) šoñi; (vir) tosa.

[37] Métraux (JSAP 27), p. 87. Cf. *idem* (JSAP 27), pp. 91, 100, 107. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 70.

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601 female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa šu; young girl = pax-pak-uš; young woman = ux.

585 *Marriage.* Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is 591 patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male 163 than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára 563 598 women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, 832 and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

621 *Political Organization.* If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *hilacata*, commonly called *ilacate* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde?*) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *xoraturčički* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). 701 Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *hilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

195 *Dances and Ceremonies.* Bertonio[28] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 535 16th century which have since disappeared: the *huchhu* (*huču*) or *si:a quir-*178 *kitha* (*kirkiš'a*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the 527 533 vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 535 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilanča* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusip'ia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[28] Bertonio, *Vocabylario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.

/88 cont./
773 a cataclysm which annihilated all of humanity with the exception of the Uro. This explains why they speak a different language than the other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its church existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky the church and Tiahuanacu melted." The vestiges of the old myth which 773 539 Betanzos (1) has preserved for us are recognizable here.

[113]

1. Betanzos (Juan Diez de), "Historia de los Incas y Conquista del Peru /History of the Incas and the Conquest of Peru/," Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru, (Lima, 1924), Vol. 8, second series, pp. 82-83.

Tuki	pača	(čamak tiempo)	šoñi	ekanštinnakčai
Former times	former times	people	have remained	

toksanakaki	estansias	tiksi	ekanastkalačai
people of the others	"estancias"	they died	we have remained

nekstal	ti	čiaki	sisasučai.
then	this	language	we know.

157 /89/ Disposition. In disposition and nature the Uro are as sombre as the Aymara. A stranger who comes to visit them [609] receives a cold and slightly hostile reception. To this ill-will is added the unhealthy rapacity shown by the Aymara and the Bolivians, besides the apathy and that heaviness of spirit which makes the Indian highlander frankly so odious. I am not, however, unaware of the causes of the mental atrophy of the 155 648 Bolivian Indian; the Uro have not escaped the brutalities and exploitation of their Spanish masters, nor that of their even

/115 cont./

161 number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not
[119] go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

162 The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion:
G1 Tuanta, with its subdivision Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants
(58 at Warta ayl'u and 111 at Tuanta properly so called), and
[161] Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayl'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can
123 only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who
124 gave me the list of people in this "moiety" did so reluctantly and
161 very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that
651 this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

651
659 1. A short [illegible]e before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population. The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror
[609]

/205 cont./

157 same. Boredom and silence overwhelm the village. The children
461 themselves share in this general sullenness: they never have fun, so
[857] to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a vague eye or stay squatting in their huts chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material or occupy their leisure time by looking for fleas on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

157 The Čipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant
171 than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mis-
[609] trust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of
123 strangers. They know how to appear well-wishing, and my relations
157 with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /206/ liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they never forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a
[431] result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several
152 small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya
578 is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent
[123] devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for
[126] my collections in broad daylight: all feared the unkind comments of those near them.

/206 cont./

152 of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and
578 impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts
[154] of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

593 Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the
578 characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic
[162] conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to drama: a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

836 Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me, bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of freedom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to
848 virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them
837 from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery
593 provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They speak to their husbands in firm and decisive tones, and no decision can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never
150 mistreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya com-
177 pare very favorably with the Uro of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence.
609 The last 30 Uro of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust
161 of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to stay with them.

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We the Kjotsuñi [*q'otʒoñi*, from Aymará *q'ota*, "lake", and Uru *ʒoñi*, "men people"][11] are the oldest on this earth. A long time we were here, before when the sun was hidden.

Here where you see the suñi, in the time of our *Achichis* [ancestors], everywhere there was water with many fish; many rivers rose and flowed. Then our nation was large and happy.

Before the Sun hid himself for a long time we were in this place. Then the Kollas [Aymára] came, despoiling us of our lands; they used our bodies for *Kjuchos* [*ʒučo*, human sacrifice] when they laid the foundations of their temples.

When the Lake dried up we came out in search of food and thus encountered the Aymára.

Before *Čamak-pača* [Aymará, "time or epoch of darkness"] Tiahuanacu was built.

We have built our houses where our ancestors lived. The broken pots of many colors, and *topos* [copper pins] you find when plowing the ground, belong to them.

Métraux recorded in Quechua at Oruro a myth which tells of the tricking of the armadillo by the fox, who misled him concerning a fiesta; hence (say the Uru) the mantle of the armadillo is uneven on his neck and shoulders. Most of the Uru-Chipaya tales were learned from the Aymára.

Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes. Small children own property which cannot be sold without their consent; when a little girl refused to sell me a small cloth, in spite of my offering what must have appeared a fabulous sum, that was the end of it.

In greeting a white man on the road, the Uru, like the Aymára address him as *Wiracocha*, "sir," or *karai* "mister."

The Pleiades are called *kerkeru*, Venus *čauk-kola* ("big-?"), the Milky Way *čatu-likščai* (from *liks* "road"?) and another constellation *tsoxotsoxa;* a comet is called *[illegible]* (from the Aymará).

[11] Not, as Posn[illegible] supposes, from the Aymará *suñi*, "puna." The meaning "men" is again obvious from the reference in the second paragraph. Further, the phoneme ʒ is lacking in Aymará.

/126 cont./

616 Taxata, in contrast, although there are numerous Tuanta wives,
[551] the greatest number of households are made up of individuals from the same section but with different names. I was able to establish that in a few cases within the same section a husband and wife had the same name. Since on these two occasions it was a question of patronymics without equivalents in another sector, one may conclude that the spouses were somehow related to each other; I do not know how.

591 Filiation is rigorously paternal. The wife during her first
[611] year of marriage lives with her husband's parents. After one or two children are born the couple builds a hut for themselves beside that of the husband's parents. This rule is not absolute for there
428 are huts belonging to households without children. I gathered some information on inheritance law that is unfortunately vague and of which the accuracy is suspect. In case of the husband's death, if the wife has no children her husband's property passes into the hands of her father (he becomes custodian of it?). If she has a
[556] child her husband's possessions are left to her, and in a case where the child is still small, "another family" takes care of the sheep, i.e. of the pre-eminent part of a Čipaya's fortune. One Čipaya man told me that, orphaned at an early age, he was raised by a woman of his "moiety." His father's flock passed into the hands of his brother, who gave him his share when he was old enough to go himself to herd his sheep.

Kinship terms.

601 Although the nomenclature of the kinship terms teaches us nothing /127/ about the former organization of the Čipaya, I am recording them in any case to relieve my conscience:

grandfather	mastñil'a, čaukal'a
grandmother	mā-tíl'a
father	hep
mother	mā
father's brother (oldest)	čax-hep
father's brother (second)	taipir-tata

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

/87 cont./
291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[174] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of
black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders
with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B
/see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching
the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
291 tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste
of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls
are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this
region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the
simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).

286 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro
women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present
any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is,
unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans,
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622 Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as
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derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoraturčirčki:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čauk čapsti)
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771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I
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These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two [223] [293] practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [573] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-making. Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common [123] that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [195] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about 621 616 614 their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

Carangas—
Chipaya

/121 cont./

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342 343 Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are 361 grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long, [363] more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

351 The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts [171] so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this [176] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

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*[178] wood and come from the forests of eastern Bolivia. The Indians call them by the half-Aymara, half-Spanish word kamana-para, [171] "house stick." I never saw one in the Aymara huts where I stayed.

Sanctuaries, chapels, and oratories. The Čipaya celebrate their festivals at the foot of the sacred cones of earth, or mal'ku, near the samiris' cellar or in the chapels and the village church. I have already mentioned above the location of the mal'ku in relation to the village, and I have given a complete description of *[178] them. Hence note must be taken here only of the edifices of a 346 mixed character, i.e., those which are used simultaneously for observances of Christian and pagan worship.

The church falls into this last category. Its belfry is a divinity common to the entire tribe, as the church is situated in the middle of the neutral ground which separates the two saya. Its interior is miserable and does not differ at all from the rural churches in the rest of Bolivia, unless in its poverty. On the altar are a few images [182] made of pasteboard, which receive blood sacrifices, offerings of [176] coca, and libations of alcohol and chicha. Exactly as in other Bolivian churches, one finds in this one an unusual number of boxes containing the image of Saint James on his horse, a saint whom the Indians hold in particular veneration and to whom they have given all the attributes and functions of the ancient god of thunder. One sees there also innumerable small terra-cotta bowls, full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns; these little lamps take the place of candles and are given by the faithful.

•[614] Each clan has in addition its chapel, built on the same plan as the church but smaller. The interior decoration is almost the same but even more wretched. In front of the chapel a small enclosure is used for gatherings of the faithful when they assemble to drink or feast together in homage to some Christian or pagan divinity. From the Tuanta chapel a line of chapels and little square edifices, which for want of a better word I shall call oratories or altars, extends in a straight line toward the east, or more precisely toward the southeast. These are small cubes of earth topped with a niche

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*piri*) and *balsa* (Jkwsi), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *sikw* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peks* (Aymará *pusi'ia*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'os*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *sikw* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusi'ia* or *peks* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *kesona*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *čuñu*, *coca*, net-thread, *kañawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*kesona* and *čuwara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organisation is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: [illegible], T.P.cana, Konko, Kama, Kuipa.

/87 cont./
291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
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/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Chipaya tales have a small rodent, the toxo (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), promoted to the rank of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 230 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jímenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

/121/

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These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two [222] [892] practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

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[171] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is
[176] placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

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Social Organization

627 [616] Exercise of authority. Each saya is under the authority of an alcalde who exercises the functions of a justice of the peace. He intervenes in disputes, arrests and imprisons the guilty, and receives accusations. As we have just seen, the alcaldes preside at the division of arable land and are in addition responsible for directing work done in common, such as the upkeep of canals or the repairing of roads.

692 The corregidor represents the tribe before the government. The one for Chipaya, my friend Paulino Kondori, was so little convinced of the legitimacy of his office, very recently created, that he accompanied me on my return to be presented to the prefect of the department and to obtain from him permission to consider the territory of Chipaya an administrative district independent of Huachacalla. By one of those curious inconsistencies of the Indian character, he did not wait for me at Oruro, where he had preceded me, and I was not able to support his efforts to bring this administrative revolution to a successful conclusion. As long as his title has not been recognized by the government, the corregidor of Chipaya will continue to be subordinate to the one at Huachacalla. During my stay I had the chance to read the letters which his superior sent him and which were often conceived in a comminatory tone. I remember that once he was ordered to have his alcaldes arrest a recalcitrant debtor and another time to conduct to Huachacalla an Indian suspected, mistakenly moreover, of murder.

Paulino Kondori appeared to have some judiciary functions, for the Čipaya made allusion before me to "demandas," i.e. complaints which had been presented to him by Indians who had been injured or believed themselves to have been. It was to him that the Čipaya came to impart their misgivings about my unusual activities and my mysterious investigations. I was lodged in his [123] [345] own hut, which instead of being round like the others had a rectangular plan and a two-pitch roof. This form, seen in two or three

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/125 cont./

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The family. The Čipaya family like the Aymara is copied on the Creole model. Marriages are performed at the church and registered at Huachacalla. When I made a census of the population, I was able to observe that individuals of the same name have a tendency to group themselves in a specific part of the village. Certain names are characteristic of each of the sectors of the village; thus the Alabe, the Lopez, and the Pirka in Warta-ayl'u; the Kondori (1), the Mul'u, the Losa in the other part of Tuanta; and the

[177]

1. Family names such as Mamani (hawk), Kondori (condor), and Kispe are purely Aymara and are borne by almost all the Indians of this race who do not have Spanish names.

Varači, Lazaro, Felipe, Kispe, Kopa, and Ilaka in the saya Taxata. Some other names, in contrast, are found disseminated throughout the village; thus /126/ the Mamani (1) /refers to footnote above/, who are as numerous in Tuanta as in Taxata. The Vilka overlap in Taxata and Tuanta. With the exception of the Mamani, the individuals whose names are distributed in all three sectors of the village alike represent only a few families that are practically isolated and probably emigrants. For example, there are only two Čino households, one of which occupies a hut built on the periphery of Warta, and the other at the end of Tuanta properly so called. This far-out position in the village indicates a nonlocal or recent origin. It is the same for the two Pirka, father and son, who are neighbors of one of the two Čino households in Warta.

● 616 My attempt at a census gave me the means to examine the question of exogamy at close range. The results of the study following this line confirmed the testimonies of the Čipaya on the absence [551] of any restriction in this respect. The members of each "moiety" take wives from the other "moiety" as well as from their own. Tuanta wives are in large part from the Taxata section, but in

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Chipaya

/126 cont./

616 [551] Taxata, in contrast, although there are numerous Tuanta wives, the greatest number of households are made up of individuals from the same section but with different names. I was able to establish that in a few cases within the same section a husband and wife had the same name. Since on these two occasions it was a question of patronymics without equivalents in another sector, one may conclude that the spouses were somehow related to each other; I do not know how.

591 [611] Filiation is rigorously paternal. The wife during her first year of marriage lives with her husband's parents. After one or two children are born the couple builds a hut for themselves beside that of the husband's parents. This rule is not absolute for there 428 are huts belonging to households without children. I gathered some information on inheritance law that is unfortunately vague and of which the accuracy is suspect. In case of the husband's death, if the wife has no children her husband's property passes into the hands of her father (he becomes custodian of it?). If she has a [556] child her husband's possessions are left to her, and in a case where the child is still small, "another family" takes care of the sheep, i.e. of the pre-eminent part of a Čipaya's fortune. One Čipaya man told me that, orphaned at an early age, he was raised by a woman of his "moiety." His father's flock passed into the hands of his brother, who gave him his share when he was old enough to go himself to herd his sheep.

Kinship terms.

601 Although the nomenclature of the kinship terms teaches us nothing /127/ about the former organization of the Čipaya, I am recording them in any case to relieve my conscience:

grandfather	mastñil'a, čaukal'a
grandmother	mā-tíl'a
father	hep
mother	mā
father's brother (oldest)	čax-hep
father's brother (second)	taipir-tata

/329 cont./

*1098 there is generally a small oratory or altar with a niche, where the
782 Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries, where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes every Čipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration of the ceremony the Indians burn khoa there, a resinous plant which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

*1098 In the mind of the Čipaya these cones of earth are "statues" representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were designated to me when I heard about them for the first time. "These are," the interpreter translated, "bultos a manera de hombres
[552] /busts in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a name (Čunkirini, Korisančuri, Kemperani, Kant, Kilimint, Kusil'er, Kusil'awari, Estewan, Waxma, etc.), and if the majority of these names are Čipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of
[190] the saya tuanta is called Estewan, or Stephen (1). When I asked the
[196]

1. I am tempted to see in the Kiliment (o) mal'ku a demon whose Spanish name, Clemento, has been indianized.

recognized officiant of the saya tuanta about the nature and attributes of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied to me that they were spirits who crossed the puna disguised as white men dressed in a tunic (ira) of the same color, and with a large hat on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

[216] Each saya has its own mal'ku near which it acquits itself, i.e.,
[621] makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the
[982] Kemperani mal'ku) constructed at the boundary of the sayas, which is worshiped by the whole tribe.

*1098 These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous
104 waka (huaca) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

Carangas-
Chipaya

/362 cont./

*798 *796 [539]

Hasiki	suma	l'autita	suma	kumpltita	hasiki
Now	well	shut	well	acquitted	now

katokta	suma	katoktakiya.
you have received	well	you have received.

/363/ "Now you have been well shut in, we have acquitted ourselves well toward you. Now you have received offerings, you have received well of them."

Little by little the group dispersed. Each, before going away, approached the site of the cellar, knelt, and said a short prayer, at the end of which he touched the mound with his hand, which he brought to his lips. The alferez' wife epitomized the gesture by kissing the ground. I heard them murmur while getting up, "Verxina-mai'ku lisinta" — "Holy Virgin, with thy permission." Some couples, before leaving the area, went to salute the alferez and his wife in the customary fashion.

The latter, moreover, did not seem to consider the merry-making ended, and it was with flags flying, dancing and drinking, that the most enthusiastic returned, forming a procession which disappeared toward the "water houses."

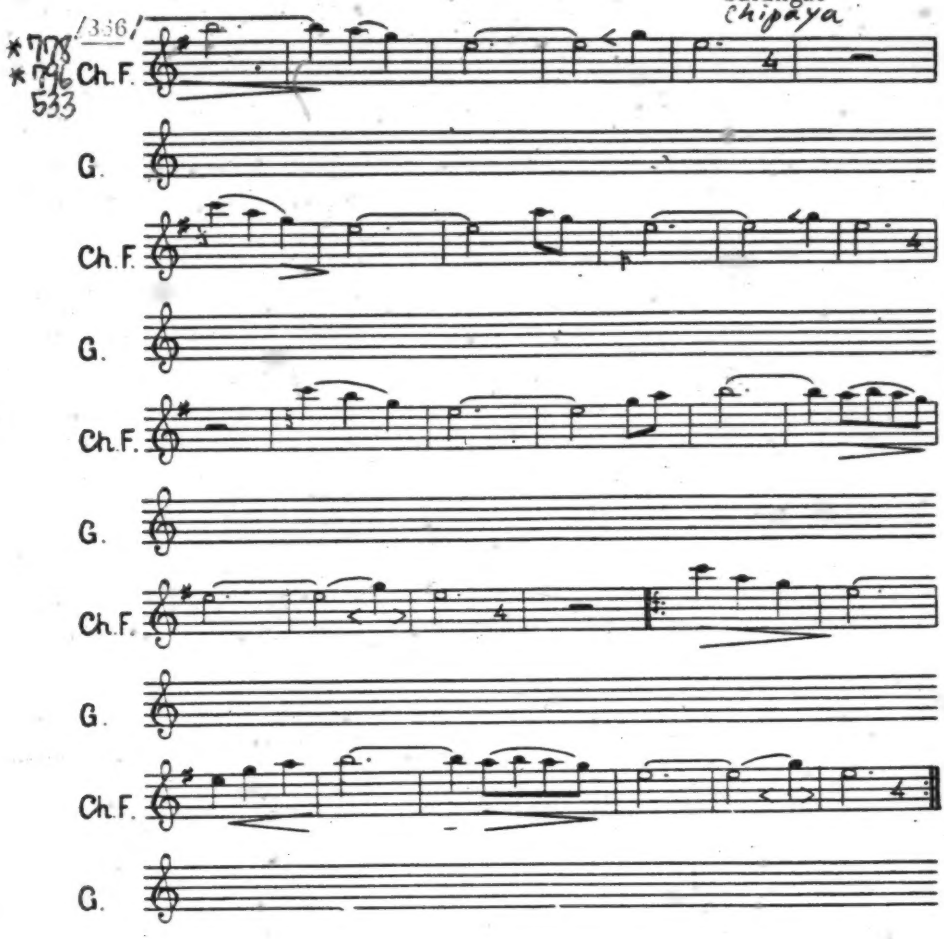
● [616] On the same day the saya taxata held a similar festival on its territory.

*798 *796 594 [616] Second day (January 21). On the preceding day only a part of the meat of the sacrificed victims had been eaten on the spot. The rest was served in the course of a feast which the alferez offered to the members of his saya the day after the festival. The ceremony which I will describe took place at Taxata.

[554] The alferez' two white banners were planted before the door of his hut toward noon. The members of the saya had gathered near the threshold, men on one side and women on the other, waiting for the food (Pl. XII, B /see p. 133/). It was served to them as on the day before, on blankets spread on the ground. The menu was, moreover, substantially the same, but completed

*798 *796 594 262

Carangas—
Chipaya



*796
●[616]

Festival of the Saya Taxata (February 2, day of Candlemas).

This festival was celebrated only by the saya taxata. In the morning "the mass" took place, i.e., a procession in which the alferez, the alcalde, and a part of the members of the saya took part.

[534]

After remaining several moments in their chapel to say prayers and to perfume the altar with incense, the Indians came out abruptly in a group to form a procession which walked around the church, banners unfurled, to the sound of dance tunes played on the flutes of Pan.

/366 cont./

*796 [562] [889] [932] In this case the alferez was an old woman, wrinkled and respectable, /367/ assisted by her son, a young boy 18 to 20 years old who was a deaf-mute. She led the procession dressed in her most beautiful attire with flowers stuck in her hair.

The procession returned to the chapel to kneel and to perfume again the altar, on which a spot of still fresh blood stood out. The procession broke up shortly afterward, but part of those present accompanied the alfereza and her son, who proceeded with one of the banners from the church up to the door of their hut. There the standard, which the alfereza and her son kissed respectfully, was rolled up and attached to a stake of Cereus.

● [616] The authorities of the saya seated themselves behind a table, and a mantle (talu) was spread out on the ground a certain distance away, on the edge of which the alfereza and her daughter-in-law squatted. They were promptly surrounded by a large number of women who grouped themselves in a horseshoe. A small tablecloth covered with coca leaves was placed on the table, as on the talu.

The alfereza and her son began to pray on their knees before the banner and offered up a libation of alcohol to it; then the young man went to get his wife and repeated the same ceremony with her (Pl. XII, A /see p. 133/). The alcaldes congratulated the alfereza, repeating the sacred formula of suma hora. This rite of politeness accomplished, they went to kiss the post against which the standard had been fastened, and then, taking two wooden cups with two bulls carved on the inside from the table, they offered up a libation of chicha accompanied by a prayer (Pl. XVII, A /see p. 138/).

[415] [2078] On the two sides of the talu behind which the women were seated a very old footless wooden cup, very old, had been placed, from which the women one after the other drank chicha (Pl. XVII, D).

The audience began to chew and to offer up libations. Prayers crossed each other, and in this exchange of vows and

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Chipaya

/374 cont./

*798 *796 [203] The festival ended in general intoxication, of which the court in front of the chapel was in part a witness. The drinking continued practically without interruption until the next day, when the alferez held a feast for 120 people. In spite of the relative dearth of alcohol, the alferez, the Officiant, and his relatives found the means to finally roll on the ground, dead drunk.

Several days later on February 12 (Comadres /Gossips' Thursday, the last Thursday before Shrove-Tuesday/), it was the turn of the Kemperani-mal'ku to receive alcohol and presents. The poor idol did not seem to enjoy much favor, for there were few who came to "acquit themselves," and although the rites were faithfully observed they were carried out rapidly. Several small details that I was able to perceive in the gestures of the Officiant and in the composition of the liquids offered to the mal'ku have been mentioned in the footnote on pages 74 and 75. One fact is worth keeping in mind: when the cone was dripping with blood, those present got up and prostrated themselves in front of it. Some touched it lightly with their fingertips and brought them to their ●[616] lips. The individuals who took part in this festival all belonged to the saya, with the possible exception of the Officiant. The absence of families or of a few representatives at least from taxata *798 *796 539 did not fail to surprise me, as in the prayer addressed to the Kemperani-mal'ku one is given to understand that the east (tuanta) side of the cone which stands on the border of the two saya "looks at" both of them:

Kemperani-mal'ku	porap-ikina	inkiñi	mal'ku lenta
Kemperani-demon	the two behind	who looks	demon border

towantišta	/375/ taxatišta	maitiñi	hasiki
east of	west of	who hearkens	in this moment

porap-ayl'u	kumplatuja	tonxi-ki	towanta	taxata
the two clans	acquit themselves	today	east	west

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Chipaya

/375 cont./

*778 *796 539

tonuǰa	pakˣxal'aiǰtan	kumplataǰa	tonx-tuñi
I have come	heads of livestock with	I acquit myself	today

ǰep	pakˣxal'a	palatansuǰa	ana	inahapa
three	heads of livestock	are planted	not	in vain

Tatal	Mamal	sirwisxapa	hasiki	maitiǰiñakiǰa
Father	Mother	to serve for	in this moment	grant me

t'apa	kumpañǰtan.
all	assembly with.

"Demon Čunkirini, I have come in this hour, to acquit myself towards thee with these animals. I acquit myself today with these three head of livestock who are placed (before thee) — that this be not in vain — /376/ to serve thee, father, mother, in this hour, hearken to me and to all those who accompany me."

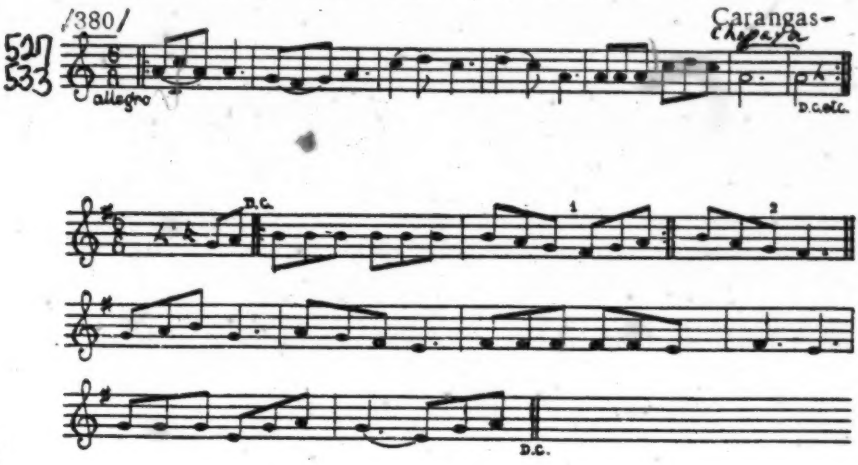
*778 *796 In contrast to the previous festival, which took place at the foot of this same cone of earth, a sort of cellar housed at its base was opened this time, and various offerings, half-rotten, and a bottle of alcohol were taken out, the latter of which the Officiant and his helpers piously drank. It is necessary to add that the bottle was then refilled and that fresh magical substances and provisions replaced those which were thrown out.

The Indians used the occasion to go prostrate themselves in front of another cone, a real dwarf beside its congeners, for it was hardly 50 centimeters high. Perhaps this miniature mal'ku is the protector of children, for the corregidor of the tribe offered it a sheep in the name of his three-year-old son.

Prayers to the Kilimento-mal'ku and to the Kosil'awari-mal'ku. The yatiri Anacleto Mullu dictated two more prayers to me, one addressed to the Kilimento-mal'ku and the other to the Kosil'awari-mal'ku. These two cones of earth stand on taxata territory, and their worship is reserved for this saya. I was not able to attend the

[616]

/380/



527 535 574 Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to everyone. [616] Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

527 778 [824] [837] In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

527 [533] The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week. At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few [273] madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol [54] did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not [171] present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

/160 cont./

233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to them[1] at more or less close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their [897] cheeses. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the children from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them [842] the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous progeny.

[422] [231] Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20 sheep (uša), an indefinite number of pigs (kuči), and several llamas (xwala). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut in the ear.

●[616] Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on /161/ the pastures belonging to his saya (moiety). No markers mark the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the members of the other saya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

231 233 The shepherds have dogs /paku/, middling in size, with rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals, which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye without its astounded owner having time to intervene.

236 233 [412] Sheep shearing (čipla) takes place at the same time for the whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

233 262 Like all pastoral people the Čipaya are loath to consume the meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their [231] flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied by a certain religious ceremony.

[1] [i.e., to their "water houses" or estancias --Analyst]

/180 cont./

[534] [616] The saya taxata (west) owns a very old, very large drum, the only one of its kind in the village; unfortunately, the Indians did not want to sell it to me at any price, alleging that it was the property of the whole community. Its construction was, from what I could see, similar to that of the round tambourine which I have just described. A very special importance devolved on this drum during the festival /181/ /Figure 8 appears here/ /182/ of the Comadres. [198] During the whole day it remained hanging from a flagstaff and was the object, at the same time as the standard, of real worship.

The drum bears in Čipaya the Spanish name caja. We should not conclude from this that the instrument is of Spanish origin among them. Some details at the most are of post-Columbian origin, but they are not numerous. The "drum cord," for example, is certainly an element added to it in the course of the centuries which followed [194] the conquest. It is possible that for lack of flexible wood to make round drums, the Čipaya were obliged to make them with boards from old boxes and consequently to modify the original type.

Wind instruments.

[237] Trumpets. Čipaya trumpets are of the most rudimentary kind: they are made up of a cow's horn sawed off near the point and of a bell formed of the dried tail of the same quadruped.

Only very rarely did I see the Čipaya make use of this instrument, which makes a hollow sound resembling the lowing of one in [196] the state of having breath of exceptional power. The trumpets which figure in all the festivals play the role of ritual or decorative accessories in them. They are placed in front of the sacred sheaves or on the table in front of the heads of the sacrificed animals. They bear the name thoti in Čipaya.

Clarinets (Fig. 8, F /see p. 173/), which like trumpets have a cow horn for a bell, also have a reed mouthpiece from which a small tongue has been cut out and smoothed to make it more flexible. So that it would be easier to play on, it has been raised by means of a string passing under its lower part. It is made to vibrate by

[Text continues on p. 174]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

Pottery.—Although not now made at Ancoaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles.

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas.

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara:* the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipia, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkilu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-choklo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charanga.

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into ayllus, named Titicana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Inca* anansaya), and xanacha (*Inca* manansaya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Chipaya

paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The maλku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own maλku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant. The cult of the maλku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "sevarics," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the maλku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candies are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

6: Ruiz and Roca T-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 †SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *ayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

Rubin Carancho J-3 (no date) 1980 EP34 Urn EP34

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymara haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayans speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayus to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular beehive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called tola. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy wooden blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayus are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayus blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into chuño flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

they are, Titicana, Konko, Kama, Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities: anan-saya and mana-saya; their Uru names are ti ačai; xanaša. They may be translated by their Aymara equivalents: "upper section" and "lower section." 616

Posnansky adds information for the Uru of Iruitu:

In the village of Iruitu may be noted—although somewhat blurred at the present time, as with the "markas" of the Aymara—the typical division into *Anansaya* and *Urinsaya* (*Manansaya* and *Arasaya*) which they call *Manko* and *Arrojo*. However, the real *Manansaya* for them is the *Titicano-Tojso*, where the Aymaras live, to the east, in the high and mountainous lands. The expression *tojso* has in their language the meaning "man of the *tierra firme*" (tierra seca).[37]

Kinship System. I collected the following kinship system at Ancoaqui: 601

father = apai	mother = ataloi
brother = čičai	sister = ǩaiyo
son = ampouwa	daughter = tukunwau-us
husband = lukwawa	wife = tukunwawa
older brother = tuskačič	older sister = kustaǩnai
middle brother = moračič	middle sister = moranai
younger brother = ačkačiǩ	younger sister = ačknai
father of father = texsapačani, ťapsapačai	father of mother = tatale-ep
mother of father = apsma	mother of mother = [t]ata-lama, apsma
father of wife = ačičai	father of husband = texsapa
mother of wife = tatalama	mother of husband = ťapsma
brother of wife = atalačiˈči	brother of husband = čičai
sister of wife = senai	sister of husband = čipˈi
brother of father = sičisč, tululu	brother of mother = sičisč
sister of father = nai	sister of mother = nai
cousin (male) = [us]tululu, čuktululu	cousin (female) = malaqo
brother-in-law = wasi	sister-in-law = nai
husband of sister = tisunsmataluku	
son-in-law = wasi	daughter-in-law = wasi
son of son = alči [?Aymara], karwa	daughter of son = tukun-alči
son of daughter = učusa	daughter of daughter = usasu
son of brother = tičič-suwa	daughter of brother = tičičimatˈ
son of sister = tičičsuwa	daughter of sister = tičipamat.

male baby, little boy = uč-čon-čula, učusa, uǩala; little boy = uč usa; boy = usa; youth = čauk usa; young man = towi, tou; man (homo) šoñi; (vir) tosa.

[37] Métraux (JSAP 27), p. 87. Cf. *idem* (JSAP 27), pp. 91, 100, 107. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 70.

/87 cont./

291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[174] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B /see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
291 tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).

286 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is, unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans,
[614] a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, Konko,
[816] Kama, and Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities: anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai and xanača. These may be translated by their Aymara equivalent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
622 Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoraturčirčki:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čauk čapsti) who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

Carangas—
Chipaya

/115 cont./

161 number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not
[114] go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

162 The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion:
●21 Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants
(58 at Warta ayl'u and 111 at Tuanta properly so called), and
[161] Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayl'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can
123 only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who
124 gave me the list of people in this "moiety" did so reluctantly and
161 very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that
651 this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

651
659 1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population.
[609] The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Čipaya tales have a small rodent, the toxo (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), promoted to the rank of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 230 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jímenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

/121/

621 616 [171] Aymara and Kičua /Quechua/ communities recalls the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two [220] [892] practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [573] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-[123] making. Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [195] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about 621 616 614 their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

/121 cont./

621 not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could
616 not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have
614 compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality
[368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

342 Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the
343 prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are
361 grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long,
[363] more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

351 The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts
[171] so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this
[176] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

Carangas –
Chipaya

/125 cont./

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The family. The Čipaya family like the Aymara is copied on the Creole model. Marriages are performed at the church and registered at Huachacalla. When I made a census of the population, I was able to observe that individuals of the same name have a tendency to group themselves in a specific part of the village. Certain names are characteristic of each of the sectors of the village; thus the Alabe, the Lopez, and the Pirka in Warta-ayl'u; the Kondori (1), the Mul'u, the Losa in the other part of Tuanta; and the

[177]

1. Family names such as Mamani (hawk), Kondori (condor), and Kispe are purely Aymara and are borne by almost all the Indians of this race who do not have Spanish names.

Varači, Lazaro, Felipe, Kispe, Kopa, and Haka in the saya Taxata. Some other names, in contrast, are found disseminated throughout the village; thus /126/ the Mamani (1) /refers to footnote above/, who are as numerous in Tuanta as in Taxata. The Vilka overlap in Taxata and Tuanta. With the exception of the Mamani, the individuals whose names are distributed in all three sectors of the village alike represent only a few families that are practically isolated and probably emigrants. For example, there are only two Čino households, one of which occupies a hut built on the periphery of Warta, and the other at the end of Tuanta properly so called. This far-out position in the village indicates a nonlocal or recent origin. It is the same for the two Pirka, father and son, who are neighbors of one of the two Čino households in Warta.

616 My attempt at a census gave me the means to examine the question of exogamy at close range. The results of the study following this line confirmed the testimonies of the Čipaya on the absence [551] of any restriction in this respect. The members of each "moiety" take wives from the other "moiety" as well as from their own. Tuanta wives are in large part from the Taxata section, but in

/329 cont./

*1708 there is generally a small oratory or altar with a niche, where the
788 Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries, where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes every Čipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration of the ceremony the Indians burn khoa there, a resinous plant which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

*1708 In the mind of the Čipaya these cones of earth are "statues" representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were designated to me when I heard about them for the first time. "These are," the interpreter translated, "bultos a manera de hombres
[558] /busts in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a name (Čunkirini, Korisančuri, Kemperani, Kant, Kilimint, Kusil'er, Kusillawari, Estewan, Waxma, etc.), and if the majority of these names are Čipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of
[179] the saya tuanta is called Estewan, or Stephen (1). When I asked the
[176]

1. I am tempted to see in the Kiliment (o) mal'ku a demon whose Spanish name, Clemento, has been indianized.

recognized officiant of the saya tuanta about the nature and attributes of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied to me that they were spirits who crossed the puna disguised as white men dressed in a tunic (ira) of the same color, and with a large hat on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

[616] Each saya has its own mal'ku near which it acquits itself, i.e.,
[621] makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the
[982] Kemperani mal'ku) constructed at the boundary of the sayas, which is worshiped by the whole tribe.

*1708 These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous
104 waka (huaca) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

/381 cont./

527 [621] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

342 [476] Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Chipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment [287] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him [273] [306] enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother * [778] to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[782] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

342 * 778 [776] Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

/189 cont./

	Men	Women
Transport	+	+
Irrigation	+	-
Cultivation	+	-
Instrumental music	+	-
Basket-making	+	-
Crochet	+	-
Trade	+	+
Fishing	+	-
Bird hunting	+	-

Comparative Study

The comparative study which I am going to make of Uro-Čipaya objects and industries and those of ancient and modern Andean populations could not be exhaustive. I lack too many books to indicate the complete bibliography of the subjects with which I propose to deal, and I fear /190/ that for lack of material many parallels between certain forms of the material life of the Čipaya today and of the old Andean tribes may have escaped me.

Village and huts. I have already indicated the strange similarities which the ordering of the village of these Indians presents to that of an Inca city, Cuzco for example. The taxata and tuanta sayas have an exact equivalent in the Inca suyu, particularly in the two sectors or districts of Cuzco, hanan-suyu and hurin-suyu; as for the alignments of chapels or oratories, they are nothing more than Christianized zeques.

At the time of the Conquest and for a century afterward the Aymara lived in huts similar in every respect to those of the Čipaya with the exception of the chiefs who, like the present-day corregidor of the "canton" of Chipaya, lived in quadrangular houses. It is under Spanish influence that the Aymara hut evolved into its present aspect, which differs little from Creole houses. But even in our day

/194 cont./

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the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and inns were long and square and the wood was brought from the Yungas." /Cited in Spanish./

U
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[114]

On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

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The estancias of the Čipaya explain the formation of the small social units also called estancias, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayl'u, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

U
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Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Čipaya to fertilize their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

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Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

U
[764]

Near Iscara, in the chullpares, I found bolas rolled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 157/).

/196 cont./

162 Aymara women:

551 Rosa Choque, 60 to 70 years old, Aymara from Machaca.

Francisca Arosquipe, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

María Chura, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

Half-breed children:

Victor Inta, m., 10 to 11 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Eugenio Inta, m., 8 to 10 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Ramon Inta, m., 2 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Manuela Inta, f., 3 years old, daughter of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Domitilia Tacon, f., 6 years old, adopted Aymara.

162 Total:

6 Uru men, from 40 to 95 years old (one of whom is certainly of mixed blood).

6 Uru women, from 30 to 95 years old.

9 Uru children, 5 boys and 4 girls, from 4 to 15 years old.

3 Aymara women.

4 Uru-Aymara half-breed children.

1 adopted Aymara child.

[125] The age of all these subjects was, of course, estimated approximately. Even the relationship of several of them is doubtful.

164 One of the children of mixed blood, Victor Inta, was struck by typhus exanthematicus.

161 This list shows the deep decline of the group. In 1938 162 there were four patronymic names, those of the four big 621 families in Iru-Itu: the Inta, the Vila, the Kispe, and the [551] Salinas. In 1942 the Salinas /family/ had emigrated or disappeared, leaving only an orphan. The Kispe /family/

161 was represented only by Carlos and his son. Two men, a
162 young woman, and her children formed the Vila group. The
621 Inta family was the only still rather numerous one. It has, moreover, always been considered the most traditional and purest of the Iru-Itu families.

Anthropometric Study

128 We had to limit our study to the essential measurements
141 of the head and body.

The results obtained are contained in Tables I and II and the indices calculated in Table III /see pp. 38-40/.

These figures call for some comments.

In spite of the small number of subjects examined, the results are rather homogeneous for the group of men, with the exception of Carlos Kispe who is considerably far from the general type. The group of women presents marked differences from that of the men. It is quite difficult to judge to what extent these differences are due to a pronounced sexual dimorphism or to the influence of possible crossbreeding, which makes itself felt among close relatives, two sisters and their female cousin.

We will study the male and female groups separately.

Head

141 The absolute measurements show a notably elongated head for all the subjects examined; the outside figures go from 187 to 210 for the men and from 178 to 180 for the women. The head is narrow among the men, 141 to 150, with the exception of Carlos Kispe; among the women the absolute values do not exceed 149.

The cephalic index does not exceed 75.0 for the masculine groups; only Carlos Kispe is hyperbrachycephalic

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

Pottery.—Although not now made at Ancoaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles.

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas.

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara:* the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipia, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkilu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-choklo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charanga.

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into ayllus, named Titicana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Inca* anansaya), and xanacha (*Inca* mana-saya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Nazacara, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Ahuallamaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiñaque*, an islet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sojapata*, 5 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Urus"; it is an *estancia* where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro *haciendas* of *Chearaque*, *Taguau*, *Tacacatani*, *Chicani-uma*, *Machacamarca*, *Urcuni-uma*, *Huallaqueri*, *Calayampani*, and *Tocavi* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taguau* (W.LaB.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero numbered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.[3]

In March 1938[4] the population of Ancoaqui (*hanq'o-haq'e*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *communidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *ilacate* (head of the *communidad*,? from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancoaqui and the entire region as well in 1931.[5]

This Aymára *communidad* of Ancoaqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancoaqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

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[3] José Toribio Polo, *Indios Uros del Peru y Bolivia* (Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima, 1901, 10: 445–482), p. 446. D. M. Jimenez de la Espada (in Neveu-Lemaire, *Les lagos de los Altiplanos de la América del Sud*, *La Paz*, 1909, p. lviii) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of *Chuchito*." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; *Chucuito*, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[4] As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Amyára ethnography.

[5] Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The legal term "communidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organization of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the *altiplano*). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Communidad"—as opposed to the term "finca" (= "estancia," "hacienda") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so-named.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know [191] Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[38] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

171 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be 179 argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

144 *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some [164] time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a [178] period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [55] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi ● [62] (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 142 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[38] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90–110.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

601 female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa šu; young girl = pax-pak-uš; young woman = ux.

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[28] Bertonio, *Vocabylario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.

/87 cont./
291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[[174]] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of
black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders
with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B
/see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching
the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
291 tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste
of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls
are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this
region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the
simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).

286 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro
women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present
any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is,
unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans,
[[614]] a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, Kunko,
Kama, and Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities:
[[816]] anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai
and xanača. These may be translated by their Aymara equiva-
622 lent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as
the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is
derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoraturčirčki:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čauk čapsti)
who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I
could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of
paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

/121/

621 616 [171] Aymara and Kičua /Quechua/ communities recalls the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

[200] [192] These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [173] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-making. [123] Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [196] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors 621 616 614 ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

/124 cont./

Social Organization

•622 [616] Exercise of authority. Each saya is under the authority of an alcalde who exercises the functions of a justice of the peace. He intervenes in disputes, arrests and imprisons the guilty, and receives accusations. As we have just seen, the alcaldes preside at the division of arable land and are in addition responsible for directing work done in common, such as the upkeep of canals or the repairing of roads.

692 The corregidor represents the tribe before the government. The one for Chipaya, my friend Paulino Kondori, was so little convinced of the legitimacy of his office, very recently created, that he accompanied me on my return to be presented to the prefect of the department and to obtain from him permission to consider the territory of Chipaya an administrative district independent of Huachacalla. By one of those curious inconsistencies of the Indian character, he did not wait for me at Oruro, where he had preceded me, and I was not able to support his efforts to bring this administrative revolution to a successful conclusion. As long as his title has not been recognized by the government, the corregidor of Chipaya will continue to be subordinate to the one at Huachacalla. During my stay I had the chance to read the letters which his superior sent him and which were often conceived in a comminatory tone. I remember that once he was ordered to have his alcaldes arrest a recalcitrant debtor and another time to conduct to Huachacalla an Indian suspected, mistakenly moreover, of murder.

Paulino Kondori appeared to have some judiciary functions, for the Chipaya made allusion before me to "demandas," i.e. complaints which had been presented to him by Indians who had been injured or believed themselves to have been. It was to him that the Chipaya came to impart their misgivings about my unusual activities and my mysterious investigations. I was lodged in his [123] [345] own hut, which instead of being round like the others had a rectangular plan and a two-pitch roof. This form, seen in two or three

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Chipaya

/124 cont./ This form, seen in Two or Three other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in use among the Aymara.

/125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori, of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves.

His authority extended no farther. The Čipaya would have had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their duties.

There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an incident which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya, which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or returning with their cargo. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by the timidity of the Čipaya, let their animals graze on the lands belonging to the latter and irrigated by their efforts. The Čipaya decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he called together the majority of the adult men of the village around his hut and they discussed the question all night. The next day the Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

/342 cont./

*796 He lived far from the tribe in a place called Yunguyo. He was
159 never seen in the village. He appeared only for the festivals,
strangely dressed and reciting his prayers without stop, kneeling,
rising, and offering libations with a half-comical, half-tragic
pomposity. He was treated with a certain respect due to his art,
and I believe that the Čipaya insisted on having him with them
during all their festivals no matter how small. He animated them
[781] and gave them the religious character which they would often have
lacked without him.

159 /343/ Anacleto Mullu, of whom I previously spoke, was the
791 most intelligent of all the Čipaya with whom I had dealings. His
small, lively eyes sparkled with a mocking gleam, and he never
missed an opportunity to tell a joke, even an improper one. His
facial mobility was such that he could immediately abandon his
jovial air to take on a grave and serious expression, as if he were
the most respectable of men.

Festivals and Rites

*796 The taking of office of the new authorities (January 1).
●622 The first of January, the day on which the transmission of
powers is carried out in Chipaya, is the occasion of a festival, the
only one in which only rare pagan elements are mingled. I shall
mention a few of its details which illustrate the attitude of the
[354] Čipaya toward the Catholic religion. That morning the small
church of the tribe had been abundantly lighted; lamps or tallow
candles were burning on all the altars and fragrant smoke was rising
from all the censers. The outgoing alcaldes had gathered beside
their successors near the altar, and a kind of sacristan was fumigating
[152] them copiously. Some women squatting behind the men were
sobbing and sighing as though their hearts were broken. They
were only quiet when small baked clay llamas which they had
placed on the altar were distributed; they kissed them and fondled

/343 cont./

*796 627 them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

692 The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the 692 576 other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They [203] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

622 535 [292] Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the outgoing alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He [301] [824] [939] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead. Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

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/344 cont./ white banner, he led the troup of musicians and Brandishing his
622 dancers, stopping in front of each hut to obtain a tribute of alcohol
535 for himself and his troup. In exchange for this gift he gave his
[931] momentary host the privilege of seizing the white banner and
putting himself at the head of the dancers. The end of the day was
[913] only a succession of rounds and drinking which went on until complete exhaustion.

622 The second day. On the next day, noticing that all the Indians were going toward a particular hut, I in turn went. There I found about 30 individuals, men and women, squatting on the floor around the alcalde taking office, who was seated on a pile of cloth behind a table facing the door. He was holding his stick of authority in his arm and had bunches of flowers and a napkin full of coca in front of him. His physiognomy did not act in his favor; his ravaged, closed face was scarred with smallpox; his thick features, aquiline nose, and projecting chin gave him an air which was both cruel and bestial. I sat down next to the men immediately to the right of the host. All were keeping a profound, almost disturbing silence. At long intervals a man would rise to profer his
[906] bag of coca to the alcalde. The latter would take a few leaves from it and tender his own chuspa with a bored gesture. Others moved toward the table, took a pinch of coca leaves, some of which they left in front of the flowers, and swallowed the rest.
[982] The drinkers never forgot their libations directed, as were the offerings, toward the flowers on the table. On that day the chicha
[913] of maize and quinua, in exception to the rule, competed with the alcohol. It was served by the women in terra-cotta bowls. I had the opportunity to be present that afternoon at a scene, the significance of which remains a mystery to me. A man got up and greeted a young woman in the usual manner; /345/ she replied to his greeting and went to kneel at the head of the audience. The individual who had greeted her took the young woman's head and shoved it against that of a man squatting next to her. Several
[152] seconds later the young woman gave way to weeping identical to that with which the church had resounded the day before. Silence

/345 cont./

● 627 re-established itself little by little, and during the entire day the Indians remained in their hut, as apathetic as I had found them in the morning.

*796 The festival of San Geronimo (January 7)

[203] [204] Very early in the morning an Indian ran through the saya tuanta, beating on a drum and stopping before each hut to wake the inhabitants and call them to the festival which was about to begin. Not knowing the significance of this household-rousing, I attributed little importance to it and thus missed the initial [182] ceremonies. I could ascertain, however, that two piglets had been sacrificed on the threshold of the chapel of the saya: the cross which stands in front of the door, the outside walls, and the altar had been splattered with fresh blood. Inside two tables had been set up on which coca leaves had been spread out. Some Indians [276] squatted in the chapel chewing coca leaves and drinking alcohol, [273] preceding each mouthful with a prayer and libation. Espíritu *796 Mamani subsequently recited the text of the prayer to me, uttered, 539 no doubt, at the moment when the blood of the pigs is sprinkled:

Araxpačᵡa	auki,	suma	tiempo	apanital'a,	wainu
Sky	lord,	good	weather	send me,	good

mara,	suma	mara,	araxpačᵡ-patruna,		todos
weather,	good	weather,	sky	master,	all

wawataki.	Lo mismo	Virxin-taika	xumapeuyuwaxista,
children for.	Likewise	Virgin-earth	thou feedest me,

katokanta	(taki)	wawanakataki,	todos	mondos,
thou wilt receive	(all?)	children of,	all	the world,

wawanakataki	ukᵡaro	todos	mondos	pakᵡalis	aka
children of	then	all	the world	animals	these

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

A 346 [778] We stop for a moment at the village, church which is protected, like our temples in the Far East, by a guardian god in the form of one of the monoliths taken from Tiahuanacu. The early paintings in their charming frames are in bad condition and some much-needed repairs were proceeding on the roof; there is an embossed silver altar as we find them even in small villages in the highlands of Bolivia, and a rather decayed but well-proportioned gilded baroque pulpit. As we were about to leave, an Indian woman entered. She held in one hand her bowler hat and in the other a bottle of alcohol. Having made a deep genuflection she presented the bottle to a statue of the Virgin, crossed herself, kissed her thumb, and was gone.

A 346 353 358

A 782 788

U 114 489 We followed the road towards the lake till we came to a cart-track which seemed to run parallel with the Desaguadero river as it flows out of the lake. After a short distance the track ended. The professor said: "We just go straight ahead keeping the river in sight". The ground was strewn with boulders and clumps of spiky grass, the two cars heaved and rolled; finally we disembarked the photographic material and followed on foot, the professor like the Pied Piper leading the procession. The cinema material represented a considerable weight which at that height seemed twice as heavy. For two hours we gasped and stumbled along; finally nearing the river we heard a dog barking and saw a small adobe house inhabited by a raucous bad-tempered woman of uncertain age who sent us to the devil. We panted up a little hill, and on the other side there appeared a number of small adobe houses. The professor was still in full cry, striding ahead heedless of the panting group to the rear. But finally realizing that there is a limit to human endurance, he gave way gracefully, and we had lunch. The meal being dispatched, we approached the village, where Vellard called on the mayor, and, accompanied by a number of the inhabitants, joined us. He explained that we must go to the house of the local centenarian, where we should film her, her daughter Jesusa and her son-in-law of some eighty-odd years.

U [361] 114 123 622 104

[i.e., the village of Tiahuanacu --Analyst]

[1.309-A]

Iru Itu

8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

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291
301
622

Fig. 9: The mayor of Iru Itu, who spoke fluent Spanish.

[p. 312]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

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/114 cont./

114 passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map,
36 undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is
131 located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and 19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate
36 Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will
[99] help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Iscara, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon
[63] which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the
[484] distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission
36 as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Chipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

[113]

1. Bacarreza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor..., comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor..., commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

4:Vellard--12 D, E-4, 5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th-17th Centuries]

/37 cont./

175 701 721 648 Nearly all of this first book of Chapter XVII is devoted to the great rebellion of these Indians, led by mestizos or Spanish bandits, like their last chief, a certain... "Don Pedro Laine, a fierce and bold man, the son of the Auditor /Contador/ Ansa, who is regarded by them as a great sorcerer.../cited in Spanish/."

(Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustin en el Perú /Moral Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru/. Lima, 1653. Vol. II, Chap. XVII, First Book.)

195 Diligencias e informaciones hechas para sacar de la isla del Choro y del Paraje de Villivilli en el Lago Poopo a los indios sus habitantes, considerados como infieles y pernicioso /Measures and inquiries carried out to remove from the island of Choro and the region of Villivilli in Lake Poopo their Indian inhabitants, regarded as being infidels and destructive./

[131] Report made by General Don Francisco García Picado, Corregidor and Lord Chief Justice of Oruro, at the request of the Duke de la Palata, Viceroy of Peru, on the existence of savage Indians on Paria Lake.

[197] Among the witnesses whose testimony was gathered by the commissioners /Commissaires/ we find..."the Teaching [635] Father Fray Nicolas de Loayza, a religious of the Order of Our Father Saint Augustine...of Chacacollo, the principal [162] pueblo of the district of the corregidor of the province /38/ of Paria, and of its native Indians called Urus, and of some outsiders who live in said pueblo and the neighboring areas under its authority...a person who has known them for 35 [197] years and has more than sufficient experience...teaching them the Christian doctrine in three languages: the general one, Aymara, and their own mother tongue, which they call Ura.../cited in Spanish/."

(Document partly published in the Revista del Instituto de Sociología Boliviana in Sucre, by Gunnar Mendoza L. under

/88 cont./
723 a cataclysm which annihilated all of humanity with the exception of the Uro. This explains why they speak a different language than the other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its church existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky the church and Tiahuanacu melted." The vestiges of the old myth which 273 539 Betanzos (1) has preserved for us are recognizable here.

[113]

1. Betanzos (Juan Diez de), "Historia de los Incas y Conquista del Peru /History of the Incas and the Conquest of Peru/," Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru, (Lima, 1924), Vol. 8, second series, pp. 82-83.

Tuki	pača	(čamak tiempo)	šoñi	ekanštinnakčai
Former times		former times	people	have remained

toksanakaki		estansias	tiksi	ekanastkalačai
people of the others		"estancias"	they died	we have remained

nekstal	ti	čiaki	sisasučai.
then	this	language	we know.

157 [609] /89/ Disposition. In disposition and nature the Uro are as sombre as the Aymara. A stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold and slightly hostile reception. To this ill-will is added the unhealthy rapacity shown by the Aymara and the Bolivians, besides the apathy and that heaviness of spirit which makes the Indian highlander frankly so odious. I am not, however, unaware of the causes of the mental atrophy of the 155 648 Bolivian Indian; the Uro have not escaped the brutalities and exploitation of their Spanish masters, nor that of their even

/89 cont./

155 648 crueler successors, the enfranchised half-breeds of Bolivia. One simple example can illustrate better than any humanitarian tirade the treatment to which, even up to our day, these Indians are submitted: the two Bolivian soldiers who accompanied me and who had interrupted their hunt for Indians who had revolted, threatened my poor informants with public whipping and burning of their huts for the smallest trifle. Those are the most current, and the gentlest, measures employed by Bolivian officers with regard to the natives.

197 177 Linguistics. The Uro hardly speak their ancient language any more, and even among themselves Aymara is readily used. However, the Uro dialect of Ancoaqui seems to have been less contaminated by Spanish and Aymara than that of the Uro of Chipaya. At any rate, at Ancoaqui I had the good fortune to find several Uro roots which have already disappeared at Chipaya. This fact might appear peculiar when one reflects that the Uro of Ancoaqui have always had much closer contact with the Aymara and with the Spanish than their brothers at Carangas. Their material culture has been more deeply modified than that of the Čipaya, whose physiognomy is clearly archaic. How then can one explain why their language should have remained purer than the dialect of the Čipaya? I am inclined to believe that this anomaly is due to the fact that the Uro of Ancoaqui have been located closer to the great Uro centers of Lake Titicaca, and that since they were formerly more numerous than the Čipaya, they have succeeded better in preserving their own language. A linguistic detail which happens to confirm the thesis supported by Dr. Rivet on the identity of the Pukina and of the Uro remains to be mentioned. The lexicographic concordances pointed out by Dr. Rivet made this assimilation almost certain. The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language bukina, pukina in order to distinguish it from Aymara. The fact had already been indicated to me at La Paz; it has since then been confirmed by all my informants.

197 114

/124 cont./ This form, seen in Two or Three other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in use among the Aymara.

/125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori, of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves.

His authority extended no farther. The Čipaya would have had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their duties.

There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an incident which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya, which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or returning with their cargo. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by the timidity of the Čipaya, let their animals graze on the lands belonging to the latter and irrigated by their efforts. The Čipaya decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he called together the majority of the adult men of the village around his hut and they discussed the question all night. The next day the Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

/162 cont./
439 neighboring Aymara villages to dispose of their small cheeses directly and specially to sell pig fat /163/ /Figure 2 appears here/ /164/ which, after cheese, is their most important export. They undoubtedly trade wool, although I was not able to obtain any precise information on this matter. I only ascertained that pieces of cloth started in a neighboring village were given to Čipaya women to be
464 finished. Formerly some Čipaya would go to hire themselves out as workers in the "salitreras" (exploitation of nitrates) of Tarapacá.
[199] They returned with some knowledge of Spanish and new tastes. This stay away from home had the result above all of opening their eyes to their poor condition and to make them discontented. Since the nitrate beds have been abandoned, nothing remains to draw the Čipaya outside their "bare plain."

433 The crisis of overproduction which rages over the whole
459 world upset the economic life of the Čipaya. The low quotations for tin on the Stock Exchange, or the New York exchange, led to the closing of the mines, the departure of the laborers, and the sale of cheese at a loss. The Aymara no longer come to Chipaya to stock up on cheeses, and the latter accumulate in the round huts and there is no alcohol or coca for festivals. By virtue of the economic cohesion of all humanity the Čipaya themselves are also overproducing, and their present distress is the sister of the one which constricts the hearts of the great proprietors of wheat fields.

648 These particulars show us that in spite of their apparent isolation, these Indians maintain constant relations with the outside world, and that the fossilization of this tribe is not as total as one might conclude from their material culture.

334 Hunting. Hunting and fishing play only an insignificant role in the life of the Čipaya. In all, for game they have a few herds of vicuña which make their appearance in the neighborhood of the village, water birds which abound in the numerous lagoons which cut their pastures, and tuco, a kind of small rodent a little
[262] larger than a rat. Posnansky (1) asserts that the latter constitutes the principal food of the Čipaya.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 151]

/182 cont./

*539 101 829 the Aymara used by the Uru, who consider themselves as constituting a pre-human species (not a race) apart. There are two human species, the Uru, a primitive species representing the first, pre-human creations, and the Aymara, who belong, as do all the other present-day people, to the last creation.

*539 192 [648] 15. Note a Hispanicism, kumunitá, to designate the native community of Jesus de Machaca, upon which the Uru are now dependent; it is an idea which is foreign to their own sociology.

16-17. The narrator, tired by his interpretive efforts, has no more to say and wants to rest. Note the polite form háp'- pay, [574] [816] father," corresponding to "monsieur."

*539 821

VIII. Xoxi-cay, the Thunder
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 166 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. It will still thunder very strongly; the storm is coming. 2. The roof of the house will let the water through; it is not good at all. 3. Look again to see if the storm is going away. 4. It is thundering again. 5. The thunder can only kill a person of another race. 6. Never, since the most ancient times, has the thunder killed one of us. 7. The thunder has made me very afraid.

Remarks

This text makes allusion to a very deeply rooted belief among the Uru: they cannot be struck by lightning, so feared [829] by all the populations of the altiplano. According to them lightning only strikes the people "of another race": Aymaras, half-breeds, or Europeans. Also the Uru do not have any

[p. 20 omitted in pagination.]

/193 cont./

162 Besides these 21 subjects, who considered themselves as pure Uru, three Aymara women living with some Urus had settled in the village with five children.

829 The concept of pure Uru is completely arbitrary;
597 its value is more social than racial. At all times adoption in
648 various forms made the incorporation of a subject of another origin into the group possible, and he was from then on con-
[128] sidered a true Uru. This was the case with an Aymara child, whom we, of course, dropped from our list.

829 Children of an Uru mother and an unknown father were considered pure Uru.

One of our informants, Carlos Kispe, was himself, as we have seen, a "without father." Although considered an Uru, all his physical and mental characteristics clearly distinguished him from the other members of the group.

The Uru considered Aymara women born in neighboring villages and their children, even if born of Uru fathers, as foreigners. This matrilineal law is interesting to note.

126 Aymara women refused to let themselves or their children be examined. Nothing could persuade the two old Uru women.

We were hence reduced to the nine following subjects:

Men

142 Manuel Inta. An old patriarch 80 to 90 years old, born of Uru father and mother. White, rather thick hair; beard reduced to a few short hairs, entirely white. Thin lips; a straight-nosed profile. No Mongolian fold, /194/ but the presence of a malo-marginal fold, very distinct, on the far part of the eyelid.
[163] Four living sons, Tomas and three others who have left the village; three daughters, among them Andréa and Célestina, and four dead children.

Tomas Inta, 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son. Considered pure Uru. No white hair. Thin lips, straight nose. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

[175] its own, without cultivation, and which they call quinua [222] /quinoa/ or canagua; all of these Indians are fond of and eat the [262] leaf of same..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Incas del Peru /History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru/, 1590, Constantino Bayle edition, Madrid, 1946, p. 214.)

[648] /31/...The Uros were Indians that the Inca sent for when [702] the army was short, and they were compelled to follow the [726] flags, not knowing even how to hold a bow; they went into battle almost without weapons and they and some of the Puquinas were killed like flies; because they had no military training, they let themselves be killed like animals. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibidem, p. 184.)

Garcilaso de la Vega

[181] ...and thus the Puquina, Colla, Uru, and Yunca Indians, and other nations that are crude and dull, and owing to their crudeness, even speak their own languages poorly..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales /First part of the Royal Commentaries/..., VII, Chap. 4.)

Oliva (Rev. Father Anello)

[181] ...(Sinchi Roca) ordered that...useless people, as the [648] Uros were, who are ignorant and useless, should each one of [651] them gather one reed tube full of lice each month, so that no one should be idle..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de sus Incas Reyes /History of the Kingdom and Provinces of Peru, of its Inca Kings/..., 1598. 1895 edition, Lima.)

Ramirez (Baltasar)

[131] The Uro Indians are a people who live on lakes, such as the lake of Chuquito and that of Paria, and in other parts.

[16th Century]

/31 cont./

[175] They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes, [342] which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tule....

[062] ...They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant, [181] although not very good....They dress badly and eat, aside from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land; they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They [648] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general [651] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/..., 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua: Juicio de limites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/, Barcelona, 1906, I, 295-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[824] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats [101] and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/..., Madrid, 1601-1615, III, 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[133] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current, according to what they say.

[16th Century]

/32 cont./

175 [491] [824] according to what they say. It[1] is crossed on a remarkable contrivance, peculiar to the Indies, a straw bridge placed on the water itself, which is of such light material that it does not sink, and it is a very safe and easy crossing...there grow large quantities of a type of reed that the Indians call totora, which they use for a thousand things, because it is food for pigs and for horses, and for the people themselves; and with it they make house and fire, and boat and whatever is needed; [101] so much do the Uros find in their totora. These Uros are so brutish that they themselves do not regard themselves as men. It is said of them that when asked what people they were they replied that they were not men but Uros, as though this were [361] another class of animals. Entire pueblos of Uros were found living on the lake, on their totora rafts, joined together and fastened to some large rock, and they may fetch themselves off from there and move a whole pueblo to another location; and thus when sought today where they were yesterday, no trace of them is to be found, or of their pueblo..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia natural y moral de las Indias /Natural and Moral History of the Indies/, 1590. Book II, Chap. VI.)

Noticia sobre los Indios Uros en un Memorial de la Epoca del Virrey Toledo /Note on the Uro Indians in a Memorial of the Epoch of the Toledo Viceroy/.

175 648 [511] The Inca, being below Lima, sent one of his captains, called Casiracapa, to those heights with many men, to survey the land and recount to him what he saw there, /33/ and while traveling through the land he came across some people whose dwellings were like those of animals, and who lived in them like brutish animals, around a large Lake, naked, and eating nothing but roots of plants that grew in the Lake, and some Fish if they caught it, and when the Captain saw these people, [728] [509] he recounted the fact to the Inca and was sent by him to remove them from the Lake and resettle them among the

[1] [i.e., Lake Titicaca outlet--Analyst]

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them:
648 The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-
728 settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the
579 inhabitants, unable to bear with it, asked Casiracapa to rid them of those people, because they robbed them, ate their livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the Captain advised the Inca of this and he was ordered to return them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it;
[101] these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where
[131] they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small
[269] villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable: they are infidels in addition, Your Excellency would perform a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so
[356] that they and their descendants might become Christians, and giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings defy description. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

175 Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima, 1568/.

[119] This document from the General Archives of the Indies in Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed by Marie Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-150, 1951.

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Repartimiento general de los Indios que se an de ocupar en la labor de las Minas y beneficio de los ingenios lamas y relaves de la Villa Imperial de Potosi, con las /34/ ordenanzas que en ello se an de quedar, fechas por el Escmo, Senor Don Francisco de Toledo, Virrey que fue de estos reinos /General Repartimiento of the Indians who are to be employed in work in the Mines and labor in connection with the mills, llamas, and metal sweepings of the Imperial Town of Potosi, with the ordinances that are to apply to it, ussed by his Excellency, Señor Don Francisco de Toledo, when Viceroy of these kingdoms/ (Lima, 16 August 1578).

175 162 This text gives two successive censuses, one in 1578, the other in 1596.

● [648] [466] For the work in Potosi two Uro mitayos were the equivalent of one Aymara mitayo, whence this information on the number of Uros in the census of the population of 16 provinces subject to the mita /forced labor/.

	1578		1596
Urus:	2,558	Paria (Poopo)	3,038
	37 "	Pune	62
	400 "	Quillagas y Asanaquis	400
	581 "	Aullagas y Uruquillas	581
	53 "	Urinoca	53
	2[illegible] "	Ancamarca y Colquemarca (Carangas)	2[illegible]6
	[illegible]00 "	Totora	100
	[illegible]02 "	Chuquicota y Sanaya	102
	147 "	Machaca la chica	147
	81 "	Machaca la grande	[illegible]1
	136 "	Viacha	?
	206 "	Tiaguanaco	?

[17th Century]

175 /36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues
[361] east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are
[103] resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from
[648] other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

[797] ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town....

[771] Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake....They
[262] are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat
[142] a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long
[308] and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a
[181] knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

[101] In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of
[131] Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Simillake.

[423] ...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all
[489] defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths
[926] throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we
175 shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this
721 cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

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[16th-17th Centuries]

/37 cont./

175 701 721 648 Nearly all of this first book of Chapter XVII is devoted to the great rebellion of these Indians, led by mestizos or Spanish bandits, like their last chief, a certain... "Don Pedro Laine, a fierce and bold man, the son of the Auditor /Contador/ Ansa, who is regarded by them as a great sorcerer.../cited in Spanish/."

(Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustin en el Perú /Moral Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru/. Lima, 1653. Vol. II, Chap. XVII, First Book.)

195 Diligencias e informaciones hechas para sacar de la isla del Choro y del Paraje de Villivilli en el Lago Poopo a los indios sus habitantes, considerados como infieles y pernicioso /Measures and inquiries carried out to remove from the island of Choro and the region of Villivilli in Lake Poopo their Indian inhabitants, regarded as being infidels and destructive./

[131] Report made by General Don Francisco García Picado, Corregidor and Lord Chief Justice of Oruro, at the request of the Duke de la Palata, Viceroy of Peru, on the existence of savage Indians on Paria Lake.

[199] Among the witnesses whose testimony was gathered by the commissioners /Commissaires/ we find..."the Teaching [635] Father Fray Nicolas de Loayza, a religious of the Order of Our Father Saint Augustine...of Chacacollo, the principal [162] pueblo of the district of the corregidor of the province /38/ of Paria, and of its native Indians called Urus, and of some outsiders who live in said pueblo and the neighboring areas under its authority...a person who has known them for 35 [197] years and has more than sufficient experience...teaching them the Christian doctrine in three languages: the general one, Aymara, and their own mother tongue, which they call Ura.../cited in Spanish/."

(Document partly published in the Revista del Instituto de Sociología Boliviana in Sucre, by Gunnar Mendoza L. under

4:Vellard--16 D,E-4,5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24
[16th - 17th Centuries]

/40 cont./

175 (Manuscriptos peruanos en las bibliotecas del extranjero /Peruvian Manuscripts in Foreign Libraries/, published by Ruben Vargas Ugarte, 1935. Vol. I, pp. 270-71.)

175 Report on the Province of the Pacajes
648 ...and when the Incas came and conquered this Province of the Pacaxes they caused the Uro Indians to leave the vicinity of the water, and made them live with the Aymaras and taught them to live on and cultivate the land, and ordered them to pay tribute of fish and to make straw hampers. Since they were very crude people, they did not order them, as they usually did, to worship the sun and serve it; and through the contact they have had with the highland Indians they have come to speak the Aymara language and have almost given up their own language, which was Puquina..../Translated from the Spanish./

[170] [191]

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Madrid, 1881-1897, Vol. II, p. 55.)

000 /The bibliography on pp. 40-41 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chearaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleevless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characterstic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally

Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on P. 219]

of this gallant village which should be preserved because of its anthropological value and, above all, for its human value:

1.—Return of the extensions of pasture land of which the villagers were deprived by the neighboring Aymara communities.

2.—Periodic visits of medical and sanitary personnel in order to care for the minimal necessities of vaccination, care of the sick and preventative services.

3.—Teaching material to aid in operation of the school.

4.—Agricultural tools and basic training in improved practices of agriculture and animal husbandry.

5.—Realization of a scientific study comparable to that done by Métraux thirty years ago, to be extended to the neighboring Aymara communities in order to determine the degree of influence which one town has had upon the other. Likewise, a detailed study of the remaining branches of ethnography and folklore of the Chipayas.

6.—A plan of archeological excavations on the site called Los Chapel five kilometers to the north-west of the town of Santa Ana de Chipaya, which appears to be the ancient residence of the Chipaya people, according to their own account, during the period in which they were still *chullpas*.

7.—The establishment of contact, for study purposes, with the Morato Indian group, apparently a sub-group of the Chipaya tribe, which at the present time, in reduced numbers, carries on a nomadic life in the territory to the south-west of the Chipaya and whose members speak a distinct language".

(From *Educación Boliviana*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 31-33).

[p. 219]

IT MIGHT STILL BE A.D. 1500 in a remote section of Oruro Department of Bolivia today. Here is the retreat of the Chipaya Indians, the living people who can give us an idea of rural life in a distant corner of the great Inca Empire. The few hundred individuals of Santa Ana de Chipaya are the remainders of a once numerous people whose territory extended to the northern shores of Lake Titicaca. Their language, Uru-Chipaya, was called "one of the three main languages of the kingdom" by the sixteenth-century chroniclers of Peru, which included what is now Bolivia. Over the centuries the more powerful Quechuas and Aymaras have seized their lands, forcing them back into a region where life is particularly difficult. But they have made remarkable use of their harsh, ungenerous environment. In their isolation, they have retained their pre-Columbian customs more completely than any other Andean group.

And they are isolated. The modern world did not even know of their existence until it was reported by the famous Peruvianist Max Uhle toward the end of the nine-

[R19-C]

tenth century. To reach them today, you travel by train from La Paz to the city of Oruro, then by car or bus to Curaguara de Carangas. From there you must walk over a desert worthy of Siberia to the left bank of the Lauca River, where a canoe must be found for the crossing, before you go on to the village. 131 [33]

Little is known of Chipaya history. It has been conjectured that they may be the descendants of one of the first groups to reach the American continent. They call themselves the descendants of the *chullpas*, the ancient inhabitants of the area who, according to legend, hid themselves in reed baskets when the sun appeared for the first time. 174 173

The *chullpas* are still in the neighborhood, silent mummies resting in the square and houses they built long ago. The word *chullpa* is also used for the burial houses. The ghost villages of *chullpas*, their doorways invariably facing east, can be seen by travelers today. Modern Indians avoid them with superstitious dread. It is claimed that the Chipayas are feared by the stronger Aymaras be- 172 648 F82

[Text continues on p. 20-B]
[R 19-D]

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

101 Professor VELLARD from the University of San
114 Marco, Lima, had been working for some time
on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near
the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake
121 Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were
194 the last survivors of the original population of the
South American continent, certain authorities con-
tend that they originally came up from the Amazon
as they have a number of linguistic affinities with
197 certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known
as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the
great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.
174 Once having reached the highlands, what regions
did they populate? There is a belief that they ex-
[361] tended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far
as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro,
which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru',
[177] meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date
they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the
175 Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers,
[361] DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report
dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes
the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives
of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds
[348] them in low esteem, remarking that they have no
[351] talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

[p. 303-B]

8:Fein T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

of information: "the Incas refused to teach them the sun-worship, being content to receive a tribute of fish and baskets", and elsewhere it is said that either from a hygienic standpoint, or to occupy their leisure moments, the Incas demanded yearly a reed filled with lice. Threehundred and fifty years later, the situation has remained unchanged. Their secret mythology, which Professor VELLARD has studied, is extremely nebulous and confused. The Uru consider themselves to be the first race of pre-humans whose blood is not red. They had long legs, long heads and they never suffered from the cold or damp of the lake. There followed successive creations intermingled with cataclysms, far from the sun's rays, and a deluge; among all the peoples only the Uru, the Kaote-ake, the People of the Lake, survived, but subsequently other races appeared, the Wone-ake, who cultivated the earth and were their enemies, and who vanquished them.

The Uru appear from earliest times to have been an accursed race, an unfortunate people forever oppressed, taking refuge in a form of passive hostility. „They are brute beasts", remarks Father ACOSTA in

[113] [1]) See Review in the corresponding section of this issue.
[2]) See also: VELLARD, JEHAN: *Dieux et Parias des Andes, Les Ouros*. Paris, Editions Emile-Paul, 1954.

[p. 303-C]

8:Pein T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SP24 Uru SP24
Text File

114 retire to our respective quarters. Before leaving, I arranged the remaining provisions, carefully propping up a thermos containing our precious hot coffee for the morning. I have but few manias, the principal one being to brush my teeth. I therefore hunted for a bottle of water and found it empty. My hygienic preoccupations vastly amused my companions, and someone offered me a bottle of lager. Not wishing to lose face I accepted, declaring that there was no better mouthwash, but feeling secretly rather sick at the idea of a combination of colgate and beer. But on carrying out the experiment, I found out that there *is* no better mouthwash in existence. By now the moon was high and full, and so strong was the light that finding it impossible to sleep I switched on the engine for heat, as in spite of my vicuña-lined sleepingbag, the cold was intense. I read for an hour or so, which gave me such a headache, that I had to take aspirin with the remaining beer. The next morning Abelot and I wound our way down to the river, which was frozen at the edge. We broke the ice, drew some water and washed, much to the surprise of the villagers. Again I brushed my teeth with the last drops of beer before the astonished gaze of the people who had never seen such a strange exhibition.

Arriving at the mayor's, we found the rest of the company singularly unglamorous and, o tragedy, someone had kicked over the thermos of coffee. We ate some apples and biscuits, but our depression melted away in the brilliant sun. The sky was blue as it is only to be seen on the Roof of the World. While the professor went off to take some sound-recordings, we explored the village. There was practically no sign of animal life or cultivation. This was normal, as the Aymara peasants refuse to allow the Uru, whom they consider as pariahs, to cultivate the ground. They have a narrow strip of shore on which to build their *balsas*.

We returned by the little church. Very occasionally a priest comes over from Guaqui on the lake. There

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 313-A]

[p. 310-B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa šu; young girl = pax-pak-uš; young woman = ux.

Marriage. Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

Political Organization. If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *kilacata*, commonly called *ilacata* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde?*) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *suwatwičiki* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *kilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[20] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchku* (*kuču*) or *sicca quirkitku* (*kirkiča*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilaača* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusip'ia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

[20] Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.[29] The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Ṫuintatito* (= Aymara *Ṫunupa?*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotsamptñi* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Tukun-wawa-samptñi* (the goddess of the Lake), *Pačani-samptñi-maḳku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *maḳku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kalwari-čiči* (god of potatoes), *Kjoni-samptñi* (god of the earth) and *Samptñi-maḳku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uro est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,[30] however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

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[29] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprizingly, believe in the superstition of "three-on-a-match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper reserves and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps; for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

[30] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya: "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanacu fell down."

I /165 cont./
*651 business. But there are so many in Pava /paua/ that there is not
*648 so large a group of them anywhere else, nor do I believe that
433 counting all of those who are in Collao together, which is the
657 place where they are, the number could be so large; they were
U inspected and taxed with the whole repartimiento. Thus the dis-
651 tribution was made among all of them together, in the form
U mentioned above. And even yet, according to what they asserted
651 to me, they do not comply with it, which, in the state of
648 affairs in which this province now finds itself, is owing to a lack
of industry, because those fishermen Indians are not supposed to be taxed with the others, but apart, and when one considers their condition and mode of life, neither should they be made to leave their land, nor should the tax oblige them to do so. Thus a very easy method could be found for dealing with them, inasmuch as when they should have made great progress in the articles of our faith, to their great benefit and repose, they could pay tribute like the other two subdivisions /parcialidades/, by becoming laborers upon the land, and with only 100 Indians who might be put on it, through their compulsory labor or work shifts/mitas o tandas/, as they call them, and giving them food and bringing them the necessary wool, and putting over them persons who could take charge of them, they could be made to yield as much profit and interest as I say. Let it be understood that they are not to be put in charge of anything themselves, because, having seen and dealt with this type of people, they have very little more ability than animals, /166/ and there are no others quite like them in the entire Realm. And if some should say that this was personal service, as they usually do, those who have more effects with their names alone than with all of the reasons in the world, but seeing it with one's own eyes, which is, it seems to me, the most evident proof of all, it should suffice to understand that 100 Indians well maintained, well occupied, and clothed will give the tribute that 2,000 could, spread out as far as Cuzco looking for it. For in this sort of employment they are capable and can earn their living at it, except that they are so disinterested that they are hiring

/166 cont./

themselves out for no more interest than half a peso per month. If they were all ordered to pay as tribute one piece of cloth, they would not comply, but they weave more than 2,000 to earn 500 pesos, while dying of hunger and being maltreated by those people. Truly this is the way it is, that they do not consider them to be men, nor do they themselves consider themselves as such.

The other subdivisions /parcialidades/ considered the distribution of the livestock and of the little mines in Soroche, and they even said to one another that they had to pay more, because they were more capable in the kind of business which yielded silver, and they dealt with the quality of the lands, and it was thus from the first time that I saw them apportion the tax until the last. I learned that they dealt with these things quite minutely, with the result that I also learned that, among themselves, the ability to pay on the part of the subdivisions /parcialidades/ is well known, from the time when they are formed, and when there is anything new they know about it, with the result that in this general division they then come to an accord with little noise, and the thing is done, and there is no doubt but that none of the principales of any subdivision /parcialidad/ recognizes any other or is subject to him so that he could be injured by him, except that there is the subdivision /parcialidad/ of Anansaya (133), which is usually recognized /167/

133. Anan-suyo = high region. Hanan or Hanac = high, what is above; suyo = region.

as somewhat pre-eminent in the making of accounts in their houses and in calling them together when it should be ordered. But among the subdivisions /parcialidades/ themselves there is no doubt but that they scrutinize every tomin in many places, and that none of them allows itself to be abused by any of the others. This must be understood, as I have said at other times, in many places, when dealing with the ability to pay, and the

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and physical study of Carangas Province in Oruro Department/," Boletín de la Oficina Nacional de estadística, Nos. 61, 62, 63, 3rd trimester 1910, La Paz, 1910, pp. 477-480. Buck ("Ein wenig bekannter Indianerstamm des bolivianischen Hochlandes /A little-known Indian tribe of the Bolivian Altiplano/," p. 55) estimates the population of Chipaya at 800 individuals in 1929! This figure is, of course, the greatest fantasy.

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161 government in 1910, estimates the population of Chipaya at 385
[114] individuals in 77 families. Although the first of these two figures seems a little exaggerated to me, the second appears exact. It
[65] may even be considered official as it was drawn from the number of "comuneros," i.e. the heads of families paying an annual tribute of 3 bolivianos (the Čipaya told me 2.40 bolivianos). According to my own census there would be about 100 households in Chipaya. As I do not know the principle which guided the authorities in their division of fiscal charges, I cannot decide how exact either of these last two figures is. Uhle,[2] who was the first scholar to mention the existence of the Čipaya, estimated their

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2. Uhle (Max), "Ueber seine Reisen in Bolivia /On His Trips in Bolivia/," Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XXI, 1894, pp. 328-332.

/115 cont./

16 number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not
[114] go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

162 The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion:
21 Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants
[161] (58 at Warta ayl'u and 111 at Tuanta properly so called), and Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayl'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can
123 only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who
124 gave me the list of people in this "moiety" did so reluctantly and
161 very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that
651 this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

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1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population.
[609] The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

Carangas—
Chipaya

/116 cont./

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that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

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The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous,

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[858]

and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

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One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Iscara seem to be permanent-

[439]

ly established in the village. These strangers almost always have shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

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The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

[175] [222] [262] its own, without cultivation, and which they call quinua /quinoa/ or canagua; all of these Indians are fond of and eat the leaf of same..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Incas del Peru /History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru/, 1590, Constantino Bayle edition, Madrid, 1946, p. 214.)

[648] [702] [726] /31/...The Uros were Indians that the Inca sent for when the army was short, and they were compelled to follow the flags, not knowing even how to hold a bow; they went into battle almost without weapons and they and some of the Puquinas were killed like flies; because they had no military training, they let themselves be killed like animals. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibidem, p. 184.)

Garcilaso de la Vega

[181] ...and thus the Puquina, Colla, Uru, and Yunca Indians, and other nations that are crude and dull, and owing to their crudeness, even speak their own languages poorly..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales /First part of the Royal Commentaries/..., VII, Chap. 4.)

Oliva (Rev. Father Anello)

[181] [648] [651] ...(Sinchi Roca) ordered that...useless people, as the Uros were, who are ignorant and useless, should each one of them gather one reed tube full of lice each month, so that no one should be idle..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de sus Incas Reyes /History of the Kingdom and Provinces of Peru, of its Inca Kings/..., 1598. 1895 edition, Lima.)

Ramirez (Baltasar)

[131] The Uro Indians are a people who live on lakes, such as the lake of Chuquito and that of Paria, and in other parts.

[16th Century]

/31 cont./

175 They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes,
[342] which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tule....

...They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant,
[262] although not very good....They dress badly and eat, aside
[181] from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land;
they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They
[648] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general
[651] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered
in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now
pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some
order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/..., 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua: Juicio de limites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/, Barcelona, 1906, I, 295-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[824] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities
of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and
pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats
[101] and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so
wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they
were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species
of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/..., Madrid, 1601-1615, III, 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[133] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has
only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said
to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a
bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to
cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current,
according to what they say.

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

101 114 Professor VELLARD from the University of San Marco, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake 121 Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were 194 the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with 197 certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.

174 Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they ex- [361] tended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro, which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru', [177] meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the 175 Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers, [361] DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds [348] [351] them in low esteem, remarking that they have no talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

[p. 303-B]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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of information: "the Incas refused to teach them the sun-worship, being content to receive a tribute of fish and baskets", and elsewhere it is said that either from a hygienic standpoint, or to occupy their leisure moments, the Incas demanded yearly a reed filled with lice. Threehundred and fifty years later, the situation has remained unchanged. Their secret mythology, which Professor VELLARD has studied, is extremely nebulous and confused. The Uru consider themselves to be the first race of pre-humans whose blood is not red. They had long legs, long heads and they never suffered from the cold or damp of the lake. There followed successive creations intermingled with cataclysms, far from the sun's rays, and a deluge; among all the peoples only the Uru, the Kaote-ake, the People of the Lake, survived, but subsequently other races appeared, the Wone-ake, who cultivated the earth and were their enemies, and who vanquished them.

The Uru appear from earliest times to have been an accursed race, an unfortunate people forever oppressed, taking refuge in a form of passive hostility. „They are brute beasts", remarks Father ACOSTA in

[1]) See Review in the corresponding section of this issue.
[2]) See also: VELLARD, JEHAN: *Dieux et Parias des Andes, Les Ourous*. Paris, Editions Emile-Paul, 1954.

[p. 303-C]

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/159 cont./ need be done is to follow the system which the common people have, and what there is to remedy is not very difficult. And I wish to conclude with the following: that by the same token by which it is being pretended that the Indians should be treated fairly, by making a census of them and by apportioning the tribute by individuals or heads for the sake of this sum, this would do them greater injustice and greater harm than any which might be done by leaving them in their communities. And because, were it attempted that they pay equally, it is quite clear that, if one has ten sheep /carneros/ and another has none, the apportionment is unfair when the one pays as much as the other, and if one has a metal mine from which silver can be obtained, so that what he might get out of it in one day would be equal to the distribution for an entire year, the division cannot be equal with one who must work for three or four months to obtain his tribute as a single person, and if he has no ability, and they let him free, perhaps /160/ he will not even find it or earn it in a whole year. If their system were changed for them, however little their tax might be, and if one subdivision /parcialidad/ has fertile lands where normally they harvest more than does another, justice would not be done if they must divide the tribute man for man with another which does not have such. And one who has three sons who help him and several women who join him is to be taxed the same as one who has but one woman, and perhaps an old one, and has nobody to help him plant and harvest. The one who proposed this scheme will not come out well with his estimates. And if in one repartimiento there are both native-born and mytimaes, and they should want them to pay by persons, both the former and the latter, I am convinced that when the harm were seen there would no longer be any chance of remedying it. Or if the repartimiento has fishermen, who are men like the others, and even tradesmen who are for the time better able to weave and to make cloth than others, I do not know what apportionment could be made by individuals among people whom, every time the regiment /tercio/ comes, it will be necessary to put up nets

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/160 cont./ to catch in the water, since it is true that their homes have no other foundation than a few cattails in the water, which is where they may be staying this year, and next year they will probably move, sometimes five leagues away, and it is even true, to be sure, that if you should ask them about one another, they say that they have moved a greater or a lesser distance, and they dissemble a great deal, and they can not be located in a lifetime (132).

132. It is the Uros Indians to whom the Licentiate is referring. For information about these Indians, see what is said in this regard by the chronicler Antonio de Herrera, in his Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos /General History of the Deeds of the Spaniards/, etc., Decade V, Book III, p. 73. See also, concerning the Uros, Basadue, Riquezas Peruanas /Peruvian Wealth/, p. 196, Lima, 1884.

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And if in one repartimiento there is livestock owned by subdivisions /parcialidades/ in addition to what is communal, there is no reason to match those who have a large number with those whose fate is either to have none or to have much less; or if there is someone who considers himself so able and so sufficient that he can affirm that /161/ the tax and the distribution can take all of this into account, when the livestock are often 50 leagues away from the town, and the other things being matters which it would not be possible to verify in 20 years, even were everyone to work to obtain the information about what the Indians have, and each of them in particular, for I do believe, when I take into consideration the state of the World, that there will be no lack of persons bold enough to try it. But there is no reason to pay any attention to the way it may appear, because, even were it possible, it would first be necessary to divide by the number of persons everything which they have in common, which is everything that they

I /163 cont./
*651 hiring themselves out for a year. And this livestock, which is
*648 taken when they go to Potosí, is apportioned out in the distribu-
433 tion according to what each one in that subdivision /parçialidad/
I has, and sometimes the livestock of someone and that person will
*651 not go, and for others the reverse, so that, when it is understood,
*648 the system which they have among them has an accounting and a
657 reason and is very exact, for even when they are dealing with one
433 chuco of corn or with two pounds of wool, we see them make different portions when they divide it up, for it is a marvelous thing to see the diligence which they apply in order to insure that no one takes more than his share. I would regard it as very rash to consider changing a system which is so generally in use among new people, for which reason I wish to conclude with the distribution which the repartimiento of Pava /pava/ has made on four different occasions in my presence. These Indians were
I [162] taxed 11,000 pesos in silver, assayed and marked, without count-
U ing the other matters of food and cartage and sown land con-
[162] tained in the tax, and there must be, according to the old count
[280] of the first inspection, more than 4,000 Indians, although there
[464] is no doubt but that many concealed themselves, because the fishermen, who are what they call huros, cannot be counted and there are a great many of them, and even outside of their lands there are more than 1,000 of them normally hired out to make cloth. Of the huro Indians of this type, there is no doubt but that these are the best of all. I set forth the example in this
I repartimiento /164/ because there are three subdivisions
[631] /parçialidades/, one of these huro fishermen, who must be more than half, and some want to say two-thirds. The others are
U called casayas, and the other subdivision /parçialidad/ is çura
● [651] Indians, from all of whom, in order to divide these 11,000 pesos, there assembled about 30 principal Indians and quipocamayos, who are their accountants, or marcamayos, and, when they start off, their representatives keep upon the ground the stones and grains of corn and beans by which they keep count by their customary system. In the end, in less than three hours time, before me,

I /164 cont./
*651 each subdivision /parcialidad/ knew its share in this general
*648 division, because any fraud on the part of the caciques would
433 have been found out, and, since they understood their reasoning
657 and their accounting, there is no doubt that none of them would
4 consent to any injury for his subdivision /parcialidad/, and every-
● 651 thing which they take into consideration, as they declared to me
in their statements, was, I learned, impossible for us to be able
to learn in a long time, to the extent that it might be understood.
It suffices to say that of the entire 11,000 pesos, the portion
which fell to these fishermen was only 2,000, and, although they
were more than half, they were, so far as I could see, the ones
who most objected and who most unwillingly took the responsi-
bility of allocating it among their Indians and their subdivisions
/parcialidades/. And the others divided up the 9,000 among
themselves, and not equally, to judge by what we know of the
number of Indians of each of the subdivisions /parcialidades/,
with the result that, when I tried to find out the reasons behind
the division, for during a long period I had been making a par-
ticular effort to know their affairs in depth, I found out that they
considered that the fishermen, this tribute being in silver, were
not people who would be able to reside in Potosí in order to
procure it, and that since they would have to earn it in their
own land, what they had apportioned to them was enough. And
the fishermen said that in the time of the Incas, the huros never
entered into the contribution for any sort of tribute, unless /165/
it were service for the governors and the caciques, and they
helped to make cloth and wove mats and made contributions of
I fish. And they were never considered to be men or called by
[186] such a name, and the common terminology is thus to this day,
because if they are asked how many Indians are in such and such
an area, they say ten or twelve or whatever, although 20
fishermen may be with them, and if later it is said to them that
there were more, they answer that there were only huros, and
that they are not counted. All in all, these people never dig
for gold or silver, nor do they leave their land for construction
work, nor for war, nor are they counted on for any kind of

I /165 cont./
651 business. But there are so many in Pava /paua/ that there is not
648 so large a group of them anywhere else, nor do I believe that
733 counting all of those who are in Collao together, which is the
657 place where they are, the number could be so large; they were
U inspected and taxed with the whole repartimiento. Thus the dis-
651 tribution was made among all of them together, in the form
U mentioned above. And even yet, according to what they asserted
651 to me, they do not comply with it, which, in the state of
648 affairs in which this province now finds itself, is owing to a lack of industry, because those fishermen Indians are not supposed to be taxed with the others, but apart, and when one considers their condition and mode of life, neither should they be made to leave their land, nor should the tax oblige them to do so. Thus a very easy method could be found for dealing with them, inasmuch as when they should have made great progress in the articles of our faith, to their great benefit and repose, they could pay tribute like the other two subdivisions /parcialidades/, by becoming laborers upon the land, and with only 100 Indians who might be put on it, through their compulsory labor or work shifts/mitas o tandas/, as they call them, and giving them food and bringing them the necessary wool, and putting over them persons who could take charge of them, they could be made to yield as much profit and interest as I say. Let it be understood that they are not to be put in charge of anything themselves, because, having seen and dealt with this type of people, they have very little more ability than animals, /166/ and there are no others quite like them in the entire Realm. And if some should say that this was personal service, as they usually do, those who have more effects with their names alone than with all of the reasons in the world, but seeing it with one's own eyes, which is, it seems to me, the most evident proof of all, it should suffice to understand that 100 Indians well maintained, well occupied, and clothed will give the tribute that 2,000 could, spread out as far as Cuzco looking for it. For in this sort of employment they are capable and can earn their living at it, except that they are so disinterested that they are hiring

/166 cont./

U 65 648 themselves out for no more interest than half a peso per month. If they were all ordered to pay as tribute one piece of cloth, they would not comply, but they weave more than 2,000 to earn 500 pesos, while dying of hunger and being maltreated by U I [186] those people. Truly this is the way it is, that they do not consider them to be men, nor do they themselves consider themselves as such.

I *65 433 63 657 The other subdivisions /parcialidades/ considered the distribution of the livestock and of the little mines in Soroche, and they even said to one another that they had to pay more, because they were more capable in the kind of business which yielded silver, and they dealt with the quality of the lands, and it was thus from the first time that I saw them apportion the tax until the last. I learned that they dealt with these things quite minutely, with the result that I also learned that, among themselves, the ability to pay on the part of the subdivisions /parcialidades/ is well known, from the time when they are formed, and when there is anything new they know about it, with the result that in this general division they then come to an accord with little noise, and the thing is done, and there is no doubt but that none of the principales of any subdivision /parcialidad/ recognizes any other or is subject to him so that he could be injured by him, except that there is the subdivision /parcialidad/ of Anansaya (133), which is usually recognized /167/

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133. Anan-suyo = high region. Hanan or Hanac = high, what is above; suyo = region.

as somewhat pre-eminent in the making of accounts in their houses and in calling them together when it should be ordered. But among the subdivisions /parcialidades/ themselves there is no doubt but that they scrutinize every tomin in many places, and that none of them allows itself to be abused by any of the others. This must be understood, as I have said at other times, in many places, when dealing with the ability to pay, and the

/115 cont./

161 number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not
[114] go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

162 The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion:
[61] Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants (58 at Warta ayl'u and 111 at Tuanta properly so called), and
[61] Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayl'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can
123 only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who
124 gave me the list of people in this "moiety" did so reluctantly and
761 very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that
651 this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

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1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population.
[609] The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

Carangas—
Chipaya

/116 cont./

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that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

163 The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

163 642 [858]

162 [439] One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Iscara seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

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197 [197] The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

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621 616 [111] Aymara and Kičua /Quechua/ communities recalls the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in [222] [292] space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [273] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-[123] making. Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [195] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about 621 616 614 their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

Carangas—
Chipaya

/124 cont./

Social Organization

622 [616] Exercise of authority. Each saya is under the authority of an alcalde who exercises the functions of a justice of the peace. He intervenes in disputes, arrests and imprisons the guilty, and receives accusations. As we have just seen, the alcaldes preside at the division of arable land and are in addition responsible for directing work done in common, such as the upkeep of canals or the repairing of roads.

692 The corregidor represents the tribe before the government. The one for Chipaya, my friend Paulino Kondori, was so little convinced of the legitimacy of his office, very recently created, that he accompanied me on my return to be presented to the prefect of the department and to obtain from him permission to consider the territory of Chipaya an administrative district independent of Huachacalla. By one of those curious inconsistencies of the Indian character, he did not wait for me at Oruro, where he had preceded me, and I was not able to support his efforts to bring this administrative revolution to a successful conclusion. As long as his title has not been recognized by the government, the corregidor of Chipaya will continue to be subordinate to the one at Huachacalla. During my stay I had the chance to read the letters which his superior sent him and which were often conceived in a comminatory tone. I remember that once he was ordered to have his alcaldes arrest a recalcitrant debtor and another time to conduct to Huachacalla an Indian suspected, mistakenly moreover, of murder.

Paulino Kondori appeared to have some judiciary functions, for the Chipaya made allusion before me to "demandas," i.e. complaints which had been presented to him by Indians who had been injured or believed themselves to have been. It was to him that the Chipaya came to impart their misgivings about my unusual activities and my mysterious investigations. I was lodged in his own hut, which instead of being round like the others had a rectangular plan and a two-pitch roof. This form, seen in two or three

[123] [345]

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*796 627 them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

692 The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the 692 576 other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They [273] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

622 535 Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the outgoing alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He [292] had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He [301] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold [824] at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead. [939] Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

/124 cont./ This form, seen in Two or Three other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in use among the Aymara.

/125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori, of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves. His authority extended no farther. The Čipaya would have had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their duties.

There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an incident which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya, which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or returning with their cargo. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by the timidity of the Čipaya, let their animals graze on the lands belonging to the latter and irrigated by their efforts. The Čipaya decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he called together the majority of the adult men of the village around his hut and they discussed the question all night. The next day the Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

Carangas--
Chipaya

/394 cont./

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

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9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

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Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[28] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *huchhu* (*hučʉ*) or *sica quirkitha* (*kirkiʼa*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilančа* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusipʼia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[28] Bertonio, *Vocabylario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.

/87 cont./

291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[174] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B /see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
291 tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).

286 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is,
[614] unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans, a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities:
[816] anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai and xanača. These may be translated by their Aymara equivalent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
622 Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoraturčirčki:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čauk čapsti) who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

/123 cont./ Aside from one chapel

the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

The Čipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Čipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the saya tuanta overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the homes of the authorities.

The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Čipaya give them: kʷas-kʷoya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancias.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

[16th-17th Centuries]

/37 cont./

175 701 721 648 Nearly all of this first book of Chapter XVII is devoted to the great rebellion of these Indians, led by mestizos or Spanish bandits, like their last chief, a certain... "Don Pedro Laine, a fierce and bold man, the son of the Auditor /Contador/ Ansa, who is regarded by them as a great sorcerer.../cited in Spanish/."

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[131] Report made by General Don Francisco García Picado, Corregidor and Lord Chief Justice of Oruro, at the request of the Duke de la Palata, Viceroy of Peru, on the existence of savage Indians on Paria Lake.

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Carangas—
Chipaya

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[16th Century]

/30 cont./

its own, without cultivation, and which they call quinua /quinoa/ or canagua; all of these Indians are fond of and eat the leaf of same...../Translated from the Spanish./

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/31/...The Uros were Indians that the Inca sent for when the army was short, and they were compelled to follow the flags, not knowing even how to hold a bow; they went into battle almost without weapons and they and some of the Puquinas were killed like flies; because they had no military training, they let themselves be killed like animals. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibidem, p. 184.)

Garcilaso de la Vega

...and thus the Puquina, Colla, Uru, and Yunca Indians, and other nations that are crude and dull, and owing to their crudeness, even speak their own languages poorly..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales /First part of the Royal Commentaries/...., VII, Chap. 4.)

Oliva (Rev. Father Anello)

...(Sinchi Roca) ordered that...useless people, as the Uros were, who are ignorant and useless, should each one of them gather one reed tube full of lice each month, so that no one should be idle...../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de sus Incas Reyes /History of the Kingdom and Provinces of Peru, of its Inca Kings/...., 1598, 1895 edition, Lima.)

Ramirez (Baltasar)

The Uro Indians are a people who live on lakes, such as the lake of Chucuito and that of Paria, and in other parts.

/166 cont./ When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is firmly bound with a wool rope and left to drip for a certain number of days. These cheeses, white and tasteless, are seasoned with salt which the Čipaya get from the great salt deposits which spread out about 30 kilometers from their village. /167/ /Figure 3 appears here./

/168/ Weapons

The small number of weapons that the Čipaya have is a direct consequence of the insignificance of hunting in their economy. As for war, it is an unknown phenomenon for them. Who would dream of coming to pick a fight with them for possession of the sand dunes or stunted pastures? The only occasions for giving free rein to their bellicose instincts are the festivals. The alcohol they absorb then accentuates the underhand rivalry of the sayas among themselves, and, awakening passions, leads them to often bloody fights. I do not know if any weapons other than sticks and fists enter into play in this case.

The sling (kxorawa) (Fig. 4, A /see p. 157/), which is the weapon par excellence of the Indians of the altiplano, has only a peacable use in Chipaya: it is used to hurl lumps of earth at llamas or sheep to prevent them from straying from the flock or from the route being followed. It is possible that the Čipaya might have recourse to the sling when they have some quarrels with the people of the other saya, but I was never able to get particulars on this subject. Another circumstance contributes to making the sling of the Čipaya a harmless instrument: the lack of stones able to serve as projectiles.

The bolas of the Čipaya play a role close to that of the sling: they permit them to catch the sheep. The most common type is the ordinary bola. The stones instead of being caught in a leather sheath, as is the case with the archaeological specimens (Fig. 4, D-B), are furnished with a groove which prevents the rope from slipping (Fig. 4, J).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 156]

[17th Century]

/36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town.... Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake.... They are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Simiriske.

...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

4:Vellard--12 D.E-4.5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th-19th Centuries]

/37 cont./

1915
701
•921
648

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4:Vellard--3 D, E-4, 5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

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[16th Century]

/32 cont./

175 [491] [824] according to what they say. It[1] is crossed on a remarkable contrivance, peculiar to the Indies, a straw bridge placed on the water itself, which is of such light material that it does not sink, and it is a very safe and easy crossing...there grow large quantities of a type of reed that the Indians call totora, which they use for a thousand things, because it is food for pigs and for horses, and for the people themselves; and with it they make house and fire, and boat and whatever is needed; [101] so much do the Uros find in their totora. These Uros are so brutish that they themselves do not regard themselves as men. It is said of them that when asked what people they were they replied that they were not men but Uros, as though this were [361] another class of animals. Entire pueblos of Uros were found living on the lake, on their totora rafts, joined together and fastened to some large rock, and they may fetch themselves off from there and move a whole pueblo to another location; and thus when sought today where they were yesterday, no trace of them is to be found, or of their pueblo..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia natural y moral de las Indias /Natural and Moral History of the Indies/, 1590. Book II, Chap. VI.)

Noticia sobre los Indios Uros en un Memorial de la Epoca del Virrey Toledo /Note on the Uro Indians in a Memorial of the Epoch of the Toledo Viceroy/.

175 648 [511] The Inca, being below Lima, sent one of his captains, called Casiracapa, to those heights with many men, to survey the land and recount to him what he saw there, /33/ and while traveling through the land he came across some people whose dwellings were like those of animals, and who lived in them like brutish animals, around a large Lake, naked, and eating nothing but roots of plants that grew in the Lake, and some Fish if they caught it, and when the Captain saw these people, [728] [579] he recounted the fact to the Inca and was sent by him to remove them from the Lake and resettle them among the

[1] [i.e., Lake Titicaca outlet--Analyst]

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them:
648 The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-
728 settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the
599 inhabitants, unable to bear with it, asked Casiracapa to rid them of those people, because they robbed them, ate their livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the Captain advised the Inca of this and he was ordered to return them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it;
[101] these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where
[131] they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small
[269] villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable: they are infidels in addition. Your Excellency would perform a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so
[356] that they and their descendants might become Christians, and giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings defy description. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

175 Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima, 1568/.

[114] This document from the General Archives of the Indies in Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed by Marie Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-150, 1951.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

sympathetic Bertonio lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Vn nacion de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento," Paredes calls them "brotado . . . despreciables, de poco entendimiento, ásperos y zahereños." The Belgian traveller Walle says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression; it betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Posnansky writes:

> El Uru no tiene placeres, desconoce ahora el juego. La riza jamás asoma a los labios de su cara inmóvil, sin la menor mímica, tostado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus niños son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes; acurracados y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Urus es el de un pueblo amordazado.

Métraux preferred their congeners, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

> The Uru have a character and a genius as sombre as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this illwill is added the unhealthy rapacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the *altiplano* Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field-work with the Aymára, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hate-filled group; in my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . rather more vivacious and handsome than the Aymára"![14]

History. Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymára. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states that those on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in holes in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymára, Inca, and Spanish.

Language. I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The utter independ-

[14] J. de Acosta, *Historia de las Indias* (1591), p. 62. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 4. Bertonio, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 380. Paul Walle, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall). Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Métraux (JSAP 27), p. 89; (28), p. 207.

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

101 36 16 The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-Itu, or Angoake, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

● 73 133 A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

[101] [60] [137] At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Itu had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

73 43 198 Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, hispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

16 [167] [88] [178] Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

[356] In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had [162] [144] given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

/146 cont./

[61] According to the latest news the group of Iru-Itu seems to [62] be reduced to some 12 people, although since 1946 the level [133] of the lake has risen considerably; in February 1947 it had already risen 90 centimeters. This rising movement is continuing, and the totora beds are slowly beginning to reform.

[731] The old Uru remembered having seen in their youth, around 1870, an even worse drought than that of these last years. But at that time they were more numerous and the group was able to subsist. Now it is too diminished to reconstitute itself and its disappearance seems definite.

[01] I visited the Uru of Iru-Itu for the first time in 1938. Dur-
[21] ing my stay in Bolivia from 1940 to 1944 I was in constant contact with them. Their misery and their decline did not allow me to glean important observations on their material culture, already studied by the numerous ethnographers who have stayed among the Uru of the Desaguadero. Their imminent disappearance made it necessary, however, to bring together everything which might still exist among them: anthropological observations, traditions, and linguistic records, in order to compare them with the other populations of the region and especially with the different groups of fishers on Lake Titicaca.

These are the results of this study, the publication of which we are beginning.

/147/

Note I

Accounts and Conversations

[19] The linguistic records at our disposal on the Uru are reduced to some quick observations and more or less expanded vocabularies gathered by travelers in the course of brief stays in the region of Iru-Itu. Métraux is the only one to have published texts in the Chipaya dialect. No text exists in the Iru-Itu dialect, and the best sources of linguistic information on

3:Vellard--7 D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/170/

I. The Misery of the Uru
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 151 /in the foreign text/)

000 /Note. As a result of the difficulty of obtaining the typographical signs for the exact transcription of the Uru words included in the remarks, we have been obliged to transcribe a certain number of words in an approximate fashion and more or less successfully. It will therefore not be surprising that there are differences of transcription between the texts, which have been reproduced by a photographic process, and the remarks. It goes without saying that only the transcription of the texts is exact./

Free Translation

530 931 198 433 511 1. We shall never be able to go from here; we all are too much accustomed to be here since always. 2. But our fields will give us very little. 3. This year is too dry and the potatoes are not growing. 4. The frosts have burned everything. 5. That is why we are leaving. 6. Now what shall we do? 7. In the swamp which is drying up there are no more suche (kind of fish). 8. There are no more reeds and there are no more birds' eggs. 9. All the eggs have departed into the great lake of Guaqui. 10. The fish have left for Guaqui. 11. How will we eat now? 12. If it rains enough this year we shall live. 13. We shall all return to our village. 14. If it does not rain (enough) we shall die. 15. We eat the little potatoes which we cultivate for the people of another race (the Aymara). 16. We earn them by cultivating for them. 17. There are few fish and we have only caught one. 13. We shall sell it. 19. Thou hast seen how small it is. 20. It is necessary to go far to fish. 21. We are accustomed to going home at night. 22. We shall return home to sell (our catch).

/170 cont./

23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

This account, dictated by an old Uru about 90 years old, Manuel Inta, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1940 to 1946. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara populations. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Urus, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Urus have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Amaracized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui, on the small lake.

ɔx'ɜa, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymaras. Note the particle čᵘ intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: Káya -čúčay, tánáču- čay, lúx-náču -čay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ki intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending čay indicates the future. The verb Káči- čay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." tumíni, a tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1. kustúmbro, "custom"; 5. isú-čay, esto or eso, "that"; 17. ni- únu, "this alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

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Iru Iru

341 [896] were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no [231] tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony 126 path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him [396] standing motionless and followed the younger one [283] down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

804 [1031] Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among [501] the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the [364] stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, [213] the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

132 Fortunately in these last few years the climatic con-
137 ditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more in-
501 creased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and
396 one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long
283 braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

[p. 313-A]

/366 cont./

[796 562 889 932]

In this case the alferez was an old woman, wrinkled and respectable. /367/ assisted by her son, a young boy 18 to 20 years old who was a deaf-mute. She led the procession dressed in her most beautiful attire with flowers stuck in her hair.

The procession returned to the chapel to kneel and to perfume again the altar, on which a spot of still fresh blood stood out. The procession broke up shortly afterward, but part of those present accompanied the alfereza and her son, who proceeded with one of the banners from the church up to the door of their hut. There the standard, which the alfereza and her son kissed respectfully, was rolled up and attached to a stake of Cereus.

[816]

The authorities of the year seated themselves behind a table, and a mantle (talu) was spread out on the ground a certain distance away, on the edge of which the alfereza and her daughter-in-law squatted. They were promptly surrounded by a large number of women who grouped themselves in a horseshoe. A small tablecloth covered with coca leaves was placed on the table, as on the talu.

The alfereza and her son began to pray on their knees before the banner and offered up a libation of alcohol to it; then the young man went to get his wife and repeated the same ceremony with her (Pl. XII. A /see p. 132/). The alcaldes congratulated the alfereza, repeating the sacred formula of suma hora. This rite of politeness accomplished, they went to kiss the post against which the standard had been fastened, and then, taking two wooden cups with two bulls carved on the inside from the table, they offered up a libation of chicha accompanied by a prayer (Pl. XVII. A /see p. 138/).

[815 2078]

On the two sides of the talu behind which the women were seated a very old footless wooden cup, very old, had been placed, from which the women one after the other drank chicha (Pl. XVII. D).

The audience began to chew and to offer up libations. Prayers crossed each other, and in this exchange of vows and

/389 cont./

997 treatment was conditioned by the nature of the disease, or if, on the contrary, similar cures are undertaken each time that an Indian becomes seriously ill.

955 [953] A habitual drunkard, of a quarrelsome and violent temperament, had been taken ill after one of the numerous festivals which the Chipaya celebrate during the rainy season, where he had drunk and excited himself more than usual. /390/ Was he suffering from terrible indigestion? Did he have an attack of epilepsy? I do not know, but the fact is that he suddenly fell to the ground where he remained for a long time in a cataleptic state. The terrified spectators thought that he was dead and were not far from intoning funeral lamentations. He himself, when he regained his senses, judged his state to be desperate. He claimed that a large ball was moving up and down in his stomach without stopping.

955 957 956 His case was given to an Indian who had nothing to show that he was a doctor or magician. He was a young man who had no particular authority and filled no office at the festivals. Besides he made only rare appearances in the village. Consulted at once, he began by conducting an inquiry on the origins of the illness, giving an attentive ear to the narratives and hypotheses of his client's relatives and friends. It was only then, with complete knowledge of the cause, that he uttered his final diagnosis: two superb topu (silver pins with flattened heads) which had been transmitted from generation to generation in the patient's family were the sole things responsible for the accident. By virtue of a malicious power inherent in their nature, they had pierced the stomach of their owner, trying to kill him. They had been assisted in this crime by a silver Peruvian coin worth a quarter of a real, which [961] the sick man had also inherited from his father. No one could doubt that these precious topu were dangerous: the best proof of the terrible influence which emanated from them was the sickness and death of the patient's mother, which public opinion attributed to these ornaments. The magician's first duty hence was to exorcise them and to neutralize their action by putting them in contact with beneficent magical substances.

[16th Century]

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/35 cont./

Machuca (Juan Lozano)

...In the bay of Atacama, where the port (Cobija) is, there are 400 Uro Indian fishermen....Likewise in the city district and environs of Tarapaca, which extends from the port of Pisagua and Hique-Hique, where there are Uro Indian fishermen, to the port of Loa, there are many mines....The repartimiento of the heirs of Lucas Martin Begaso is under the jurisdiction of the city of Arequipa and there must be some 2,000 Aymara Indians and more than 1,000 Uro Indian fishermen in the said territory..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Reports on the Indies/, II, Appendices, pp. XXV, XXVI, and XXVII.)

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Aside from the 4,000 Aymara Indians of Lipez, there were in this repartimiento another 1,000 Uro Indians, a poor people who neither sow nor reap and who subsist on the hunting of guanacos and vicuñas and on fish and roots found in the marshes, which they call coroma; and herewith the 4,000 Aymara Indians claim poverty, because while rich in native livestock and reaping and sowing and conducting trade and barter in this town of Potosi, Tarapaca, and Atacama, and founding many metals, which they extract from the mines, they excuse themselves from paying tribute to H. M. under pretext of being poor, like the 1,000 Uro Indians who truly are..../Translated from the Spanish./

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(Ibidem, Appendix 3.)

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Jujuy Archives

Dr. Ernesto Sourrouille, in the historic studies he carried out in the Jujuy archives and with private documents (testaments, grants, etc.) told me, that at the western source of the Orosmayo River, in the Department of Santa Catalina, south of the Cerro Esmoraca, there lived a tribe of Uro Indians like those who share a boundary with the Atacamas..../Translated from the Spanish./

11:Carter E-4,5 (1953, 1960-1961) 1965
SFS Aymara SFS
Uru SF29

and swive that could be purchased in La Paz. They could be presented any night when there was a full moon. In order to pay for them, each peasant contributed about eight cents (U.S.) for every cow he owned, for *tutora* was the main source of fodder for the hacienda.

The *camana* of the lake received no usufruct rights for his work. His main recompense came from the wild duck eggs he could find among the reeds. At times these amounted to from 80 to 100 per day, and could either be exchanged with other peasants for their products, or sent to La Paz for sale. As a countervailing arm of the community, the *camana* of the lake could take a forfeit piece of clothing or equipment from anyone who disregarded his rules. He could not keep them, however; they had to be turned over to the *jilakata* who would then release them upon receipt of a ransom of alcohol.

Those drawn into the tribute system just described were principally the heads of households. Except for the *camana* of the lake, they possessed house plots and farm lands in usufruct. Within nearly every hacienda, however, there were a number of mature males who had no usufruct rights. Some of these, called *utagueguas*, or "house babies," were descended from outside families who had settled there, often in an attempt to escape an unbearable landlord.[1] These were the ones most likely to be selected for the office of *camana* of the lake. Other householders without direct usufruct rights were young people who had married, but who had not been assigned their own plots of land. The *utagueguas* had no direct obligations whatsoever to the landlord of the hacienda where they settled. They lived off what products they could obtain from other peasants in exchange for labor. The young married couples, however, usually resided with parents or relatives and assumed part of the latter's hacienda obligations.

A person having full usufruct rights was known as a *persona*, or full man. Upon his death, if his usufruct right were divided between two sons, each came to be known as a *zulka persona*, or half-man, and had only half the obligations of a normal householder to the hacienda. If the usufruct right was further divided, it could give rise to *cuarta personas*, or fourth-men, each having one-fourth of the labor obligations of a full householder.

Every full householder had to take his turn at all the major rotative

1. It is possible that these house babies are descendants of the group referred to in colonial days as Urus. Numerous references in the 1567 document formerly cited indicate that the Urus were landless and poor and that they lived in lake-shore communities at the sufferance of the other Indians. Because of their poverty, they were often used by the caciques as house servants and rent house attendants (5, pp. 140, 146, 209).

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya.

ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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Bertonio, 1879 b; Brinton, 1890; Chamberlain, 1910; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1925–27; Ehrenreich, 1905; Forbes, 1870; La Barre, 1941; La Grasserie, 1894; Latcham, 1910; Métraux, 1934 c, 1935 b, 1935 c, 1936 a, 1936 b, 1936 c; Ore, 1607; Polo, 1901; Posnansky, 1934; Rivet, 1925–27; Uhle, 1896; Vásques de Espinosa, 1942.

/388 cont./

The fortune-teller is satisfied to chew the leaves[1] with which he has been provided for his trouble.

Magical treatment of illness.

The medical science of the Indians of the Andean altiplano is very extensive. To be convinced of this one need only go inspect the sector of any native market whatsoever occupied by the chifles, or vendors of medicinal plants. The abundance of vegetable, animal, and mineral products, carefully sorted out in small boxes, which they offer is extraordinary and deserves a long, methodical enumeration. If one considers that each of these substances, in addition to its special properties, also enters in the composition of anomalous and varied mixtures, one will have an idea of the number of medical recipes which the Indians of the altiplano have at their disposal. To tell the truth, many of the treatments recommended by the yatiri are strictly magical in nature; a number of the medicaments which they prescribe, however, are recommendable for their real and effective qualities. The Institute of Ethnology at the University of Tucumán possesses a very complete collection of these products and it is hoped that a study of them will some day be carried out by a pharmacist who is also a botanist. There can be no doubt that such an investigation, already begun by Nordenskiöld (1), has more than one

1. Nordenskiöld (Erland). "Recettes magiques médicales du Pérou et de la Bolivie /Magical Medical Recipes of Peru and Bolivia/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Paris, New Series, Vol. IV, 1907, pp. 153-174.

surprise in store and /389/ will open new perspectives on the medical knowledge of the Indians of Bolivia.

[1] [i.e., coca leaves--Analyst]

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[757] treatment was conditioned by the nature of the disease, or if, on the contrary, similar cures are undertaken each time that an Indian becomes seriously ill.

[755] [733] A habitual drunkard, of a quarrelsome and violent temperament had been taken ill after one of the numerous festivals which the Čipaya celebrate during the rainy season, where he had drunk and excited himself more than usual. /390/ Was he suffering from terrible indigestion? Did he have an attack of epilepsy? I do not know, but the fact is that he suddenly fell to the ground where he remained for a long time in a cataleptic state. The terrified spectators thought that he was dead and were not far from intoning funeral lamentations. He himself, when he regained his senses, judged his state to be desperate. He claimed that a large ball was moving up and down in his stomach without stopping.

[755] [756] His case was given to an Indian who had nothing to show that he was a doctor or magician. He was a young man who had no particular authority and filled no office at the festivals. Besides he made only rare appearances in the village. Consulted at once, he began by conducting an inquiry on the origins of the illness, giving an attentive ear to the narratives and hypotheses of his client's relatives and friends. It was only then, with complete knowledge of the cause, that he uttered his final diagnosis: two superb topu (silver pins with flattened heads) which had been transmitted from generation to generation in the patient's family were the sole things responsible for the accident. By virtue of a malicious power inherent in their nature, they had pierced the stomach of their owner, trying to kill him. They had been assisted in this crime by a silver Peruvian coin worth a quarter of a real, which [961] the sick man had also inherited from his father. No one could doubt that these precious topu were dangerous: the best proof of the terrible influence which emanated from them was the sickness and death of the patient's mother, which public opinion attributed to these ornaments. The magician's first duty hence was to exorcise them and to neutralize their action by putting them in contact with beneficent magical substances.

/390 cont./

755 756 Arriving at the house of the sick man, I found him with his head in a turban of rags, squatting in front of his wife. His relatives had gathered in the hut and surrounded the magician. I [789] noticed a cross carefully veiled with a handkerchief at the back of the hut and an iron spike near the door to keep the evil spirits aside. The magician had placed the offending items, the topu and the coin, on a small napkin and drawn from his bag mineral substances of very varied hues (sebarios), copal, incense, etc., as well as mugs and phials which he filled with water and in which he mixed the sebarios and a little sacred maize flour (l'umpaka).

While watching his actions the sick man and his relatives were praying and drinking and offering libations of alcohol. When [782] he had finished the magician cleared the hut and went toward a sheep tied in front of the door. He severed its carotid and caught its blood in a bowl which contained /391/ sacred maize flour and a small cupule. He then emptied it before the house to the east while invoking the guardian demons of the clan and the samiri. Next he sprinkled the wall of the hut with this sacred blood and, throwing himself on the still palpitating sheep, he opened the chest with a knife thrust and with a savage and nervous gesture tore out the heart, which he ran to place on the patient's abdomen which was covered with blankets. After this he took hold of the topu and coin and carefully washed them in the water with which sacred flour had been mixed. This liquid, like the blood, was poured out in front of the hut.

The libations (č'al'a) which took place immediately after were directed as usual to the demons, the samiri's, and the saints. The magician took his cupules in pairs successively and ran to post himself in front of the threshold in order to throw the contents in the direction of the east, murmuring a hasty prayer each time. When he had ended these offerings, he squatted before his stone of magic ingredients and began to sort them attentively. He placed imperceptible quantities of blue, white, green, light green, red, violet, coffee, and grey mineral substances (sebarios) in

/391 cont./

755 756 small paper bags and added rosemary, starch, and candy to them. He then grouped these bags in threes and made small packets of them which he tied with a red string. At the same time he had one of the patient's relatives make four small "tables" of fat, two of which he covered with paper, and the other two with gold leaf. In the course of preparation these objects were watered several times by the spectators, who poured libations of alcohol over them. They were given to the sick man with the express command to keep them in a hiding-place next to the topu for one year. The magician assured his client that during all this period he would have no misfortune to fear and that his disposition would become better: his quarrelsome temperament would give way to gentleness and peace would reign in his household. For, he added, the thrashings which he was accustomed to inflict on his wife and the uproar resulting from them were also manifestations of the evil power of the topu's. Two small flasks were next filled, one with alcohol and the other with wine, and placed with the small bags. The magician made one last libation on them and spit on top of them. The objects thus consecrated were placed in a bag with some khoa and some coins and the whole thing slid into a hiding-place concealed in the wall of the hut.

[787] The sick man began a prolonged exposition in a tearful tone of all the details of his sickness, while the magician was consulting coca leaves in order to know the result of his treatment. He mixed the leaves and tossed them in his hand ten or 15 times, and each time /392/ they pointed to a prompt and complete cure. A bit of copal was placed in drinking cups of alcohol, which the sick man, the magician, and the relatives poured as an offering on the malevolent topu's. Whereupon the patient, his wife, and his sister burst into loud sobs which lasted several minutes. The first then kissed his wife's hand and congratulated the magician, making the gesture of clasping him in his arms, and all those present came to congratulate him as well as his wife and the magician.

/392 cont./

755 These civilities were of the usual type, i.e., they were
756 carried out by bending the knee before the person honored and
[576] simulating an embrace.

[762] Two dishes of meat were then carried in, signaling the be-
[574] ginning of the feast which the patient offered his doctor and his relatives, doubtless to repay them for their trouble.

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5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

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Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

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/342 cont./

there they are priostess and in eight days of orgy the fruits of one year of work are devoured."

One cannot give the officiant of Čipaya festivals the title of "magician," although the Indians designate him by the name of yatiri (magician in Aymara). The personage who operates at the sacrifices, who prepares the masterly mixtures offered as libations to the demons, and who says the prayers, is not at all like a medicine-man /given in English/. He is generally an old Indian who has maintained the traditions of the past. Beyond the service which he renders the younger generation thanks to his knowledge of the ritual, he fills no particular office and enjoys no more esteem than any other elderly man. It is not, however, impossible that my friend, Anacleto Mullu, was actually a real yatiri. This is only a supposition on my part after having seen him officiate at several festivals and having admired the competency with which he accomplished his task. The Indians frequently pointed him out to me as the man who best knew the prayers to the mal'ku. He also had some talent as a fortune-teller and was a past master of the art of "reading in the coca." I do not know, however, if his skill was called upon in cases of illness. The only cure at which I was present was made by a Čipaya whom I had never seen officiate in any festival and whom I would never have suspected was versed in these superstitious practices.

Espíritu Mamani, a bearded giant with the head of a faun, made himself noticed by his zeal during festivals. His functions were, however, limited to reciting prayers, which for the most part had a marked Christian character. He discharged this duty with a fervor and enthusiasm which made me doubt his mental equilibrium. Among all the Čipaya he alone was animated with exuberant life. He appeared truly possessed by an internal demon when with half-shut eyes he prayed as if in ecstasy. Immediately afterward he would wink and laugh with an air of complicity, as if he had just pulled a good trick. He was affable and pleasant in spite of this, but fickle, unapproachable, and as wild as a forest god.

/389 cont./

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955 [933] A habitual drunkard, of a quarrelsome and violent temperament, had been taken ill after one of the numerous festivals which the Čipaya celebrate during the rainy season, where he had drunk and excited himself more than usual. /390/ Was he suffering from terrible indigestion? Did he have an attack of epilepsy? I do not know, but the fact is that he suddenly fell to the ground where he remained for a long time in a cataleptic state. The terrified spectators thought that he was dead and were not far from intoning funeral lamentations. He himself, when he regained his senses, judged his state to be desperate. He claimed that a large ball was moving up and down in his stomach without stopping.

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/390 cont./

755 756 Arriving at the house of the sick man, I found him with his head in a turban of rags, squatting in front of his wife. His relatives had gathered in the hut and surrounded the magician. I [789] noticed a cross carefully veiled with a handkerchief at the back of the hut and an iron spike near the door to keep the evil spirits aside. The magician had placed the offending items, the topu and the coin, on a small napkin and drawn from his bag mineral substances of very varied hues (sebarios), copal, incense, etc., as well as mugs and phials which he filled with water and in which he mixed the sebarios and a little sacred maize flour (l'umpaka).

While watching his actions the sick man and his relatives were praying and drinking and offering libations of alcohol. When [782] he had finished the magician cleared the hut and went toward a sheep tied in front of the door. He severed its carotid and caught its blood in a bowl which contained /391/ sacred maize flour and a small cupule. He then emptied it before the house to the east while invoking the guardian demons of the clan and the samiri. Next he sprinkled the wall of the hut with this sacred blood and, throwing himself on the still palpitating sheep, he opened the chest with a knife thrust and with a savage and nervous gesture tore out the heart, which he ran to place on the patient's abdomen which was covered with blankets. After this he took hold of the topu and coin and carefully washed them in the water with which sacred flour had been mixed. This liquid, like the blood, was poured out in front of the hut.

The libations (č'al'a) which took place immediately after were directed as usual to the demons, the samiri's, and the saints. The magician took his cupules in pairs successively and ran to post himself in front of the threshold in order to throw the contents in the direction of the east, murmuring a hasty prayer each time. When he had ended these offerings, he squatted before his stone of magic ingredients and began to sort them attentively. He placed imperceptible quantities of blue, white, green, light green, red, violet, coffee, and grey mineral substances (sebarios) in

/391 cont./

755 956 small paper bags and added rosemary, starch, and candy to them. He then grouped these bags in threes and made small packets of them which he tied with a red string. At the same time he had one of the patient's relatives make four small "tables" of fat, two of which he covered with paper, and the other two with gold leaf. In the course of preparation these objects were watered several times by the spectators, who poured libations of alcohol over them. They were given to the sick man with the express command to keep them in a hiding-place next to the topu for one year. The magician assured his client that during all this period he would have no misfortune to fear and that his disposition would become better: his quarrelsome temperament would give way to gentleness and peace would reign in his household. For, he added, the thrashings which he was accustomed to inflict on his wife and the uproar resulting from them were also manifestations of the evil power of the topu's. Two small flasks were next filled, one with alcohol and the other with wine, and placed with the small bags. The magician made one last libation on them and spit on top of them. The objects thus consecrated were placed in a bag with some khoa and some coins and the whole thing slid into a hiding-place concealed in the wall of the hut.

[N7] The sick man began a prolonged exposition in a tearful tone of all the details of his sickness, while the magician was consulting coca leaves in order to know the result of his treatment. He mixed the leaves and tossed them in his hand ten or 15 times, and each time /392/ they pointed to a prompt and complete cure. A bit of copal was placed in drinking cups of alcohol, which the sick man, the magician, and the relatives poured as an offering on the malevolent topu's. Whereupon the patient, his wife, and his sister burst into loud sobs which lasted several minutes. The first then kissed his wife's hand and congratulated the magician, making the gesture of clasping him in his arms, and all those present came to congratulate him as well as his wife and the magician.

2.Métraux--127 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Caranga-
Chipaya

/392 cont./

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However great the respect of the sick man for his healer was and the impression caused by the ceremony, the patient did not consider it superfluous to question me on his case and took the laxative I administered to him with gratitude. He had great need of it, all the more so since, to celebrate his return to health and the beneficent treatment of which he had been the subject, he ingurgitated a remarkable portion of the sacrificed sheep and washed down this feast with impressive bumpers of alcohol. I still do not know how this unfortunate man was able to endure these new excesses. He got well nevertheless, and this complicated ceremony seems at least to have had the positive result of actually transforming his deportment. Up to this point I had had an enemy in him who had picked quarrels with me on every occasion; each time that I met him after this, he astonished me by his friendliness and courtesy.

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/389 cont./

The Čipaya Indians of Carangas have been so deeply impregnated with the influence of the Aymara Indians that we may presume that, in the sphere of medicine, they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbors of the altiplano. It is completely justifiable if their knowledge is more rudimentary because of their isolation and the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the medical substances, almost all of which come from the Yungas. I was able to convince myself of this by examining one day a bag of medicine which had been left by a deceased Čipaya, the father of a young Indian with whom I had a friendly relationship. In the legacy of the old man I found several pharmaceutical products which I had obtained in the Oruro market. The deceased possessed small amounts of them which he had carefully wrapped in some small rags. His son refused to sell them to me, allegedly because of their great value and the difficulty of procuring them. I doubt, however, that anyone in Chipaya could have benefited from them, for, to my knowledge at least, there is no Indian in this village who poseses sufficient skill to carry out their application.

Practically every day in the hut which I was occupying I received visits from Indians coming to ask me for remedies for various ills. The most frequent was constipation, which seems to frighten the Čipaya very much. I was also able to see a hernia and a terrible infection which the Indians treated by applying a piece of llama heart to the abscess. The Indians often called upon me to care for swellings, the result of drubbings which they had not spared themselves in their domestic quarrels. Some also came to beg me to cure them of impotence. In some not very serious cases of swellings or localized pains, the Indians content themselves with sticking a coca leaf on the skin.

At present the empirical medicine of the Čipaya seems to be limited to a certain number of insignificant recipes, frequently and easily applied. Faced with a serious case they have recourse to complicated magical processes which I had the good fortune to observe. I should not be able to say, however, if the exceptional

Caranga-
Cipaya

/389 cont./

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2.Mérenos--127 E-8 (1930-1931) 1930, 1936 6924 Cm 6934

Cayapas-Chipaya

/092 cont./

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*539 /182 cont./ also the Uru do not have any
81 apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/
[118] at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments
[19] are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations.
[152] However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kispe, is very frightened
[829] of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure
Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood.
[848] Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was father-
less, "hána hẹp' ɣeɬ- čay," "no father is," "an illegitimate
son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did
not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be
● [961] assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder,
[829] drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which
[848] the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable
proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

*539 From the point of view of vocabulary this text shows the
191 same irregularities as the preceding text by the same informant
192 (V) /see p. 15/ frequent elisions of final vowels: ča instead of
čay; the repeated use (1-7) of wáli, "much," an Aymara form
not found in the texts nor in the numerous phrases gathered
from the other informant. 2. wáli- píni, association of an
Aymara word and an Uru word with the same meaning to rein-
force the idea; we find an analogous case in ɣi- hún (5), the
Uru-Spanish association already noted. 2. hána Kála či čúña,
"not good good is," association of two words of almost identical
meaning to reinforce the idea: "this is not good at all." 3. The
particle -kála after the verb "to go" has the exact meaning
of ex in Latin, literally exit. 4. The correct form would be
war- ɣis. 6. háskẹ indicates a very distant fact, an idea still
more strengthened by the suffix -ta, sign of the past: "a very
long time ago."

/392 cont./

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/206 cont./

152 of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and
578 impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts
[154] of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

593 Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the
578 characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic
● [162] conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to drama: a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

836 Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me, bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of freedom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to
848 virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them
837 from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery
593 provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They speak to their husbands in firm and decisive tones, and no decision can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never
150 mistreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya com-
177 pare very favorably with the Uro of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race, who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence
609 The last 30 Uro of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust
161 of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to stay with them.

/392 cont./

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755 However great the respect of the sick man for his healer was
[123] and the impression caused by the ceremony, the patient did not
[757] consider it superfluous to question me on his case and took the laxative I administered to him with gratitude. He had great need of it, all the more so since, to celebrate his return to health and the beneficent treatment of which he had been the subject, he ingurgitated a remarkable portion of the sacrificed sheep and washed down this feast with impressive bumpers of alcohol. I still do not know how this unfortunate man was able to endure these new excesses. He got well nevertheless, and this complicated ceremony seems at least to have had the positive result of actually
[123] transforming his deportment. Up to this point I had had an enemy in him who had picked quarrels with me on every occasion; each time that I met him after this, he astonished me by his friendliness and courtesy.

I only wish that this good disposition had lasted as long as the memory of his experience.

Funeral rites.

764 In the course of the weeks spent in Chipaya only one death
[762] occurred in the village, that of a woman who had committed suicide for obscure reasons, probably out of resentment against her husband. Arriving at the spot shortly after the event, I did not notice any behavior among those present which could be interpreted as ritual.

/393/

764 [152] The dead woman's husband and her sisters just barely and only at long intervals gave way to a few quickly stifled sobs.

The body was carefully done up in an urku (1), and only the

1. Cloth which the women wear around their bodies by way of a tunic.

face remained uncovered until evening, when one of the corners of the cloth which enveloped her was pulled over it and a rope was placed crosswise on it. The husband, who was not worth a sou, displayed profound anguish at the thought of not being able to hold [123] a wake. When I gave him something to buy cigarettes, coca, and alcohol, he thanked me and seemed as if relieved of a great anxiety. He shut himself in his hut with his brother and another Indian, probably a relative. The close relatives of the woman from bitterness against the widower, whom they continued to suspect of a crime, stayed at home. Between the threshold and the corpse an iron spike had been planted and a small tallow lamp was burning beside the body. The husband and his two companions, squatting at the dead woman's feet, smoked and drank with com- [152] plete serenity of soul. The first, however, interrupted his bumpers of eau-de-vie from time to time with little attacks of tears, of short duration nonetheless. He likewise addressed the customary reproaches to the dead woman in a tone lacking in conviction. "Why hast thou left, why hast thou left me, when will we meet again?" At a particular moment he placed on his wife's feet a bowl full of alcohol, which he set fire to as well as to some coca leaves.

At dawn a large number of the women of the clan came and squatted in the house. They remained there a long time, immobile and silent. Toward ten o'clock in the morning the corpse was carried to the cemetery and buried with a little food, coca, and alcohol. The dead woman's spindle was buried with her, and the pots and bowls which she used were broken and thrown into the fire

/393 cont./

764 with her spoon and other effects. This is the fate which the earthly goods left by the Čipaya undergo, and the charred remains of their holdings are piled up beside the enclosure where their body re-
[152] poses. The husband gave out a few more tears near the tomb and returned home, escorted by a large number of individuals who
765 came to take their share of the funerary feast. The widower's family had been occupied with it since morning and had slaughtered two sheep and put enormous kettles full of quinua pulp on the fire.
[171] Among the Čipaya as among the Aymara, mourning obligations force the survivors to make considerable sacrifices and to dissipate their meager capital.

Passing near the hut of the widower this same evening, I saw him with one of his children on his back and the other near
[152] him busy preparing his dinner. On /394/ seeing me he let out some moans, too modulated to be the expression of any sentiment. This was the last evidence of regret that the dead woman received. From the next day on she was forgotten, and the village, disturbed for a moment, sank back into silence and indifference.

Myths and tales

121 The stay that I made among the Čipaya was dedicated in large part to gathering as many elements as possible of their agonizing language. In the hope of being able to make a grammar out of it, I busied myself as much as possible with assembling expressions, phrases, and coherent narrative. Accomplishing
[191] this task was not always easy for me. The Čipaya know only Aymara outside their own language and, with the exception of the corregidor and two or three young people, do not know a word
[124] of Spanish. In order to be able to deal with them, I almost always had to have recourse to my Aymara interpreter, and the impossibility which often arose of being able to communicate

Carangas-
Chipaya

/191 cont./

342 [554] Conquest it was perfectly natural that the chiefs should be the first to adopt it. In my opinion it would be a mistake to see in the round hut of the Čipaya a culture trait which is characteristic of this ethnic group and capable of furnishing a clue to their origin. The modern Čipaya have retained the round hut solely because it was more practical and the only type which they could erect easily and without too much expense on the wretched plain where they are cantoned. If in place of tola they had had some other tougher shrub, their picturesque hovels would have given way to the dull sheds of the Aymara long ago.

*171 342 /192/ The Uro Indians of Ancoaqui build their huts on the model of those of the Aymara. Up to recent times they must have had to retain the circular hut, for I noticed two or three houses in their village which, without exactly being round, had at least considerably rounded corners. The wretched abodes to be seen among the Uro have exactly the same form as those of the Čipaya and, consequently, the second type of huts, i.e., those which are dispersed in the pastures. In contrast to the Aymara or Čipaya, the Uro cover their huts with totora mats, which they fasten with wooden pegs stuck in the walls.

Facing Ancoaqui on the other bank of the Desaguadero I saw several huts of a type new to me, one which I think has not yet been described. These are cubes with thick walls covered with a masonry dome, a middle term between pyramid and cupola. These huts were grouped exactly like the estancias of the Čipaya. They were, moreover, as it seemed to me, the dwellings of shepherds who certainly had a house in the village. The huts on the Desaguadero recall chullpas much more than do the Čipaya huts which have been compared with these funerary buildings.

*171 172 342 764 Whoever has traveled by mule on the altiplano and ascertained the fabulous number of chullpas left by the pre-Columbian inhabitants must have asked himself what befell the actual habitations where the Indians who are incarcerated in these strange sepulchers lived. It

/192 cont./

*171 342 eems inexplicable that precisely the funerary houses would have survived, whereas the houses themselves have disappeared without leaving a trace. How could it happen that a people capable of building such remarkable and lasting buildings as the chullpas would not have left a single village behind? Chipaya gives us the key to the problem: the ancient Aymara huts were undoubtedly made of clods, a perishable substance which time has made disappear down to the last vestige. Although the Cipaya have occupied their present habitat since remote times, one cannot find any ancient ruin among them. It is enough that a hut be abandoned for there to be nothing left of it at the end of a few years.

*171 342 One word more on the distribution of the round huts: this form was formerly much more widespread in the western part of South America than it is in our day. The Relaciones geográficas (1)

[113]

1. Xauxa Province, Vol. I, p. 89; Huamanga Province (San Juan de la Frontera), Vol. I, p. 97; Repartimiento /fief/ of Atunsora, Vol. I, p. 176; Collao, Vol. II, p. 62; Corregimiento /district/ of Otavalo (Equator), Vol. III, p. 116; District of Cuenca (Equator), Vol. III, pp. 164 and 176; Region of Quito, Vol. III, p. 94; Region of Chuquimayo, Vol. IV, p. LI; etc., etc.

makes allusions all the time to round houses in regions where they no longer exist.

*171 342 /193/ The Quichua Indians of Cochabamba in the middle of the last century still had round huts made entirely of earth and stone with dome-shaped roofing. One of them has been reproduced and described by Herndon and Gibbon (1): "The ancient habitations

/194 cont./

U
*171
A
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the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and inns were long and square and the wood was brought from the Yungas." /Cited in Spanish./

U
*171
[113]
[114]

On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

U
571
621

The estancias of the Čipaya explain the formation of the small social units also called estancias, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayl'u, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

U
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Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Čipaya to fertilize their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

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[178]

Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

U
[964]

Near Iscara, in the chullpares, I found bolas rolled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 157/).

3:Vellard--22 D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SP24 Uru SP24

*539 964

IX. Funeral Customs
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 167 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

[975] [982] 1. We others, we have the custom of making a meal in honor of the soul. 2. We offer libations to the souls. 3. At night we have the custom of digging (the grave). 4. Then we have the custom of coming to burn (the clothes of the dead person). 5. We have the custom of burning the clothes of the soul. 6. Let us go burn these clothes. 7. Let us light the fire. 8. We burn only the clothes.

Remarks

In this short account the informant summarizes several funeral practices of the Uru. At first it is the evening of the funeral, during which relatives and friends eat in honor of the dead person (1) to whom libations of alcohol, chicha, and coca are offered (2). After the burial, without a coffin, in a simple ditch dug during the night (3), and which will not subsequently be marked by anything, the clothes of the dead person are burned.

*539 964 191

These practices are very different from those of the other natives of the Cordillera, speakers of Aymara or Kelwa, who gather several days after the burial to wash the dead man's clothes and divide them up. The customs of the Uru recall those of numerous Amazonian groups.

The complete abandonment of the grave after burial must also be noted; it contrasts with the care which other populations of the Cordillera give to graves.

*539 101 193

1. uṯ̃úmi; this is the personal pronoun of the first person plural, with the exclusive meaning "we others, the Urus."

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 23]

Carangas-
Cipaya

/393 cont./

764 with her spoon and other effects. This is the fate which the earthly goods left by the Čipaya undergo, and the charred remains of their holdings are piled up beside the enclosure where their body re-
[159] poses. The husband gave out a few more tears near the tomb and returned home, escorted by a large number of individuals who
• 765 came to take their share of the funerary feast. The widower's family had been occupied with it since morning and had slaughtered two sheep and put enormous kettles full of quinua pulp on the fire.
[171] Among the Čipaya as among the Aymara, mourning obligations force the survivors to make considerable sacrifices and to dissipate their meager capital.

Passing near the hut of the widower this same evening, I saw him with one of his children on his back and the other near
[150] him busy preparing his dinner. On /394/ seeing me he let out some moans, too modulated to be the expression of any sentiment. This was the last evidence of regret that the dead woman received. From the next day on she was forgotten, and the village, disturbed for a moment, sank back into silence and indifference.

Myths and tales

121 The stay that I made among the Čipaya was dedicated in large part to gathering as many elements as possible of their agonizing language. In the hope of being able to make a grammar out of it, I busied myself as much as possible with assembling expressions, phrases, and coherent narrative. Accomplishing
[191] this task was not always easy for me. The Čipaya know only Aymara outside their own language and, with the exception of the corregidor and two or three young people, do not know a word
[124] of Spanish. In order to be able to deal with them, I almost always had to have recourse to my Aymara interpreter, and the impossibility which often arose of being able to communicate

/87 cont./
771 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[772] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of
black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders
with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B
/see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching
the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
771 tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
331 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste
of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls
are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this
region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the
simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).
256 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro
women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present
any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is,
[618] unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans,
a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, K-ako,
[810] Kama, and Kolpa. The group is also divided into two moities:
aman-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ʔaʔai
and xanaʔa. These may be translated by their Aymara equiva-
622 lents: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as
693 the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is
derived from the word which designates this ornament (xanatʔoʔoa:
"wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (ʔaqk ʔapu)
who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).
771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I
could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of
paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

776 cont. They are as good and as bad
777 Catholics as the Aymara, and the little church constructed in the
771 center of the village is the type which is prevalent on the high
plateau. The pagan practices to which they are given seem
to be the same as those of the Aymara.

776 The Pačamama, or "Earth-mother," is their principal
[771] divinity, as everywhere else on the high plateau. They also
spoke to me about maĭku and samiri although I was not able to
obtain anything specific or any details about the cult rendered
them. I noticed on the wall near the entry of all the huts a spot
of blood, a reminder of the sacrifice which had been made to
the local spirit at the moment when the house was covered with
its roof. A pile of potatoes which had just been grubbed up was
surmounted with a straw cross, a bottle of alcohol, and some
coca leaves; these were, no doubt, offerings made to the
Pačamama.

778 An old Indian man dictated to me several of the prayers
779 addressed to this divinity on different occasions. She is spoken
of as maĭku, i.e., "chief," as in Chipaya. Here are the
prayers:

Samtha Maĭkuwa	pŭnaŭa	Ťaĭsma.
Holy Divinity	come	let us offer up libation.

Ťŭŭa	ni koka	samtha	taŭa.
Here is	this coca	Holy One	I will give.

K'ŭoina	koka	taki.
Potato	coca	I give.

Ilama (c)	taŭa	Samtha	Maĭku.
Llama	I will give	Holy	Divinity.

773 Mythology. I was able to gather fragments of an old
[771] myth at Arosaqui, of which I possess a more complete version
which was narrated by the Chipaya. "In former times there was

/113 cont./

Christian for at least 300 years. and that they are today in a truly sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously. Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My documents have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal°ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); $\underline{\check{c}}$ corresponds to the Spanish "ch," $\underline{\check{s}}$ to the French "ch," $\underline{\check{j}}$ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and $\underline{l'}$ is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign $\underline{k^x}$ is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel $\underline{e}$ is a very open e close to a closed $\underline{a}$.

/325/

The Religion

Preliminary Remarks

Aymara and Spanish influence. The Čipaya /Chipaya/ have probably been Catholic for a very long time. I do not know the date when they were converted but I presume it to have been a long time ago. It is possible that their conversion to Christianity took place at the time when a priest came to settle at Corque, perhaps at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The churches of the neighboring Aymara villages were doubtless already in existence in the eighteenth century and perhaps even in the seventeenth. The one that stands in the middle of the Čipaya clans can hardly be more than 50 years old. The Indians were incapable of giving me information on this subject, as was the curé of Huachacalla on whom the Čipaya depend. These Indians are totally ignorant of all religious doctrine, for only once ayear, in June, do they receive a visit from their spiritual shepherd, who has nothing more pressing than to leave this desolate region and this wretched flock. The Čipaya nevertheless insist on celebrating their marriages or the birth of their children at the church; in each of these circumstances they undertake the trip to Huachacalla.

The religion of the Čipaya is essentially pagan as you will be convinced upon reading the following chapters. The relative isolation of this Uro tribe, the often superficial work of the first Spanish missionaries, the worthlessness and lack of zeal of the modern Bolivian clergy have contributed in different degrees to the preservation of the beliefs and practices of the pre-Columbian epoch in this lost village. So many causes must have favored the persistence of the past that it is difficult to explain to oneself /326/ the number of Christian elements which are mingled with the ancient rites. The whole way of life of this fossilized people would make one think

/326 cont./

[171] [177] [782] [916] them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism. But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Sometimes even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

796 [177] There would be little required for certain festivals, such as those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous esslesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed [944] hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character [576] must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The 796 554 177 president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez, "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

177 Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study [943] of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

/326 cont./

179 mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of
192 Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the
[191] Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even
179 Kičua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last de-
188 tail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

179 Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not
533 impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence.
[191] The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

174 The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly
191 recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century.
[191] They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence.
On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the
171 great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Ay-
174 mara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

/334 cont./

The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play a foremost role in the religious life of the Čipaya. The majority of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku, he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /335/ of the pagan religion of the Čipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the sands of the puna. The pit is housed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a yareta.

The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The Čipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent to konopa, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).

1. On the konopa, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Latcham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 55-62, may be consulted.

[17th Century]

[175] [361] [103] [648] /36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

[797] ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town....

[791] [147] [142] [308] [181] Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake....They are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

[101] [131] In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Simillake.

[423] [489] [926] ...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

[175] [72]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1001) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

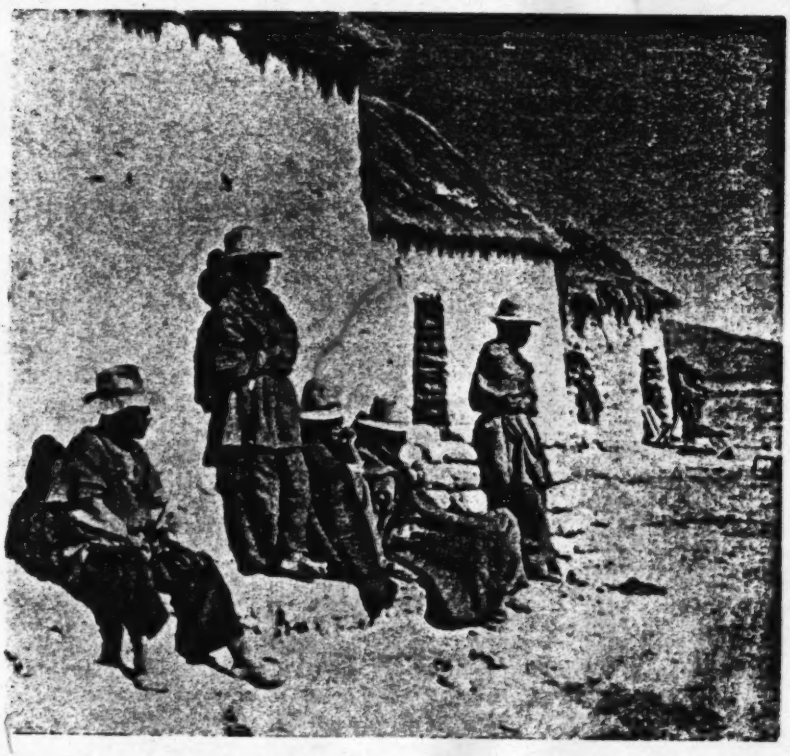
The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characterstic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally



Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on P. 219]

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *mallcus;* the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.[29] The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Ṫuintatito* (= Aymara *Ṫunupa?*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotsamptñi* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Tukun-wawa-samptñi* (the goddess of the Lake), *Pačani-samptñi-maḷku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *maḷku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kalwari-čiči* (god of potatoes), *Kjoni-samptñi* (god of the earth) and *Samptñi-maḷku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uro est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,[30] however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

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[29] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprizingly, believe in the superstition of "three-on-a-match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper reserves and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps; for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

[30] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya: "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanacu fell down."

188 cont. / They are as good and as bad
771 Catholics as the Aymara, and the little church constructed in the
171 center of the village is the type which is prevalent on the high plateau. The pagan practices to which they are given seem to be the same as those of the Aymara.

776 The Pačamama, or "Earth-mother," is their principal
[171] divinity, as everywhere else on the high plateau. They also spoke to me about mal'ku and samiri although I was not able to obtain anything specific or any details about the cult rendered them. I noticed on the wall near the entry of all the huts a spot
[782] of blood, a reminder of the sacrifice which had been made to
342 the local spirit at the moment when the house was covered with its roof. A pile of potatoes which had just been grubbed up was
[782] surmounted with a straw cross, a bottle of alcohol, and some coca leaves; these were, no doubt, offerings made to the Pačamama.

782 An old Indian man dictated to me several of the prayers
539 addressed to this divinity on different occasions. She is spoken of as mal'ku, i.e., "chief," as in Chipaya. Here are the prayers:

Samtña Mal'kwa	pičnača	čal'tama.
Holy Divinity	come	let us offer up libation.

Tiča	ti koka	samtña	tača.
Here is	this coca	Holy One	I will give.

K^{w}išk'ina	koka	taki.
Potato	coca	I give.

Xuala (ρ)	tača	Samtña	Mal'ku.
Llama	I will give	Holy	Divinity.

773 Mythology. I was able to gather fragments of an old
[171] myth at Ancoaqui, of which I possess a more complete version which was narrated by the Čipaya. "In former times there was

/88 cont./
773 a cataclysm which annihilated all of humanity with the exception of the Uro. This explains why they speak a different language than the other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its church existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky the church and Tiahuanacu melted." The vestiges of the old myth which 273 539 Betanzos (1) has preserved for us are recognizable here.

[113]

1. Betanzos (Juan Diez de), "Historia de los Incas y Conquista del Peru /History of the Incas and the Conquest of Peru/," Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru, (Lima, 1924), Vol. 8, second series, pp. 82-83.

Tuki	pača	(čamak tiempo)	šoñi	ekanštinnakčai
Former times		former times	people	have remained

toksanakaki	estansias	tiksi	ekanastkalačai
people of the others	"estancias"	they died	we have remained

nekstal	ti	čiaki	sisasučai.
then	this	language	we know.

157 /89/ Disposition. In disposition and nature the Uro are
[609] as sombre as the Aymara. A stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold and slightly hostile reception. To this ill-will is added the unhealthy rapacity shown by the Aymara and the Bolivians, besides the apathy and that heaviness of spirit which makes the Indian highlander frankly so odious. I am not, how- 155 648 ever, unaware of the causes of the mental atrophy of the Bolivian Indian; the Uro have not escaped the brutalities and exploitation of their Spanish masters, nor that of their even

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/394 cont./

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The few tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

/395 cont./ I do not

think that they must be considered as belonging to the Čipaya, and for two or three of them an Aymara origin is evident. It must be added that outside their language the Čipaya do not possess any original cultural element, and that they should be considered as an Aymara tribe which has more or less escaped Spanish influence.

These texts, the first to have been collected in the Čipaya dialect, are long enough to allow us to extract several grammatical rules from them. The information which they bring us on this point will be completed by the everyday phrases which will be published at the same time as my Uro-Čipaya dictionary. /The myths and texts, pp. 395-415, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Chipaya

feed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner. 782

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances. 778 825

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulas with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor. 231 782

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar. 236 782 532

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the *yatiri*. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body. 755 756 [753]

Divination is practised by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves. 787

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by *Métraux* (1935 c, pp. 395–415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology. 538 [171] 793

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Bertonio, 1879 b; Bristow, 1890; Chamberlain, 1910; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1925–27; Ehrenreich, 1905; Forbes, 1870; La Barre, 1941; La Grasserie, 1894; Latcham, 1910; Métraux, 1934 c, 1935 b, 1935 c, 1936 a, 1936 b, 1936 c; Ore, 1607; Polo, 1901; Posnansky, 1934; Rivet, 1925–27; Uhle, 1896; Vásquez de Espinosa, 1942. 113

8:Fain T-8 (ca.1954) 1965
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of information: "the Incas refused to teach them the sun-worship, being content to receive a tribute of fish and baskets", and elsewhere it is said that either from a hygienic standpoint, or to occupy their leisure moments, the Incas demanded yearly a reed filled with lice. Threehundred and fifty years later, the situation has remained unchanged. Their secret mythology, which Professor VELLARD has studied, is extremely nebulous and confused. The Uru consider themselves to be the first race of pre-humans whose blood is not red. They had long legs, long heads and they never suffered from the cold or damp of the lake. There followed successive creations intermingled with cataclysms, far from the sun's rays, and a deluge; among all the peoples only the Uru, the Kaote-ake, the People of the Lake, survived, but subsequently other races appeared, the Wone-ake, who cultivated the earth and were their enemies, and who vanquished them.

(81) The Uru appear from earliest times to have been an accursed race, an unfortunate people forever oppressed, taking refuge in a form of passive hostility. „They are brute beasts", remarks Father ACOSTA in

[113] 2) See Review in the corresponding section of this issue.
3) See also: VELLARD, JEHAN: *Divan et Parlade des Andes, Les Oeuvres*. Paris, Editions Emile-Paul, 1954.

[p. 303-C]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

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[39] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprisingly, believe in the superstition of "three on a match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper mines and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps; for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

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9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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We the Kjotuxtö [q'uloköt, from Aymará q'ota, "lake", and Uru Juki, "men people"]* are the oldest on this earth. A long time we were here, before when the sun was hidden.

Here where you see the mill, in the time of our *Ankichis* [ancestors], everywhere there was water with many fish; many rivers rose and flowed. Then our nation was large and happy.

Before the Sun hid himself for a long time we were in this place. Then the Kollas [Aymárs] came, despoiling us of our lands; they used our bodies for *Kjuchas* [fiesta, human sacrifice] when they laid the foundations of their temples.

When the Lake dried up we came out in search of food and thus encountered the Aymárs.

Before *Cumuk-pata* [Aymará, "time or epoch of darkness"] Tiphuanuco was built.

We have built our houses where our ancestors lived. The broken pots of many colors, and *tupus* [copper pins] you find when plowing the ground, belong to them.

Métraux recorded in Quechúa at Oruro a myth which tells of the tricking of the armadillo by the fox, who misled him concerning a fiesta; hence (say the Uru) the muscle of the armadillo is uneven on his neck and shoulders. Most of the Uru-Chipaya tales were learned from the Aymárs.

Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes. Small children own property which cannot be sold without their consent; when a little girl refused to sell me a small cloth, in spite of my offering what must have appeared a fabulous sum, that was the end of it.

In greeting a white man on the road, the Uru, like the Aymárs address him as *Wirucucha*, "sir," or *kawai* "mister."

The Pleiades are called *kawkawa*, Venus *tsuk-kala* ("big-I"), the Milky Way *tata-tikitai* (from *tika* "road"?) and another constellation *tuxutuxu*; a comet is called *mallala* (from the Aymará).

* Not, as Posnansky supposes, from the Aymará *uchi*, "pure." The meaning "men" is again obvious from the reference in the second paragraph. Further, the phoneme *l* is lacking in Aymará.

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IX. Funeral Customs
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 187 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. We others, we have the custom of making a meal in honor of the soul. 2. We offer libations to the souls. 3. At night we have the custom of digging (the grave). 4. Then we have the custom of coming to burn (the clothes of the dead person). 5. We have the custom of burning the clothes of the soul. 6. Let us go burn these clothes. 7. Let us light the fire. 8. We burn only the clothes.

Remarks

In this short account the informant summarizes several funeral practices of the Uru. At first it is the evening of the funeral, during which relatives and friends eat in honor of the dead person (1) to whom libations of alcohol, chicha, and coca are offered (2). After the burial, without a coffin, in a simple ditch dug during the night (3), and which will not subsequently be marked by anything, the clothes of the dead person are burned.

These practices are very different from those of the other natives of the Cordillera, speakers of Aymara or Kečwa, who gather several days after the burial to wash the dead man's clothes and divide them up. The customs of the Uru recall those of numerous Amazonian groups.

The complete abandonment of the grave after burial must also be noted; it contrasts with the care which other populations of the Cordillera give to graves.

1. ukómi; this is the personal pronoun of the first person plural, with the exclusive meaning "we others, the Urus."

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 23]

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*539 101 114 Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the *539 192 name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant [175] also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which [193] is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkíčay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ču followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

*539 124

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: [276] The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give [273] thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking). [126] 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

188 cont. / They are as good and as bad
771/ Catholics as the Aymara, and the little church constructed in the
171 center of the village is the type which is prevalent on the high plateau. The pagan practices to which they are given seem to be the same as those of the Aymara.

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Holy Divinity		come	let us offer up libation.
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	K'išKina	koka	taki.
	Potato	coca	I give.
Xuala (ρ)	tača	Samtña	Mal'ku.
Llama	I will give	Holy	Divinity.

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[171] myth at Ancoaqui, of which I possess a more complete version which was narrated by the Čipaya. "In former times there was

/121 cont./

621 616 614 not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality [368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

342 343 Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are 361 grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long, [363] more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

351 The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts [171] so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this [176] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

/326 cont./

[177] them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism.
177 But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or
[182] demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Some-
[176] times even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

796 There would be little required for certain festivals, such as
177 those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous esslesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed [194] hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character [516] must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The 796 president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez, 554 "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard 177 (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

177 Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study [192] of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

/327 cont./

consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerónimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku, Kemperani-mal'ku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, and their church tower (Turi-mal'ku).

The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio mal'ku, and by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

/328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumaries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Čipaya.

The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that of Virxina, which they make follow the word for earth (taika). Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

/328 cont./

addressed soely to her person. The homage rendered her is associated with the festivals celebrated in honor of demons, sacred stones (samiri), and San Jerónimo.

It is for the Pača-mama that candies are put in the hollow at the foot of the effigy of the demon "to sweeten her," and for her also plants thrust into a lump of tallow are buried and animals molded in tallow offered, no doubt, to the demons.

The mal'ku. The Aymara word mal'ku, which in Bertonio's dictionary (1) is translated "chief," "señor de Vassallos /lord of vassals/," has a more extended meaning today and expresses a notion of a religious order. In the Aymara texts which constitute the oral ritual of the Čipaya, the qualifier or title of mal'ku is bestowed upon the Earth-mother, the Lauca River, certain mountain peaks, and the church tower. This same word is joined to diverse proper names borne by some curious monuments that the Čipaya hold in great veneration. These are cones of earth from 1.20 to 1.70 meters high, nine of which stand around the village within a radius of five to 15 kilometers. They are constructed like the Čipaya houses of champas, i.e. clods cut out of the sod and placed in such a way as to form a compact mass which is covered with a whitish coating (Pl. XI, A /see p. 132/). All these monuments have a small cellar at their base carefully closed with a plug of earth; the Indians bury the offerings they make to the demon of the place there. On one of the cones a niche oriented toward the east replaced /329/ the cellar. These monuments are sometimes supported by an oval platform about one meter high. Beside the cone, which occupies the central part of the platform,

1. Bertonio (F. Ludovico). Vocabulario de la lengua aymará /Vocabulary of The Aymara Language/ (Reissued by J. Platzmann). Second part. Leipzig, 1879. p. 220.

/329 cont./

*1178 there is generally a small oratory or altar with a niche, where the
782 Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries, where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes every Čipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration of the ceremony the Indians burn khoa there, a resinous plant which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

*1178 In the mind of the Čipaya these cones of earth are "statues" representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were designated to me when I heard about them for the first time. "These are," the interpreter translated, "bultos a manera de hombres
[552] /busts in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a name (Čunkirini, Korisančuri, Kemperani, Kant, Kilimint, Kusil'er, Kusil'awari, Estewan, Waxma, etc.), and if the majority of these names are Čipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of
[1170] the saya tuanta is called Estewan, or Stephen (1). When I asked the
[1176]

1. I am tempted to see in the Kiliment (o) mal'ku a demon whose Spanish name, Clemento, has been indianized.

recognized officiant of the saya tuanta about the nature and attributes of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied to me that they were spirits who crossed the puna disguised as white men dressed in a tunic (ira) of the same color, and with a large hat on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

[616] Each saya has its own mal'ku near which it acquits itself, i.e.,
[621] makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the
[982] Kemperani mal'ku) constructed at the boundary of the sayas, which is worshiped by the whole tribe.

*1178 These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous
1174 waka (huaca) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

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/329 cont./
destroying in the villages of the ancient Peruvian empire. The word waka is moreover the equivalent of mal'ku and is also difficult to translate exactly. This difficulty arises from the fact that the demons of the popular Peruvian religion and of modern Čipaya folklore are not very individualized and hard to disengage from the sacred object itself. I am even led to believe that the Indians had only a very vague idea of a spiritual being who was the counterpart of their waka. I will not go so far, however, as to say that the notion of spirit was foreign to the representation which the natives made for themselves out of stones or trees, which they worshiped under the name of waka. /330/ Everything seems to indicate that these sacred objects were considered in themselves as provided with a certain individuality and life. It cannot be otherwise, for wives and children (1) are often attributed to them. This is pre-

1. Santillán (Licenciado Fernando de). "Relación del Origen, Descendencia Politica, y Gobierno de los Incas /Account of the Origin, Political Development, and Government of the Incas/," in Tres Relaciones de Antigüedades peruanas /Three Accounts of Ancient Times in Peru/, published by M. Jiménez de la Espada. Madrid, 1879, p. 33: "Some (huacas) are worshiped as men and others as women and they express their devotion to each one by a kind of necessity." /Cited in Spanish./
Arriaga (F. Pablo Joseph de), Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru. (Reprint, facsimile of the original edition of 1621). Buenos Aires, 1910, p. 12: "others have diverse figures of men or women, and some of these

2:Métraux--38 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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/330 cont./

huacas are said to be children or wives of other huacas." /Cited in Spanish./ Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Accounts of the Indians/, Vol. I, p. 75: "and it was so much the practice of these people that there was no idol to whom they did not give a wife and children." /Cited in Spanish./

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cisely the case with the Čipaya mal'ku. In prayers their name is often repeated two times, the first time followed by the word mal'ku and the second time by the epithet tal'a. The latter was explained to me by the Čipaya themselves as designating the wife of the mal'ku. This assertion is accurate because we find in Bertonio's dictionary (2) the word "Ttalla Ccaprhomi: wife of the

2. Bertonio. Vocabulario de la lengua aymará, p. 347.

chief man of the town, and the lower relatives of the maycos." /Cited in Spanish./ If the word mal'ku, "chief," finally took on the meaning of "demon," "spirit," it is natural that the word tal'a, "wife of the chief," "noblewoman," should have acquired the sense of "female demon." The mal'ku who are symbolized by these monuments or who are these very monuments personified are hence conceived of as forming a couple. The word pokara, which often follows the word mal'ku in Čipaya prayers, is, it appears, a synonym of mal'ku. The meaning and origin of this term are unknown to me; I am inclined to believe that it is not Aymara but Uro. In this case it would have the meaning "demon," "spirit." Hence the Čipaya church tower is called hača pokara, "great mal'ku."

/338 cont./

*1178 The mountains (1). In their prayers the Čipaya invoke the

1. On the worship of mountains in the ancient Peruvian empire, consult Jijón y Caamaño, La religion del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 328-342.

mountains on their horizon in general and certain summits, such [133] as the Sajama, in particular. The latter is the most sacred of all, for from it comes the Lauca River which fertilizes the wretched Chipaya plain. The Indians relate that there lived in Sajama a spirit (male or female) who made the contents of a pot boil so that steam was seen escaping. Sajama is now an extinct volcano.

[1182] The Lauca River. Like the mountains the Lauca River is a divinity who demands offerings and blood sacrifices. As the Pača-mama has been associated with the Virgin, so the Lauca River has been confused with Maria, who for the Čipaya, it seems, is a personage distinct from the Virgin; this is why the Lauca River is called Santa María Lauca. Its name is followed in a prayer with the double epithet of mal'ku and tal'a. These qualificatives would oblige us to assume that this river is symbolized by a pair of demons or considered in itself as being both male and female. I have not been able to obtain any clarification on this point, all the less so as the Čipaya have very rudimentary if any knowledge of mythology. These contradictory attributes given to the Lauca River perhaps are only an empty form without importance.

[1196] [1182] The Čipaya assured me that they hold a festival each year for the Lauca River. On this occasion one specimen of the three kinds of animals who live in Chipaya is sacrificed to it.

*1178 The sacred sticks. These are not lacking in any Čipaya hut, where they are set against the wall facing the door. The Indians worship them /339/ at home, as they told me, and I actually saw them placing censers at the foot. These sticks, one of which is reproduced here (Pl. XVI, D /see p. 137/), are made of palm-tree

/339 cont./

*1178 wood and come from the forests of eastern Bolivia. The Indians call them by the half-Aymara, half-Spanish word kamana-para,
[191] "house stick." I never saw one in the Aymara huts where I stayed.

Sanctuaries, chapels, and oratories. The Čipaya celebrate their festivals at the foot of the sacred cones of earth, or mal'ku, near the samiris' cellar or in the chapels and the village church. I have already mentioned above the location of the mal'ku in relation to the village, and I have given a complete description of
*1178 them. Hence note must be taken here only of the edifices of a
346 mixed character, i.e., those which are used simultaneously for observances of Christian and pagan worship.

The church falls into this last category. Its belfry is a divinity common to the entire tribe, as the church is situated in the middle of the neutral ground which separates the two saya. Its interior is miserable and does not differ at all from the rural churches in the
[182] rest of Bolivia, unless in its poverty. On the altar are a few images made of pasteboard, which receive blood sacrifices, offerings of
[176] coca, and libations of alcohol and chicha. Exactly as in other Bolivian churches, one finds in this one an unusual number of boxes containing the image of Saint James on his horse, a saint whom the Indians hold in particular veneration and to whom they have given all the attributes and functions of the ancient god of thunder. One sees there also innumerable small terra-cotta bowls, full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns; these little lamps take the place of candles and are given by the faithful.

[614] Each clan has in addition its chapel, built on the same plan as the church but smaller. The interior decoration is almost the same but even more wretched. In front of the chapel a small enclosure is used for gatherings of the faithful when they assemble to drink or feast together in homage to some Christian or pagan divinity. From the Tuanta chapel a line of chapels and little square edifices, which for want of a better word I shall call oratories or altars, extends in a straight line toward the east, or more precisely toward the southeast. These are small cubes of earth topped with a niche

/346 cont./

*796 signal all kneeled again in a row facing east and again recited a brief prayer. They began the same rites before each oratory up to the last chapel situated at the limits of Čipaya territory. Having arrived before this low, narrow hut, men and women entered in turn and prostrated themselves before the altar on which the [796] Officiant had placed the effigy of Saint James, the cross, and the sticks which the worshipers had given him. Some paid homage to the saint with their bags of coca, which they placed at his feet or hung in his niche. Others lit small lamps, if this name can be given to dishes containing tallow and a wick, around him and, kneeling before the saint, held censers toward him or burned grains of copal (1). These signs of reverence were accompanied by

1. The Indians give the name copal (kupala) to a resin which while burning gives off a fragrant smoke. This substance comes from eastern Bolivia.

prayers in Aymara.

A small enclosure continues the chapel to the east. It contains a cross of straw which stands on a crude pedestal of earth and some slabs /347/ serving as tables on which the participants place [796] [273] coca and alcohol which they offer each other. While each family was taking its place at the spot which pleased it and set out coca, a bottle of alcohol, and the drinking cups that play an essential part in the festival on a small cloth, the Officiant and his helper stretched a small tablecloth in front of the cross, on which they placed 36 mugs and two extra ones outside the rug. They poured a little chicha in each of them, and in each one in succession, following a set pattern (a mug on the left, then a mug on the right, and going from bottom to top), dipped three stones, silicious in appearance, two white and one grey. These stones were then placed between the mugs of the lower row at regular intervals. The Officiant moistened small, round, green stones from old,

/351 cont./

*996 [539] "Master of the sky, grant good weather to thy sons this year. Give us sheep, young llamas, piglets and lambs, (increase) the births of our livestock."

Frequently, a single Indian, or still more often a couple, would leave the enclosure and go kneel down a certain distance from the chapel facing east. They would each carry a censor or light a handful of khoa beside themselves. They would remain there about ten minutes, meditatively murmuring invocations to the mal'ku, and then would offer up a libation to them followed by several pinches of coca.

Others would go in the chapel to kneel before Santiago and pray to him. The Officiant beat the drum for several minutes at short intervals, probably with the intention of chasing away the evil spirits who were prowling around thereabouts.

Toward the end of the afternoon two old men, turning toward the north, offered up a libation and an offering of coca to Cerro Sajama, "father of the Lauca River which makes us live," and to the Lauca River itself. Both were given the title of mal'ku (Saxama-mal'ku, Mal'ku-xuna-Saxama, L'auka mal'ku).

[273] As the hours passed spirits revived under the influence of the alcohol which provoked a recrudescence of piety. Libations were offered more frequently, prayers were repeated after shorter and shorter intervals, and xal'al'a burst out at the slightest opportunity.

● [776] They invited each other to offer alcohol to the foster-parent divinities:

[539]

Taki	čulma	č'al'tama	uyuwirinaka	taki.
All	we	offer up libations	foster parents the	for

/352/ And they expressed the wish to gather together again the next year at the same place to drink and offer up libations: Mara kičur(u) hama ("That next year [we offer libations] likewise").

520 /380 cont./ They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and
528 exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations
533 to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.
[711]

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and
[1078] were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

520 The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Čunkirimi-
781 mal'ku, is common to the two saya, was recited in the course of
• 99 this sacrifice:
539

Turi-mal'ku,	Čawk	mal'ku,	Santa Ana,	mal'ku	tuanta,
Tower-demon,	great	demon,	Saint Anne,	demon	east,

taxatištan,	maitiñi,	roktiñi	hasiki
west of	he who obtains,	who prays,	in this moment,

suma,	waino,	tiempo	čmaitišimal'a,	wale,	wale,
good	young	weather	hearken to me,	good,	good,

suma	wata	čmaitišiña	t apa	serwintišta.
good	year	grant us	all	servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuanta and Taxata saya, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

527 The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and ex-
[782] changed their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol. Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred sticks. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

/381 cont./

At sunset taxata, manta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Chipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Pelo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogemous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into noncongamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasions and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymaraized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-*malku*, Kemperani-*malku*, Estewan-*malku*), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Lauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-*malku*). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (*patio-malku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malkus* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Chipaya

paper. Llama fetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The maiku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of mud 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own maiku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety sunini are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant. The cult of the maiku and that of the sunini follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alferes and his wife, who are the [illegible] animals on which the Chipaya depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or sunini stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupules and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulas are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "serution," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the maiku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candles are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alferes and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

They are often ornamented with symbolic markings, and sometimes [illegible] with great care. The flame of the pipe is [illegible] through a mouthpiece of the reed. To make this kind of [illegible] Ojibwa use the curved branches of the sumac [illegible] shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the ayo, a round drum that gives out strange sounds through a hole in the center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy rattle, dull and melancholy. The overall method depends on the size of the drum and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Ojibwa, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Algonkin. The Ojibwa remember bring water from the Lemon River in very large jars, and crying them on their shoulders with the help of an [illegible] braid of bass wood, usually in the common [illegible] shown on ancient Ojibwa vases. From these [illegible] the Ojibwa have made beautiful artificial baskets of straw.

Ojibwa religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic beliefs, is basically the same as that of the Algonkin, although it gradually preserves the pagan aspects to great [illegible]. Professions, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann, a host of spirits called manitous, the Lemon River, the nearby moun-

[P 25 - 8]

Main Comodio J-3 (no desc) 1980 SP54 Un SP54
Chipaya

raise; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Madre Mayor*. The other mallcus are represented by small conical and towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village; in the house, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; cheeses and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *yatiri*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the mallcu cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 28-C]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.[29] The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Ṭuintatito* (= Aymara *Ṭunupa?*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotsamptñi* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Tukun-wawa-samptñi* (the goddess of the Lake), *Pačani-samptñi-maḳku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *maḳku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kalwari-čiči* (god of potatoes), *Kjoni-samptñi* (god of the earth) and *Samptñi-maḳku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uro est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,[30] however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

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[29] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprisingly, believe in the superstition of "three-on-a-match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper reserves and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps; for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

[30] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya: "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanacu fell down."

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

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[For additional information about sacred objects and places, and associated rituals, see category 116, pp. 35-42, 51-54, 72-92, 96-107, 113-120.]

/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Chipaya tales have a small rodent, the toxo (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), promoted to the rank of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 230 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jímenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

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Chipaya
Inca SE13

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/122 cont./

The chapels are surrounded by an enclosure and before the portal stands an oratory or a cross from which emanates a whole series of small chapels and oratories which follow each other in close succession for five or six kilometers. These strings of sacred buildings correspond in every respect to the zeque (1) of Cuzco, the

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1. Ondegardo (Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas /Accounts concerning the Religion and Government of the Incas/, Part I, p. 114: "Many others, men and women, have charge of set huacas, of which particular account is given in the general letter about Cuzco, which is common in the whole realm and includes all the places which are distinguished from the others in some way, whether near the town or even as far away as the mountain peaks, if it is rugged country, and which they call apachetas, such as some large stones, and all the puquios and springs of water, or some level places which they build on some slope, or some specific trees, or the places where they sow the maize for the sacrifices, because all of these things are divided off by their ceques and boundaries around every town and are in the charge of persons who make within them different sacrifices for diverse effects, in some so that women may become pregnant, in others because they say that from them come the ice or the hail, and in others so that it may rain. Thus in this way does the Inca teach them this division of places

I 346 778

/122 cont./ in all that was conquered, charging them greatly with the benefit which they would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 3-43.

U I 346 778 171

succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominiums in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

I 361

U 823 82 [361] [789]

It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

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Chipaya

/327 cont./

consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerónimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku, Kemperani-mal'ku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, and their church tower (Turi-mal'ku).

The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio mal'ku, and by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

/328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumaries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Čipaya.

The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that of Virxina, which they make follow the word for earth (taika). Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

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Modern Quechua SE24
Inca SE13

/334 cont./

The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play a foremost role in the religious life of the Čipaya. The majority of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku, he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /335/ of the pagan religion of the Čipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the sands of the puna. The pit is housed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a yareta.

The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The Čipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent to konopa, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).

1. On the konopa, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Latcham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 55-62, may be consulted.

/368 cont./

*796 A notable detail is that during the whole day a little khoa burned a few meters from the gathering.

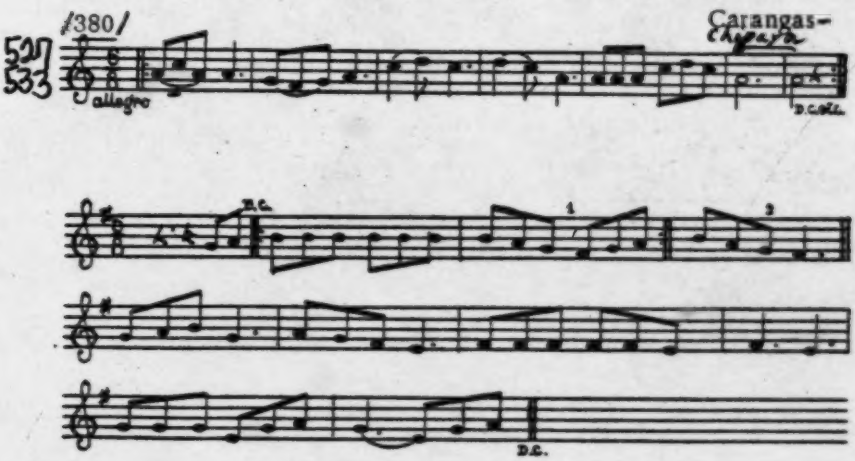
[533 202] The end of the ceremony was announced by the beating of a drum in a special rhythm.

Second day. In the afternoon the alfereza, her son, and an Officiant met in front of their saya's chapel. Not having been alerted, I arrived at the place only at the moment when the latter had finished preparing the mixture destined to be offered as a libation. I have every reason to believe that the ingredients added to the water or to the chicha in the 36 small cupules were the same as in the previous festivals. As usual the Officiant had planted a sacred stick (kaman-para) garnished with a cross in front of him facing east. He offered up the customary libations on his knees. The contents of two phials were poured before the cross that stands about ten meters from the chapel door. The Officiant had put some coca leaves in two cupules probably containing alcohol, before pouring them as a libation in front of his stick. The yatiri, his helper, and two of those present knelt before the carpet and kissed the ground; then the Officiant, getting up, sprinkled the four corners of a little oratory situated near the chapel with chicha. A long prayer was then said, in which Christian names were mingled with those of the mal'ku, and the Officiant headed toward the chapel after having touched the oratory with his stick and kissing it devotedly. The alfereza and her son went to pray on the steps of the chapel, and all began the usual drinking, congratulating and greeting each other.

● [1118]

The alfereza had covered a small table with coca, where all came to help themselves /369/ in turn. Those who took this coca first touched the table with the hand and kissed it as a sign of respect.

*796 437 The assembly, very sparse in the beginning, became more numerous, upon which the market of the alasita took place. The Indians, both men and women, bought from each other small



527 Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most
535 monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection
574 with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to
[616] everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

527 In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed
[718] into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of
[824] straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the
[837] festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

527 The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week.
[533] At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few
[273] madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol
[54] did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not
[171] present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

/380 cont./ They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Čunkirini-mal'ku, is common to the two saya, was recited in the course of this sacrifice:

Turi-mal'ku,	Ťawk	mal'ku,	Santa Ana,	mal'ku	tuanta,
Tower-demon,	great	demon,	Saint Anne,	demon	east,

taxatištan,	maitiñi,	roktiñi	hasiki
west of	he who obtains,	who prays,	in this moment,

suma,	waino,	tiempo	ťmaitišimal'a,	wale,	wale,
good	young	weather	hearken to me,	good,	good,

suma	wata	ťmaitišiña	t apa	serwintišta.
good	year	grant us	all	servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuanta and Taxata saya, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol. Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred sticks. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

2:Métraux--132 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate XI

A.— Indian kneeling before a mal'ku.

B. —Ritual slaughter of a sheep.

C. —Ritual consecration of a llama: libation of alcohol and offering of coca.

D. —Ritual slaughter of a llama.

2:Métraux--134 E-6 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XIII

A. – Festival of the samiri: the alferez and alferesa behind the sacred sheaves.

B. – Festival of Estewan mal'ku: magician offering up a libation; in back, the Estewan mal'ku.

C. – Festival of Estewan mal'ku: magician with his assistant preparing the Cal'a (libation and offerings) destined for the demon whose effigy dripping with blood stands in the background.

D. – Festival of Estewan mal'ku: the kneeling magician receives mugs from the hands of his assistant, the contents of which he offers to the demons.

2:Métraux--135 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas—
Čipaya

Plate XIV

A. — Festival of the Comadres (February 2). Dance around a banner.

B. — Festival of the mal'ku: Indian beating a drum near the effigy of a demon (mal'ku).

C. — Čipaya Indian in prayer before the cupules containing magical substances.

D. — Čipaya Indian in his festival attire (wig, festive slings, etc.).

2:Métraux--137 . E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SFD4 Urs SF24

Plate XVI.

Caranga-Chipaya

A. – Coca bag covered with a sort of "velvet" and used only during festivals.
B. – Festive sling.
C. – Wig worn by the men during festivals.
D. – Sacred stick (kamana-para).
E. – Rope cross hung on the roof of the huts.
F. – Perforated potsherds used as money during the festival of the alasita.

Smithsonian--144 E-5 (1950-1951) 1935, 1936 1954 Uru 1954
Carnegie--
Chipaya

/158 cont./

who mentions them seems to consider them as /158/ indigenous. The smoke escapes through the door, but in some huts, not very many it is true, a hole in the wall facilitates ventilation.

Enormous wool blankets (*tuni*), extremely heavy, take the place of beds. They are warm enough for one to suffice to cover for the night two or three people, who roll themselves in them. At the beginning of the seventeenth century these blankets were in general use on the altiplano. "The bed which the people of the Sierra and the cold lands use," Cobo tells us, "is a large blanket called a *chuni*, which is spread on the ground. One half serves as a mattress and the other, which they pull up from the foot end, as a blanket or sheet. All the inhabitants of one house, fathers and sons, sleep in one blanket, although now under the influence of civilization they are beginning to have separate beds." The present-day Andean Indians sleep on earth benches which are altogether lacking in Chipaya. One might conclude from this that they were unknown in pre-Columbian times and that they are only a crude imitation of European beds.

In some Chipaya huts one can find a wobbly table made of mud bones. The Chipaya use them only as an altar on which to place the heads of sacrificed animals or coca that they offer their guests when they celebrate a festival at home. Outside of these occasions the tables have no use.

Several wooden pegs thrust into the wall serve as pegs for clothes. The few articles to be seen are arranged in niches contrived in the wall or on small shelves of earth shaped like swallows' nests (Fig. 2, *F* *See* p. 156/).

To illuminate the always very dark interior of their huts, the Chipaya have tallow candles or, more frequently, very primitive small lamps: bowls (*tua*), full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns. This apparatus, which gives them only feeble light, has the Spanish name *mecha*, a practically certain indication that the idea came to them from the Creoles.

2.665mss--172 B-9 (1930-1931) 1955, 1958 SFDA Ura SFDA
Caraipe-
Cipaya.

/160/mss./

The aaya tanata (west) owns a very old, very large drum, the only one of its kind in the village; unfortunately, the Indians did not want to sell it to me at any price, alleging that it was the property of the whole community. Its construction was, from what I could see, similar to that of the round tambourine which I have just described. A very special importance devolved on this drum during the festival /161/ /Figure 8 appears here./ /162/ of the Comadres. During the whole day it remained hanging from a flagstaff and was the object, at the same time as the standard, of real worship.

The drum bears in Cipaya the Spanish name caja. We should not conclude from this that the instrument is of Spanish origin among them. Some details at the most are of pre-Columbian origin, but they are not numerous. The "drum cord," for example, is certainly an element added to it in the course of the centuries which followed the conquest. It is possible that for lack of flexible wood to make round drums, the Cipaya were obliged to make them with boards from old boxes and consequently to modify the original type.

Wind instruments.

Trumpets. Cipaya trumpets are of the most rudimentary kind: they are made up of a cow's horn sawed off near the point and of a bell formed of the dried tail of the same quadruped.

Only very rarely did I see the Cipaya make use of this instrument, which makes a hollow sound resembling the lowing of one in the state of having breath of exceptional power. The trumpets which figure in all the festivals play the role of ritual or decorative accessories in them. They are placed in front of the sacred sheaves or on the table in front of the heads of the sacrificed animals. They bear the name /'ɲa/ in Cipaya.

Clarinets (Fig. 8, F /see p. 173/), which like trumpets have a cow horn for a bell, also have a reed mouthpiece from which a small tongue has been cut out and smoothed to make it more flexible, so that it would be easier to play on. It has been raised by means of a string passing under its lower part. It is made to vibrate by

[NEXT Continues on p 174]

Smithsonian--181 E-6 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga:—
Chipaya
Modern Quechua SF24

/188 cont./

Some families still have k'ero, i.e., large wooden mugs (3).

3. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVII. D.

beautiful specimens of which have been recovered in Peru. These vessels come out of their hiding-places only at festival time and are used only for libations of chicha. According with the ancient Inca way, they are always presented in pairs in the same way as the drinking cups of alcohol. The k'ero which I saw in the hands of the Čipaya lack decoration, but the greyish substance which adheres to them is without doubt all that remains of the lacquer which covered the outside surface of it. These pieces are not easy to get, for the Indians consider them of great value and are very attached to them. They assert, perhaps rightly, that they date from the Inca period.

The bowl (umaña) in the bottom of which allama with its young has been modeled (4) is destined to hold the chicha which the

4. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVII. A.

Indians pour out as a libation in honor of the Pachamama when they request fecundity of the herds from her.

No Čipaya but lacks one or two palm-wood sticks with a rope for suspension (5). These sticks (kamana-para) which are the /189/

5. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVI. D.—Among the Quichua of Acomayo, to become manáki or campo it is indispensable to have made "the voyage to the valleys to bring back palms /palmes/ for certain religious ceremonies, such as the promenades after mass on Palm Sunday."

/189 cont./

after mass on Palm Sunday." It is not impossible that the palm /palmier/ wood of the Čipaya corresponds to these "palms" of the Quichua. Cf. Ordóñez (Dr. Pastor), "Los Varayocc." Revista Universitaria. Cuzco, eighth year, No. 29, September, 1919, p. 43.

guardians of the house are worshiped with libations and fumigations. They are also indispensable accessories for the magicians who always plant them before themselves when they are going to make a prayer or a sacrifice to the demons. One must also not forget among the objects used in worship the baked clay censers which are shaped like a footed cup, and the small cupules for libations.

Division of Labor

	Men	Women	
House-building	+	-	
Straw rope	-	+	
Spinning	+	+	
Weaving	-	+	
Weaving with treadle loom	+	-	
Cooking	-	+	
Livestock care	+	+	(preferably the children)
Cheese	-	+	
Milking of the sheep	-	+	
Shearing of the sheep	+	-	
Rope-making	+	-	

*539 /182 cont./ also the Uru do not have any
81 apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/
[918] at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments
[191] are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations.
[150] However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kispe, is very frightened
[829] of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure
Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood.
[848] Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was father-
less, "hána hęp' ǰeš- čay," "no father is," "an illegitimate
son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did
not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be
[916] assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder,
[849] drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which
[848] the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable
proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

*539 From the point of view of vocabulary this text shows the
191 same irregularities as the preceding text by the same informant
192 (V) /see p. 15/ frequent elisions of final vowels: ča instead of
čay; the repeated use (1-7) of wáli, "much," an Aymara form
not found in the texts nor in the numerous phrases gathered
from the other informant. 2. wáli- píni, association of an
Aymara word and an Uru word with the same meaning to rein-
force the idea; we find an analogous case in ti- hún (5), the
Uru-Spanish association already noted. 2. hána Kála či čúña,
"not good good is," association of two words of almost identical
meaning to reinforce the idea: "this is not good at all." 3. The
particle -kála after the verb "to go" has the exact meaning
of ex in Latin, literally exit. 4. The correct form would be
war- tis. 6. háske indicates a very distant fact, an idea still
more strengthened by the suffix -ta, sign of the past: "a very
long time ago."

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

778
782

PLATE 119.—Chipaya sacrificial rites.

[P. 582-G]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-*malku*, Kemperani-*malku*, Estewan-*malku*), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Lluuca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-*malku*). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (*patio-malku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malkus* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The malku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own malku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant.

The cult of the malku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "servaica," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the malku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candles are buried for Pachamama. Khoe, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast *celebrated jointly by* the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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Bertonio, 1879 b; Brinton, 1890; Chamberlain, 1910; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1925–27; Ehrenreich, 1905; Forbes, 1870; La Barre, 1941; La Grasserie, 1894; Lehmann, 1910; Métraux, 1934 c, 1935 b, 1935 c, 1936 a, 1936 b, 1936 c; Ore, 1607; Polo, 1901; Posnansky, 1934; Rivet, 1925–27; Uhle, 1896; Vásquez de Espinosa, 1942.

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca.1956) 1957 SP24 Uru SP24
Chipaya

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Indigenista

Población Chipaya del Altiplano boliviano.—*Foto Instituto Lingüístico de Verano de Bolivia.*

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[title page]

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characterstic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally

Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on p. 219]

7:Luis Camacho J-3 (no data) 1960 SP24 Uxu SP24

[P. 20-A]

Chipaya

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Chipaya woman

Below: Chipaya sacrificial sites

Felicia Camacho J-8 (no date) 1980 SP94 Un SP94
Chipaya

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the tola shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *wallatas*; the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P.22-B]

Luis Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SP24 Uru SP24
Chipaya

taina; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Mallcu Mayor*. The other *mallcus* are represented by small conical sod towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; chuno and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *yatiri*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and ill-treated, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.

Professor Vellard had arranged with KENNETH WASSON, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, JORGE ROJAS and AUGUSTO ROCA, and a young professor, RICHARD ARBELOT was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14.000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one sunny winter morning.

Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brazil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

[p. 304-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

calling themselves "Bukina" or "Pukina," which agrees with the synonymy of Ehrenreich, Hervas, *et al.* The "*Urequillas*" of the early chroniclers appears to have meant the Uru; but Chamberlain's "Urinsaya" is the name of a *moiety*, not of the tribe, and is moreover an Aymará word.

Bertonio, a missionary of the late 16th century, gives the Aymará name, probably opprobrious, "*Kiuchacatati:* Big-livered [People], Nickname of the Puquinas." Chamberlain notes the Quechua name for the Uru as *Yuracare*, but Mossi says their Quechua designation is *Urocalla*. Paredes says the Aymára call the Uru "*Chancumanakheris*" [etymologized by my interpreter as *čanku-manq'eri*, lit. "water-*kalcko*-eaters," i.e. eaters of the water-plants of the genera *Myriophyllum*, *Potomogeton*, *Cladophora*, *Elodea*, and *Chara*] or "Chancu." The tradition was that their ancestors were brought from the Pacific coast by the great Colla or Aymára conqueror, Tacuilla, but the Aymára say that the "*achachila*" or place-deity of the Uru is the swamp itself, much as Mt. Illimani is the place-deity of the Aymára in its region. Neveu-Lemaire[102] says that the Uru were the group from whom the Inca exacted the famous tribute of lice.

Posnansky notes several place-names—Urubamba, Urupampa, Urmiri, Urucollo, Uru-Uru (Oruro), and others—which he believes incorporate the name Uru, but these are etymologizable in Aymará, in which language "uru" means "day," or according to some authorities "worm."[103] Polo suggests the implausible etymology from "uri" (Aymará "unconquered, brave"); but in the 17th century "uro" or "uru" seems to have been in current use in the sense of "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. A punning proverb, "De indio Uro ningun hombre esta seguro" ("No man is safe from an Uru Indian"), appears to testify to the treachery of an incompletely subjected minority.

Temperament. The temperament of the Uru has been spoken of in no very flattering terms by all who have known them. Acosta said that they were so brutish as not even to have considered themselves human: "Son estos *Uros* tan brutales que ellos mismos no se tienen por hombres." Garcilaso de la Vega called them "rudos y torpes," rude and stupid. Even the

[102] Neveu-Lemaire, *Les Lagos, LX–LXI;* this authority also says that the name of the Departamento of Oruro and its capital city in Bolivia comes from the reduplication "Uru-uru." Other authorities in this paragraph not heretofore listed: Arturo Posnansky, *Antropología y Sociología de las Razas Interandinas y de las Regiones Adyacentes* (La Paz, 1937), p. 59; Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara*, Juli (Chucuito) [Peru] 2 vols. 1612 [facsimile edition, J. Platzmann, Leipzig 1869] vol. 2, p. 301; Honorio Mossi, *Diccionario Quechua* (Sucre, 1860); Rigoberto Paredes, *Mitos, Supersticiones y Supervivencias Populares de Bolivia*, 2nd ed. (La Paz, 1936), p. 23.

[103] In connection with the meaning "day" see the myth in Métraux JSAP 27: 305 ff.

/342 cont./

He lived far from the tribe in a place called Yunguyo. He was never seen in the village. He appeared only for the festivals, strangely dressed and reciting his prayers without stop, kneeling, rising, and offering libations with a half-comical, half-magic pomposity. He was treated with a certain respect due to his art, and I believe that the Čipaya insisted on having him with them during all their festivals no matter how small. He animated them and gave them the religious character which they would often have lacked without him.

/343/ Anacleto Mullo, of whom I previously spoke, was the most intelligent of all the Čipaya with whom I had dealings. His small, lively eyes sparkled with a mocking gleam, and he never missed an opportunity to tell a joke, even an improper one. His facial mobility was such that he could immediately abandon his jovial air to take on a grave and serious expression, as if he were the most respectable of men.

Festivals and Rites

The taking of office of the new authorities (January 1).

The first of January, the day on which the transmission of powers is carried out in Chipaya, is the occasion of a festival, the only one in which only rare pagan elements are mingled. I shall mention a few of its details which illustrate the attitude of the Čipaya toward the Catholic religion. That morning the small church of the tribe had been abundantly lighted; lamps or tallow candles were burning on all the altars and fragrant smoke was rising from all the censers. The outgoing alcaldes had gathered beside their successors near the altar, and a kind of sacristan was fumigating them copiously. Some women squatting behind the men were sobbing and sighing as though their hearts were broken. They were only quiet when small baked clay llamas which they had placed on the altar were distributed; they kissed them and fondled

188 cont.1 They are as good and as bad
771 Catholics as the Aymara, and the little church constructed in the
171 center of the village is the type which is prevalent on the high plateau. The pagan practices to which they are given seem to be the same as those of the Aymara.

776 The Pačamama, or "Earth-mother," is their principal
[171] divinity, as everywhere else on the high plateau. They also spoke to me about mal'ku and samiri although I was not able to obtain anything specific or any details about the cult rendered them. I noticed on the wall near the entry of all the huts a spot
[172] of blood, a reminder of the sacrifice which had been made to the local spirit at the moment when the house was covered with its roof. A pile of potatoes which had just been grubbed up was
[173] surmounted with a straw cross, a bottle of alcohol, and some coca leaves; these were, no doubt, offerings made to the Pačamama.

782 An old Indian man dictated to me several of the prayers
539 addressed to this divinity on different occasions. She is spoken of as mal'ku, i.e., "chief," as in Chipaya. Here are the prayers:

Samtña Mal'kwa	pičnaČa	Čal'tama.
Holy Divinity	come	let us offer up libation.

Tiča	ti koka	samtña	tača.
Here is	this coca	Holy One	I will give.

K'ičkina	koka	tabi.
Potato	coca	I give.

Xuaia (ρ)	tača	Samtña	Mal'ku.
Llama	I will give	Holy	Divinity.

773 Mythology. I was able to gather fragments of an old
[171] myth at Ancoaqui, of which I possess a more complete version which was narrated by the Čipaya. "In former times there was

●[92]

(For additional, scattered information about acts of propitiation performed in the course of rituals or extended religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 81-138.)

Carangas-
Chipaya

/110 cont./

No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly was credited to it there can be no doubt that Cipaya mythology would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the Carangas deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness: "there have plains where we live," such is the expression which most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an impression of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes in a pale strobe.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous without the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Cipaya worship, is not visible from the village itself, Cerro Camacho hiding it from sight.

The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina) (Phoenicopterus andinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly disdained by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining themselves in red against the brilliant blue of the pure sky. The Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of flamingo eggs threaded together.

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/122 cont./

in all that was conquered, charging them greatly with the benefit which they would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 3-43.

succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominions in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

/326 cont./

[177] them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism.
177 But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or
[177] demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Some-
[176] times even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

796 There would be little required for certain festivals, such as
177 those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous esslesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed
[194] hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character
[576] must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The
796 president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez,
554 "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard
177 (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

177 Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study
[192] of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

/327 cont./

[171 174] consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

[176 178] Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerónimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku, Kemperani-mal'ku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, and their church tower (Turi-mal'ku).

[178 825] The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio mal'ku, and by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

[182] /328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumaries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Čipaya.

[177] The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that of Virxina, which they make follow the word for earth (taika).

[183] Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

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addressed soely to her person. The homage rendered her is associated with the festivals celebrated in honor of demons, sacred stones (samiri), and San Jerónimo.

It is for the Pača-mama that candies are put in the hollow at the foot of the effigy of the demon "to sweeten her," and for her also plants thrust into a lump of tallow are buried and animals molded in tallow offered, no doubt, to the demons.

The mal'ku. The Aymara word mal'ku, which in Bertonio's dictionary (1) is translated "chief," "señor de Vassallos /lord of vassals/," has a more extended meaning today and expresses a notion of a religious order. In the Aymara texts which constitute the oral ritual of the Čipaya, the qualifier or title of mal'ku is bestowed upon the Earth-mother, the Lauca River, certain mountain peaks, and the church tower. This same word is joined to diverse proper names borne by some curious monuments that the Čipaya hold in great veneration. These are cones of earth from 1.20 to 1.70 meters high, nine of which stand around the village within a radius of five to 15 kilometers. They are constructed like the Čipaya houses of champas, i.e. clods cut out of the sod and placed in such a way as to form a compact mass which is covered with a whitish coating (Pl. XI, A /see p. 132/). All these monuments have a small cellar at their base carefully closed with a plug of earth; the Indians bury the offerings they make to the demon of the place there. On one of the cones a niche oriented toward the east replaced /329/ the cellar. These monuments are sometimes supported by an oval platform about one meter high. Beside the cone, which occupies the central part of the platform,

1. Bertonio (F. Ludovico). Vocabulario de la lengua aymará /Vocabulary of The Aymara Language/ (Reissued by J. Platzmann). Second part. Leipzig, 1879. p. 220.

/329 cont./

there is generally a small oratory or altar with a niche, where the Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries, where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes every Čipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration of the ceremony the Indians burn khoa there, a resinous plant which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

In the mind of the Čipaya these cones of earth are "statues" representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were designated to me when I heard about them for the first time. "These are," the interpreter translated, "bultos a manera de hombres /busts in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a name (Čunkirini, KorisanČuri, Kemperani, Kant, Kilimint, Kusil'er, Kusil'awari, Estewan, Waxma, etc.), and if the majority of these names are Čipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of the saya tuanta is called Estewan, or Stephen (1). When I asked the

1. I am tempted to see in the Kiliment (o) mal'ku a demon whose Spanish name, Clemente, has been indianized.

recognized officiant of the saya tuanta about the nature and attributes of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied to me that they were spirits who crossed the puna disguised as white men dressed in a tunic (ira) of the same color, and with a large hat on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

Each saya has its own mal'ku near which it acquits itself, i.e., makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the Kemperani mal'ku) constructed at the boundary of the sayas, which is worshiped by the whole tribe.

These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous waka (huaca) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

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Further on (p. 115) the description of a sacrifice made by a Čipaya Indian in honor of a titi-mal'ku, i.e. the wildcat protector of his house will be given. In a hut which served as a storage place in Chipaya, I saw a stuffed hawk, mamani, which was likewise pointed out to me as the mal'ku of the family which owned the hut.

Certain characters in Aymara folklore also bear the epithet mal'ku. Thus the Wasa mal'ku, mysterious protector of wild animals. These examples allow us at present to form a fairly clear idea of the evolution undergone by the word mal'ku and of its present meaning. In the beginning this term denoted pre-eminence, whether it was purely secular and due to social rank or derived from the sacred nature of the object or person thus qualified. The substitution of approximate Spanish equivalents for the ancient native names designating the different degrees of authority has caused the use of the word mal'ku in the sense of chief to disappear. It is only preserved in the language to denote excellence, that which is worthy of respect, and consequently the supernatural and sacred. This evolution has been carried through to its most extreme limit, and today mal'ku can be translated in certain instances by "demon." In some Čipaya prayers the magician calls indiscriminately upon "all the mal'ku"; he invites the "mal'ku" to come eat the pieces of meat which are tossed to them in the air.

/332/ The bibliographical research which I have undertaken has brought me only rare examples of the word mal'ku being attributed to supernatural beings or being invested with the meaning "sacred." The present natives of the Huarochirí region (1) worship

1. Tello (Julio C.) and Miranda (Prospero). "Wallallao. Ceremonias Gentílicas realizadas en la Región Cisandina del Perú Central /Wallallao. Pagan Ceremonies carried out in the Cisandean Region of Central Peru/." Inca. Lima. Vol. I. No. 2. 1923. pp. 475-549. 510. 532. 545.

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The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play a foremost role in the religious life of the Čipaya. The majority of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku, he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /335/ of the pagan religion of the Čipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the sands of the puna. The pit is housed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a yareta.

The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The Čipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent to konopa, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).

1. On the konopa, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Latcham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 55-62, may be consulted.

/338 cont./

*7078 7076 823 [782] The mountains (1). In their prayers the Čipaya invoke the

1. On the worship of mountains in the ancient Peruvian empire, consult Jijón y Caamaño, La religion del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 328-342.

mountains on their horizon in general and certain summits, such [133] as the Sajama, in particular. The latter is the most sacred of all, for from it comes the Lauca River which fertilizes the wretched Chipaya plain. The Indians relate that there lived in Sajama a spirit (male or female) who made the contents of a pot boil so that steam was seen escaping. Sajama is now an extinct volcano.

[782] The Lauca River. Like the mountains the Lauca River is a divinity who demands offerings and blood sacrifices. As the Pačamama has been associated with the Virgin, so the Lauca River has been confused with María, who for the Čipaya, it seems, is a personage distinct from the Virgin; this is why the Lauca River is called Santa María Lauca. Its name is followed in a prayer with the double epithet of mal'ku and tal'a. These qualificatives would oblige us to assume that this river is symbolized by a pair of demons or considered in itself as being both male and female. I have not been able to obtain any clarification on this point, all the less so as the Čipaya have very rudimentary if any knowledge of mythology. These contradictory attributes given to the Lauca River perhaps are only an empty form without importance.

[796] [782] The Čipaya assured me that they hold a festival each year for the Lauca River. On this occasion one specimen of the three kinds of animals who live in Chipaya is sacrificed to it.

*7078 The sacred sticks. These are not lacking in any Čipaya hut, where they are set against the wall facing the door. The Indians worship them /339/ at home, as they told me, and I actually saw them placing censers at the foot. These sticks, one of which is reproduced here (Pl. XVI, D /see p. 137/), are made of palm-tree

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*708 wood and come from the forests of eastern Bolivia. The Indians call them by the half-Aymara, half-Spanish word kamana-para, [191] "house stick." I never saw one in the Aymara huts where I stayed.

Sanctuaries, chapels, and oratories. The Čipaya celebrate their festivals at the foot of the sacred cones of earth, or mal'ku, near the samiris' cellar or in the chapels and the village church. I have already mentioned above the location of the mal'ku in relation to the village, and I have given a complete description of *708 them. Hence note must be taken here only of the edifices of a 346 mixed character, i.e., those which are used simultaneously for observances of Christian and pagan worship.

The church falls into this last category. Its belfry is a divinity common to the entire tribe, as the church is situated in the middle of the neutral ground which separates the two saya. Its interior is miserable and does not differ at all from the rural churches in the rest of Bolivia, unless in its poverty. On the altar are a few images [782] made of pasteboard, which receive blood sacrifices, offerings of [776] coca, and libations of alcohol and chicha. Exactly as in other Bolivian churches, one finds in this one an unusual number of boxes containing the image of Saint James on his horse, a saint whom the Indians hold in particular veneration and to whom they have given all the attributes and functions of the ancient god of thunder. One sees there also innumerable small terra-cotta bowls, full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns; these little lamps take the place of candles and are given by the faithful.

[614] Each clan has in addition its chapel, built on the same plan as the church but smaller. The interior decoration is almost the same but even more wretched. In front of the chapel a small enclosure is used for gatherings of the faithful when they assemble to drink or feast together in homage to some Christian or pagan divinity. From the Tuanta chapel a line of chapels and little square edifices, which for want of a better word I shall call oratories or altars, extends in a straight line toward the east, or more precisely toward the southeast. These are small cubes of earth topped with a niche

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/344 cont./ Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and
622 dancers, stopping in front of each hut to obtain a tribute of alcohol
535 for himself and his troup. In exchange for this gift he gave his
[931] momentary host the privilege of seizing the white banner and
putting himself at the head of the dancers. The end of the day was
[913] only a succession of rounds and drinking which went on until com-
plete exhaustion.

622 The second day. On the next day, noticing that all the Indians were going toward a particular hut, I in turn went. There I found about 30 individuals, men and women, squatting on the floor around the alcalde taking office, who was seated on a pile of cloth behind a table facing the door. He was holding his stick of authority in his arm and had bunches of flowers and a napkin full of coca in front of him. His physiognomy did not act in his favor; his ravaged, closed face was scarred with smallpox; his thick features, aquiline nose, and projecting chin gave him an air which was both cruel and bestial. I sat down next to the men immediately to the right of the host. All were keeping a profound, almost disturbing silence. At long intervals a man would rise to prefer his
[914] bag of coca to the alcalde. The latter would take a few leaves from it and tender his own chuspa with a bored gesture. Others moved toward the table, took a pinch of coca leaves, some of which they left in front of the flowers, and swallowed the rest.
[912] The drinkers never forgot their libations directed, as were the
[913] offerings, toward the flowers on the table. On that day the chicha of maize and quinua, in exception to the rule, competed with the alcohol. It was served by the women in terra-cotta bowls. I had the opportunity to be present that afternoon at a scene, the significance of which remains a mystery to me. A man got up and greeted a young woman in the usual manner; /345/ she replied to his greeting and went to kneel at the head of the audience. The individual who had greeted her took the young woman's head and shoved it against that of a man squatting next to her. Several
[158] seconds later the young woman gave way to weeping identical to that with which the church had resounded the day before. Silence

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/345 cont./

re-established itself little by little, and during the entire day the Indians remained in their hut, as apathetic as I had found them in the morning.

The festival of San Geronimo (January 7).

Very early in the morning an Indian ran through the saya tuanta, beating on a drum and stopping before each hut to wake the inhabitants and call them to the festival which was about to begin. Not knowing the significance of this household-rousing, I attributed little importance to it and thus missed the initial ceremonies. I could ascertain, however, that two piglets had been sacrificed on the threshold of the chapel of the saya: the cross which stands in front of the door, the outside walls, and the altar had been splattered with fresh blood. Inside two tables had been set up on which coca leaves had been spread out. Some Indians squatted in the chapel chewing coca leaves and drinking alcohol, preceding each mouthful with a prayer and libation. Espíritu Mamani subsequently recited the text of the prayer to me, uttered, no doubt, at the moment when the blood of the pigs is sprinkled:

Araspa^{x}a	aubi,	suma	tiempo	apanita'a.	waim
Sky	lord.	good	weather	send me.	good

mara.	suma	mara.	araspa^{x}-patuna.		todos
weather.	good	weather.	sky	master.	all

wawatahi.	Lo mismo	Virgin-taiha	sumapeoyowasiota,	
children for.	Likewise	Virgin-earth	thou feedest me.	

kaiokanta	(tahi)	wawanahatahi.	todos	mundos.
thou wilt receive	(all?)	children of.	all	the world.

wawanahatahi	uk^{x}ara	todos	mundos	pak^{x}aio	aka
children of	then	all	the world	animals	these

/353 cont./

Some, kneeling before the latter, passed a censer in which copal or khoa were burning under their noses.

Without waiting for the assembly to grow larger, the Officiant and his helpers proceeded to slaughter the llama, the pig, and then the ewe (Pl. XI, B, D /see p. 132/). The sacrifice done with a knife of poor quality was a painful sight. At the moment when the blood splashed from the severed arteries, the Officiant took from two bags a pinch of white maize flour (k^{x}uli l'umpaka) and black (nax k^{x}uli l'umpaka), which he sprinkled on the spurt of blood. Then catching the blood in a bowl in the bottom of which he had mixed a bit of the two kinds of flour, he walked around the animal sprinkling the ground at the four cardinal points. A certain amount of blood was poured on the samiri.

The rites were repeated identically for each of the victims. /354/ When the Officiant had ended his sprinkling, the sacrificed animals were drawn aside to be skinned and prepared immediately.

Only at this moment did the spectators, who up to now had remained bareheaded, their eyes fixed on the ground, put their hats back on and come out of their meditation.

Shortly afterward the Officiant, armed with an old bayonet, walked around the knoll, making holes in which he put a little copal and a small plant stuck in a pellet of fat the size of an egg. He accompanied each of his offerings with short invocations to the Pa^{x}a-mama, the text of which he recited to me later.

Werxina	unto-k^{x}al'a	Werxina	tima	am	amura	lo mismo
Virgin	fat pellet	Virgin	that	thee	love	likewise

mirwal'a	am	amura	tunčis	am	amuraja.
grain	thee	love	today	thee	it is thy love.

"Virgin, (take) this pellet of fat which thou lovest, likewise the grain which thou lovest, today (thou receivest?) [illegible] which thou lovest."

/369 cont./

*796 437 amounts of quinua, cañave, chuño, and sugar with potsherds, many of which were perforated and tied together with a string (Pl. XVI, F /see p. 137/). A scale of values seems to exist, so many potsherds giving the right to acquire a certain quantity of a [531] given product. Small clay llamas may also be bought; they have a magical action on the prosperity of the flocks.

*798 *796 The Festival of the Estewan, Kemperani, and Cunkirini mal'ku (February 8, 12, and 14).

To give an account in detail of the ceremonies performed in honor of the mal'ku would be equivalent to repeating the description of the festival of the samiri. The ritual practices observed, their order, and the attitude of the spectators are exactly the same as those which I have described in detail above. The only difference is that instead of being directed to the samiri, libations and sacrifices are intended for the sacred cones of earth. However, I was able to note several variants which I think are worth mentioning.

The festival of the Estewan-mal'ku (Pl. XIII, B-D /see p. 134/) had some preliminaries which were absent from the worship of the other mal'ku. The alferez of this festival had a sheep killed the day before in the court in front of the church. Two hours [532] later a superb white ram was slaughtered at his command before the wall of his hut. He had summoned Anacleto Mullu for this sacrifice.

In Conformance with the ritual a sacred stick was planted to the east in front of the sheep, whose streaming blood was mixed with flour in a bowl, poured out at the four cardinal points, offered to the demons, and finally sprinkled on the inner wall of the alferez' hut. These sprinklings finished with a libation of alcohol of which the demons were again the beneficiaries.

[533] The Officiant was then invited to help with the preparations for the festival, and he spent a good part of the evening making little bags of offerings and shaping from fat into which black and white meal had been kneaded, a llama, a sheep, and a pig, to which is called Silver Ox and Parrot Pinkuchi.

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"Demon Kosil'awari, wife of the demon, in this moment I have come to acquit myself with these three animals, on this day, the day of thy anniversary. I have come with the whole assembly to acquit ourselves on behalf of our herds and (our) health."

In conclusion I shall reproduce the prayer which is addressed to Mount Sajama and to the Lauca River when a specimen of each of the three kinds of animals which comprise the herds of the Čipaya is sacrificed to the latter:

Saxama-mal'ku	awisturu	awitiłal'a	Maria	L'auka	ti
Sacred Sajama	shepherd	make feed	Mary	Lauca	these

čep	pakal'a	awitiłka	parwal'a	para	simpre
three	heads of livestock	make feed	grass	for	always

awitiłka.
made feed.

"Sacred Sajama (thou) the shepherd, make us able to feed, Mary Lauca, (grant us) to feed these three kinds of animals, (give us grass) to feed them."

Religious Practices at Sheep-shearing Time.

In the beginning of February the Indians of the uyu tanata went away to shear their sheep. They came back from their "water houses" with huge packs of llama and sheep wool which they piled up in their huts. This return was the occasion for a festival which chiefly consisted of offering libations of alcohol over the piles of wool and of offering coca and alcohol to the small earthen llamas (Pl. XVII, B /see p. 138/) lined up inside the hut on a table. A few llamas had been led to the village, and the Indians came from time to time to drop some coca leaves and drops of alcohol on their backs, while imploring the demons and saints to increase these animals, to protect them, and to make the grass on which they feed grow.

/377 cont./

Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Čipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Čipaya Indian is the festival par excellence beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /378/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other ayu are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only known of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its vividness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much awaited was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behind the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Čipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was turning up Latin American presidents was depriving the Čipaya of their outlets for the export of their classes and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text Continues on P. 110]

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/380 cont./ They started, I believe, had a few quarrels and exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Cantoni-mal'ku, is common to the two ayu, was recited in the course of this sacrifice:

Turi-mal'ku.	Yawa	mal'ku.	Santa Ana.	mal'ku	tuuna.
Tower-demon.	great	demon.	Saint Anne.	demon	our.
tuuniinga.	maniñi.	cakiñi	kaski		
west of	he who obtains.	who prays.	in this manner.		
suma.	wsina.	tiempo	'tnaniñima'a.	wala.	wala.
good	young	weather	hearken to us.	good.	good.
suma	wata	'tnaniña	tapa	awsiñita.	
good	year	grant us	all	servants us.	

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuuna and Tuuna aya, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of corn and their last drinking cups of alcohol. Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian,ayllus, kneeling before their sacred stone. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

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Carangas -
Chipaya

/761 cont./

At sunset tayata, tuyuta, and wayta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their cacil in June.

Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Chipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment when the roof is covered with "inwinido," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him come. The latter sit down /761/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-yara) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (manaya). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

Carangas-
Cipaya

/382 cont./

The number of spirits which rule over a household may be even more considerable. In a prayer of Aymara origin which I recorded among the Cipaya, in the course of a sacrifice made to the demons of the house, the shed and the kitchen are invoked at the same time as the court.

Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which occur uniformly throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara. There is no Cipaya hut on which one does not see to the left of the door upon entering the blackish spot of blood with which it was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the costs of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirits, that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

aKobʷaï's	kKoya	kamantaika	suma	haŝk	wata
Straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

awantiï'a (1) kKoya-ki.
endure house this.

1. From the Spanish aguantar, "to endure."

/383/ A beautiful example of the frightful jargon, a mixture of Cipaya, Aymara, and Kicua /Quechua/ words, which the Indians use in their conversations with the divinities.

The titi-maï'ku is honored each time that an Indian returns home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the number of titi-maï'ku in Chipaya is limited, I would not have

Carnegie - Chipaya

/583 cont./

been able to be present at this intimate ceremony if my neighbors in the saya tuanta had not just made a sacrifice to their stuffed cat upon their return after a prolonged absence. They began by choosing a splendid white sheep from their flock, which they decorated with red pompoms and stretched in front of the door of their hut, its head toward the east. Next to him they placed a small tablecloth which they covered with coca leaves. They let fall several drops of alcohol and several pinches of coca on this victim and uttered the following formula:

Mal'ku petio	titi-mal'ku	suma	kamsmal'a
Spirit (of the) petio	sacred cat	well	receive very much

vila.
blood.

The Indian's two huts were sprinkled inside and out with the blood of the slaughtered sheep, and the last gush which poured from his severed artery was thrown eastward with a prayer to the demons, to the Earth-mother, and to the saints.

The titi-mal'ku occupied the place of honor inside the hut. It was decorated with a festive cling wrapped around its body; red pompoms hung from its ears and a bag had been hung from its neck. I made a list of the contents of the latter: besides coca there was a small bottle of alcohol, various magical substances such as colored mineral powders, fetish money (il'a), a stone calcareous in nature, and lastly a dried pear and an orange peel.

A bowl full of blood was offered to the titi-mal'ku and near it was put a napkin covered with coca leaves which the neighbors came to renew. The owner and his wife sat near their titi-mal'ku to do homage to him with a small private ceremony in which they were the only ones to participate, but which soon attracted several interested visitors. With each libation, before drinking, they turned toward the wildcat so that he could eat

Cerengue-
Cápaya

/583 cont./

doubt the homage being paid him. Each offering was accompanied with this phrase:

Tsi-mañe	nenu	emiñe-ramañe	tuñe	eneño
Sacred cat	good	receive very much	now	cupcake

eño	emere-
bland	love.

/584/ "Sacred cat receive this in abundance, now at the same time as this bland which we offer thee with love."

At the moment when the drinking cup was emptied, it was proper to cry "aleluya" (hallelujah).

In each Cipaya hut without exception one notices several pairs of palm wood with a hole for hanging fastened to the wall facing the door. I did not find out the exact nature of these pieces of wood, nor the character which the Cipaya attributed to them. They give them the half-Aymara, half-Spanish name of kamana-pera (loose stick). During the great public festivals the magician goes toward the place of the ceremony armed with one of these sticks and plants it infront of himself before offering either a sacrifice or a libation. Sometimes the sheaves of sacred straw are attached around these sticks. One day I saw the Indians burn incense in front of their kamana-pera, and they assured me that before Carnival and the festival of the Conception they sacrifice a sheep to it. I do not know if it is on this occasion or when a sheep is killed for the demons of the pampa that the long prayer is recited which a Cipaya dictated to me when I questioned him on each family worship:

Tsipañe	(wawanañi)	ñañiñaña	bPuña	tuñe
All	child for	plant	corn	large

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Carnegie
Chipaya

/title cont./

paiñoĉ'a	kulumaya	paiñoĉ'a	kon	uuta	paiñoĉ'a
herd	pig	herd	with	sheep	herd

kaña	paiñoĉ'a	maiteyaya	kamaca	kenakeyaya
large	herd	let me have	house	they will receive

ajai	mañ'ka	mama	mañ'ka	pai-ullu	kimua
this	demon	mother	demon	patio place	there

paiñoĉ'a	ranimiyaya	kenakeyaya.
herds	birth	they will receive.

"Let me have, for us thy children, plains (?), large cacti, pigs with sheep and large livestock (llamas). let me have it, thou devil (where the mañ'ka stays), thou kitchen of the house. Then will receive as an offering the young of the three kinds of animals, thou spirit, thou mother spirit, thou court (demons of the court)."

One afternoon when I had gone to visit my friend Anacleto Mollo, I found him in the process of offering up libations in the company of his nephew and his wife. They had placed a censer in front of them and held out the two twin drinking cups to each other, part of the contents of which they poured out, reciting a prayer on the invitation of and under the direction of the yairi. Insofar as I could understand the meaning of their mournful pleas, they must have been addressed to the sacred sticks of the hut and to the pampering spirit /?ñi/ of the house, who were asked to make the grass of the fields grow and to make rain fall on the bare Chipaya plains.

Here are a few bits of the prayers they recited that day that I was able to snatch on the wings

[illegible]ranima	Ñ'ĉama	uyuiri	Anacleña
Virgin	I shall offer a libation	Censer mother	Sir

Carangas-
Chipaya

/785 cont./

karpa	marka	kol'u	uyuwiri	Virxina	Mamita
rain	country	mountains	foster mother	Virgin	Mama

Rosario.	paita	ʾenekina	benitnis	te	k'anasa	kanavita.
Rosary.	speak	us	bless		light	?

"Virgin, foster mother. I shall offer thee a libation. (give us) the rain of the sky and you also, mountains of the country, foster mother Virgin. Mama Rosary, speak to us, blessed be thou."

786. In another hut on the same day I noticed a censer that was smoking in front of the sacred sticks (kamana-para).

Each Thursday the Chipaya burned a little khoa at the end of the little wall which separates their group of houses from the others. [illegible] They have borrowed this custom from the Aymara who practice it even in cities such as Oruro.

787. The Samiri of the sheepfold.

In the company of Anacleto Mulin I was invited to attend the burying of a samiri in the sheepfold of one of the families of the warta clan.

The first care of the yatiri upon arriving at the places was to dig the earth to uncover a small cellar made of limestone slabs, 20 cm. deep and 20 cm. long, which was situated approximately in the middle of the sheepfold. The Officiant took out of it four five-centavo coins, dried flowers, and a little bottle of eau-de-vie. The flowers were thrown away but the coins and the bottle of alcohol carefully put to one side. Meanwhile a black sheep [illegible] decorated with tufts of wool on its ears and neck had been led into the enclosure. He was as usual consecrated with libations and offerings of coca and slaughtered on the edge of the hole. The yatiri, facing east, offered a little of this blood to the demons whom he invoked and implored in a long prayer; then turning toward the hut of the man who was offering the sacrifice, he poured out the rest of the blood in honor of the protecting spirit of his

/386 cont./

*798 *796 791 [822] vegetables, the knowledge and acquisition of which means the most to the Čipaya. The green represents the fields, the brown quinua seeds, the violet certain parts of quinua and cañave leaves.

With some mutton fat the yatiri modeled a lamb to whose neck he attached a tuft of wool. He put it in a bowl into which those present threw coca, and he offered libations to it and recited a long prayer where wishes for the prosperity of the flock were mingled with enumerations of the mal'ku and invocations to the Pačamama. Now taking pig fat the yatiri encrusted it with portions of gold leaf and stuck dried flowers in it. The choice of the flowers was as meticulous as that of the colored powders. When the slice of pig fat was covered with them, /387/ the wife of the master of the enclosure wrapped it with a tuft of red wool. The sheep made of fat, the flowers stuck in the pig fat, and the sacks of mineral powders were placed in a tin box and sprinkled with coca leaves. Among those present arose a real competition as to who would contribute the most coca leaves and recite his prayers with the most fervor. Then the bottle of eau-de-vie was uncorked, and all drank from it, beginning with the Officiant, without neglecting libations and the customary prayers before each bumper.

A few drops of alcohol were sprinkled on the offerings, to which the following things were added: llicta, candies, incense, khoa, copal, and sugar. The box was buried even with the ground and covered with a slab. The whole thing was carefully concealed under the ground, and the yatiri uttered a long prayer addressed, as previously, to the Pačamama and protecting demons on the site of the samiri. The ceremony ended, like all the Čipaya ceremonies, with mutual invitations to drink and chew.

231 782 Religious practices relating to putting domestic animals to death.

When the Čipaya slaughter an animal in order to eat the meat, they perform a ritual which is in every respect analogous to the one which I have so often described in connection with sacrifices. The sheep or the pig receives an offering of coca and

/387 cont./

231 alcohol, and its blood is offered to the demons. The animal's
782 head is placed on a table where it remains on display for several days. It is surrounded with bunches of flowers, and under the beast's snout a napkin covered with coca leaves and small dishes containing various substances, all invested with magical qualities, is placed. The residents of the hut, who have set up this altar, worship it in summary fashion, the principal manifestations of which are gestures of respect and offerings of coca and alcohol.

Divination.

780 784 814 Like the Aymara the Čipaya Indians practice divination on a large scale. I had one occasion to have the future predicted to me by the most highly reputed specialist of the tribe, Anacleto Mullu. The latter used only a napkin and a certain amount of coca provided by the client as accessories. He began with a short prayer murmured in a low voice, during which he carefully spread out his leaves, patting them with the palm of his hand. He brought his right hand to his mouth /388/ forming a horn and blew gently into it. Then, putting his hand gently back on the leaves, smoothing and caressing them, he repeated the question. After a short invocation he took hold of a handful of leaves which he turned with a quick movement. He separated the significant leaves from the pile to show them to me. From what I could ascertain, a leaf must be turned with its nervures on top, have the petiole behind, and the point of the limb toward the end of the fingers to be considered a good omen. The hand is always kept open, the fingers directed toward the consultant.

To be good the leaf also must not be covered by any other. The leaves which are clearly bad are those which are presented in an inverted position. The worst have their shiny side up and the petiole directed toward the consultant. The precision of the more or less categorical reply of the diviner depends on his general appraisal and on the proportion of good and bad leaves. Folded leaves are taken out and have no significance at all.

/390 cont./

755 756 Arriving at the house of the sick man, I found him with his head in a turban of rags, squatting in front of his wife. His relatives had gathered in the hut and surrounded the magician. I [789] noticed a cross carefully veiled with a handkerchief at the back of the hut and an iron spike near the door to keep the evil spirits aside. The magician had placed the offending items, the topu and the coin, on a small napkin and drawn from his bag mineral substances of very varied hues (sebarios), copal, incense, etc., as well as mugs and phials which he filled with water and in which he mixed the sebarios and a little sacred maize flour (l'umpaka).

While watching his actions the sick man and his relatives were praying and drinking and offering libations of alcohol. When [782] he had finished the magician cleared the hut and went toward a sheep tied in front of the door. He severed its carotid and caught its blood in a bowl which contained /391/ sacred maize flour and a small cupule. He then emptied it before the house to the east while invoking the guardian demons of the clan and the samiri. Next he sprinkled the wall of the hut with this sacred blood and, throwing himself on the still palpitating sheep, he opened the chest with a knife thrust and with a savage and nervous gesture tore out the heart, which he ran to place on the patient's abdomen which was covered with blankets. After this he took hold of the topu and coin and carefully washed them in the water with which sacred flour had been mixed. This liquid, like the blood, was poured out in front of the hut.

The libations (ɛ'al'a) which took place immediately after were directed as usual to the demons, the samiri's, and the saints. The magician took his cupules in pairs successively and ran to post himself in front of the threshold in order to throw the contents in the direction of the east, murmuring a hasty prayer each time. When he had ended these offerings, he squatted before his stone of magic ingredients and began to sort them attentively. He placed imperceptible quantities of blue, white, green, light green, red, violet, coffee, and grey mineral substances (sebarios) in

2:Métraux--132 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate XI

Carangas-Chipaya
982
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[098]
[231]

A. — Indian kneeling before a mat'ku.

B. — Ritual slaughter of a sheep.

[098]
[231]

C. — Ritual consecration of a llama: libation of alcohol and offering of coca.

D. — Ritual slaughter of a llama.

2:Métraux--134 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SP24 Uru SP24

Caraga-
Calpaja

Plate XIII

A. — Festival of the sumiri: the alferez and alferezа behind the sacred sheaves.

B. — Festival of Estewan mal'ku: magician offering up a libation; in back, the Estewan mal'ku.

C. — Festival of Estewan mal'ku: magician with his assistant preparing the Cal'a (libation and offerings) destined for the demon whose effigy dripping with blood stands in the background.

D. — Festival of Estewan mal'ku: the kneeling magician receives mugs from the hands of his assistant, the contents of which he offers to the demons.

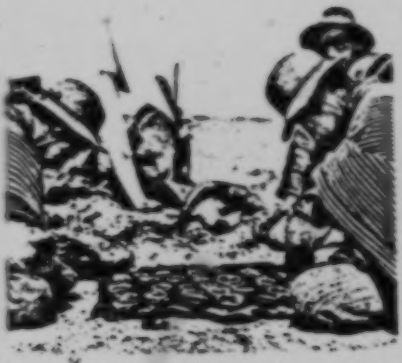
Métraux--135 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas—
Chipaya

Plate XIV

A. — Festival of the Comadres (February 2). Dance around a banner.

B. — Festival of the mal'ku: Indian beating a drum near the effigy of a demon (mal'ku).



C. — Čipaya Indian in prayer before the cupules containing magical substances.

D. — Čipaya Indian in his festival attire (wig, festive slings, etc.).

2:Métraux--138 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

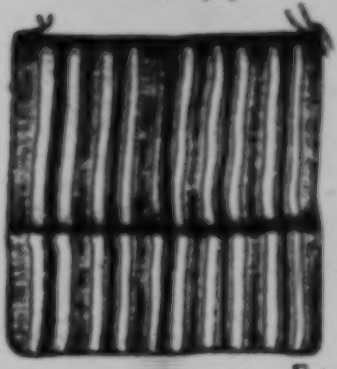
Plate XVII

A

C

D

B



E

/See captions on next page./

2:Métraux--138a E-S (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XVII

A. – Bowl used for making libations of chicha. The animals modeled at the bottom are a llama and its young.
B. – Small earthen llama venerated during certain festivals.
C. – Bag with red and yellow motifs (kāis).
D. – Wooden mug used during certain religious ceremonies to offer up libations.
E. – Woven bag (kāis).

2nMétraux--181 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga:--
Cajaya
Modern Quechua SF24

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Some families still have k'ero, i.e., large wooden mugs (3).

3. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVII. D.

beautiful specimens of which have been recovered in Peru. These vessels come out of their hiding-places only at festival time and are used only for libations of chicha. According with the ancient Inca way, they are always presented in pairs in the same way as the drinking cups of alcohol. The k'ero which I saw in the hands of the Cipaya lack decoration, but the greyish substance which adheres to them is without doubt all that remains of the lacquer which covered the outside surface of it. These pieces are not easy to get, for the Indians consider them of great value and are very attached to them. They assert, perhaps rightly, that they date from the Inca period.

The bowl (umaña) in the bottom of which a llama with its young has been modeled (4) is destined to hold the chicha which the

4. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVII. A.

Indians pour out as a libation in honor of the Pachamama when they request fecundity of the herds from her.

No Cipaya hut lacks one or two palm-wood sticks with a rope for suspension (5). These sticks (kamana-para) which are the /189/

5. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVI. D.—Among the Quichua of Acomayo, to become mandón or campo it is indispensable to have made "the voyage to the valleys to bring back palms /palmes/ for certain religious ceremonies, such as the promenades after mass on Palm Sunday."

Stiveiland--22 D.E-5 (1938-1964) 1969 SF24 Uru SF24

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*539 S24

IX. Funeral Customs
(Account by Carlos Kiape)

(See p. 187 An the foreign text/)

Free Translation

[Uru] [193]

1. We others, we have the custom of making a meal in honor of the soul. 2. We offer libations to the souls. 3. At night we have the custom of digging (the grave). 4. Then we have the custom of coming to burn (the clothes of the dead person). 5. We have the custom of burning the clothes of the soul. 6. Let us go burn these clothes. 7. Let us light the fire. 8. We burn only the clothes.

Remarks

In this short account the informant summarizes several funeral practices of the Uru. At first it is the evening of the funeral, during which relatives and friends eat in honor of the dead person (1) to whom libations of alcohol, chicha, and coca are offered (2). After the burial, without a coffin, in a simple ditch dug during the night (3), and which will not subsequently be marked by anything, the clothes of the dead person are burned.

*539 S24 A1

These practices are very different from those of the other natives of the Cordillera, speakers of Aymara or Kallwa, who gather several days after the burial to wash the dead man's clothes and divide them up. The customs of the Uru recall those of numerous Amazonian groups.

The complete abandonment of the grave after burial must also be noted; it contrasts with the care which other populations of the Cordillera give to graves.

*539 I01 A3

1. ukúmi; this is the personal pronoun of the first person plural, with the exclusive meaning "we others, the Urus."

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 23]

9:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Like

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Pole (1901) states that the Uru were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the Uru ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by the official.

RELIGION

The Uru worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main Uru fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 25th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilamuha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood over the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most Uru-Chipaya folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya
778
982

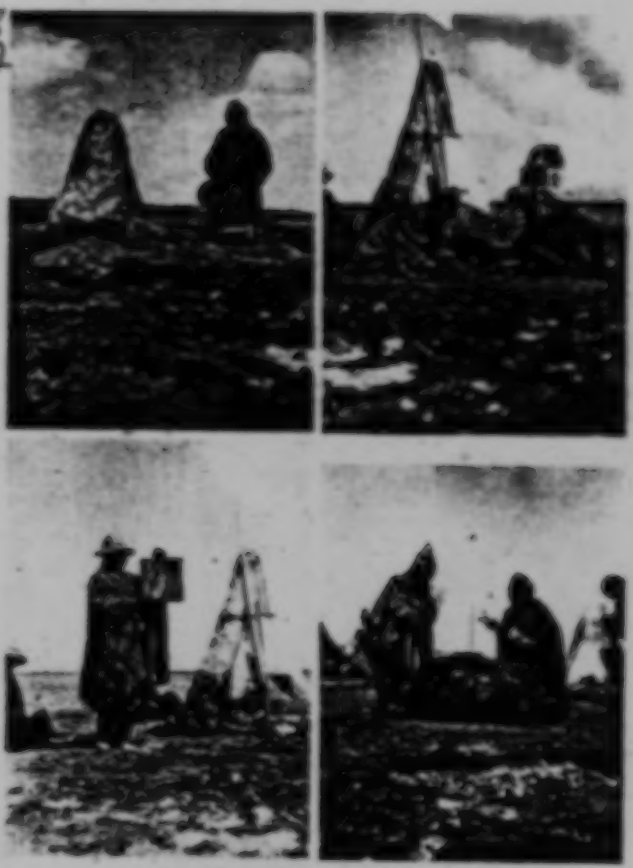

Plate 116.—Chipaya matting mats.

[F 582-G]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymaraized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-malku, Kemperani-malku, Estewan-malku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Lauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-malku). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-malku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malku* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1965
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The malku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of mud 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own malku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant. The cult of the malku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupolas and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulas are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (ch'ichis, "sevarios," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupola is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the malku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candles are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

782. Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

5 La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1945
E724 Uto E724
Chipaya

food to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed owl, which is kept in a corner.

The lords of each family are protected by a special amulet—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and corn, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, cowrie, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of corn and chicha. The food is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place corn and the capsules with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the food, offer it corn, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the Chipaya make libations on the wool and offer corn and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the *yatiri*. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practised by the examination of a bunch of corn leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–412) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the *chullpa* people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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Tribal Law and Policy Library 1901 W34 Div 5734
Chippewa

tains, and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as Shallow Mayer. The other manitou are represented by small conical mud towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or amulets protect the prosperity of the village; in the houses, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal Santa events on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; flowers and other fertile symbols of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a horse, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating priest, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *manitú* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.[80] The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Tuvinaito* (= Aymara *Tuvapaí*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotsompiti* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Tukun-wuwo-sompiti* (the goddess of the Lake), *Paloni-sompiti-mujku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *mujku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kaluuri-lili* (god of potatoes), *Kjoni-sompiti* (god of the earth) and *Sompiti-mujku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uro est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,[80] however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

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[80] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprisingly, believe in the superstition of "three-on-a match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper reserves and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps; for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

[80] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya: "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanacu fell down."

Carangas—
Chipaya

/123 cont./ Aside from one chapel

the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

The Čipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Čipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the saya tuanta overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the homes of the authorities.

The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Čipaya give them: kˇas-kˇoya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancias.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

8:Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and ill-treated, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.

Professor Vellard had arranged with KENNETH WASSON, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, JORGE ROJAS and AUGUSTO ROCA, and a young professor, RICHARD ARBELOT was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14.000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one sunny winter morning.

Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brazil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

/377 cont./

*796 231 236 535 Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

*796 787 857 At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Čipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public [185] prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand [262] were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

527 Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Čipaya Indian is the festival par excellence *[796 803] beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /379/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead [578] drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other saya are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only leaven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its sottishness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extoled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Čipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, [839] and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Čipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text continues on P. 110]

/387 cont./

231 782 alcohol, and its blood is offered to the demons. The animal's head is placed on a table where it remains on display for several days. It is surrounded with bunches of flowers, and under the beast's snout a napkin covered with coca leaves and small dishes containing various substances, all invested with magical qualities, is placed. The residents of the hut, who have set up this altar, worship it in summary fashion, the principal manifestations of which are gestures of respect and offerings of coca and alcohol.

Divination.

787 814 Like the Aymara the Čipaya Indians practice divination on a large scale. I had one occasion to have the future predicted to me by the most highly reputed specialist of the tribe, Anacleto Mullu. The latter used only a napkin and a certain amount of coca provided by the client as accessories. He began with a short prayer murmured in a low voice, during which he carefully spread out his leaves, patting them with the palm of his hand. He brought his right hand to his mouth /388/ forming a horn and blew gently into it. Then, putting his hand gently back on the leaves, smoothing and caressing them, he repeated the question. After a short invocation he took hold of a handful of leaves which he turned with a quick movement. He separated the significant leaves from the pile to show them to me. From what I could ascertain, a leaf must be turned with its nervures on top, have the petiole behind, and the point of the limb toward the end of the fingers to be considered a good omen. The hand is always kept open, the fingers directed toward the consultant.

To be good the leaf also must not be covered by any other. The leaves which are clearly bad are those which are presented in an inverted position. The worst have their shiny side up and the petiole directed toward the consultant. The precision of the more or less categorical reply of the diviner depends on his general appraisal and on the proportion of good and bad leaves. Folded leaves are taken out and have no significance at all.

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/388 cont./

The fortune-teller is satisfied to chew the leaves[1] with which he has been provided for his trouble.

Magical treatment of illness.

The medical science of the Indians of the Andean altiplano is very extensive. To be convinced of this one need only go inspect the sector of any native market whatsoever occupied by the chifles, or vendors of medicinal plants. The abundance of vegetable, animal, and mineral products, carefully sorted out in small boxes, which they offer is extraordinary and deserves a long, methodical enumeration. If one considers that each of these substances, in addition to its special properties, also enters in the composition of anomalous and varied mixtures, one will have an idea of the number of medical recipes which the Indians of the altiplano have at their disposal. To tell the truth, many of the [055] treatments recommended by the yatiri are strictly magical in nature; a number of the medicaments which they prescribe, however, are recommendable for their real and effective qualities. The Institute of Ethnology at the University of Tucumán possesses a very complete collection of these products and it is hoped that a study of them will some day be carried out by a pharmacist who is also a botanist. There can be no doubt that such an investigation, already begun by Nordenskiöld (1), has more than one [113]

1. Nordenskiöld (Erland). "Recettes magiques médicales du Pérou et de la Bolivie /Magical Medical Recipes of Peru and Bolivia/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Paris, New Series, Vol. IV, 1907, pp. 153-174.

surprise in store and /389/ will open new perspectives on the medical knowledge of the Indians of Bolivia.

[1] [i.e., coca leaves--Analyst]

/391 cont./

755 756 small paper bags and added rosemary, starch, and candy to them. He then grouped these bags in threes and made small packets of them which he tied with a red string. At the same time he had one of the patient's relatives make four small "tables" of fat, two of which he covered with paper, and the other two with gold leaf. In the course of preparation these objects were watered several times by the spectators, who poured libations of alcohol over them. They were given to the sick man with the express command to keep them in a hiding-place next to the topu for one year. The magician assured his client that during all this period he would have no misfortune to fear and that his disposition would become better: his quarrelsome temperament would give way to gentleness and peace would reign in his household. For, he added, the thrashings which he was accustomed to inflict on his wife and the uproar resulting from them were also manifestations of the evil power of the topu's. Two small flasks were next filled, one with alcohol and the other with wine, and placed with the small bags. The magician made one last libation on them and spit on top of them. The objects thus consecrated were placed in a bag with some khoa and some coins and the whole thing slid into a hiding-place concealed in the wall of the hut.

[757] The sick man began a prolonged exposition in a tearful tone of all the details of his sickness, while the magician was consulting coca leaves in order to know the result of his treatment. He mixed the leaves and tossed them in his hand ten or 15 times, and each time /392/ they pointed to a prompt and complete cure. A bit of copal was placed [illegible] drinking cups of alcohol, which the sick man, the magician and the relatives poured as an offering on the malevolent topu's. Whereupon the patient, his wife, and his sister burst into loud sobs which lasted several minutes. The first then kissed his wife's hand and congratulated the magician, making the gesture of clasping him in his arms, and all those present came to congratulate him as well as his wife and the magician.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Chipaya

ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

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[For information about specific rituals performed in the course of extended religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-120.]

/326 cont./

mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uru dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even Kečua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last detail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence. The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century. They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence. On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Aymara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

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Chipaya
Inca SE13

I 346 778 /122 cont./

in all that was conquered, charging them greatly with the benefit which they would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 3-43.

succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominiums in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Utz SF24
Tzu Ifu

Two men work simultaneously

396 tightening the braids with little wooden hooks,
[883] taking care that the two parallel cylinders have
812] exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a third man waters the cylinders, so that the reed remains
[912] slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the
501 reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fisherman holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsas measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a punt-pole when circulating among the rushes. The
[961] life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or
[132] four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

126 The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and
123 then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the raucous lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the pervious day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards,
[188] and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of
[201] the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the
126 forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every

/390 cont./

955 956 Arriving at the home of the sick man, I found him with his head in a turban of rags, squatting in front of his wife. His relatives had gathered in the hut and surrounded the magician. I [391] noticed a cross carefully veiled with a handkerchief at the back of the hut and an iron spike near the door to keep the evil spirits aside. The magician had placed the offending items, the topu and the coin, on a small napkin and drawn from his bag mineral substances of very varied hues (wharion), copal, incense, etc., as well as mugs and phials which he filled with water and in which he mixed the wharion and a little sacred maize flour (T'umpaka).

While watching his actions the sick man and his relatives were praying and drinking and offering libations of alcohol. When [392] he had finished the magician cleared the hut and went toward a sheep tied in front of the door. He severed its carotid and caught its blood in a bowl which contained /391/ sacred maize flour and a small cupule. He then emptied it before the house to the east while invoking the guardian demons of the clan and the samiri. Next he sprinkled the wall of the hut with this sacred blood and, throwing himself on the still palpitating sheep, he opened the chest with a knife thrust and with a savage and nervous gesture tore out the heart, which he ran to place on the patient's abdomen which was covered with blankets. After this he took hold of the topu and coin and carefully washed them in the water with which sacred flour had been mixed. This liquid, like the blood, was poured out in front of the hut.

The libations (Ch'aT'a) which took place immediately after were directed as usual to the demons, the samiri's, and the saints. The magician took his cupules in pairs successively and ran to post himself in front of the threshold in order to throw the contents in the direction of the east, murmuring a hasty prayer each time. When he had ended these offerings, he squatted before his items of magic ingredients and began to sort them attentively. He placed imperceptible quantities of blue, white, green, light green, red, violet, coffee, and grey mineral substances (wharion) in

Chinchaysuyu--141 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uro SF24
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Chipaya

/156 cont./ [illegible] of the latter is obtained [illegible] by [illegible]
of sola (Sola, Tarsa) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes
(Soroto) (Pl. VI, B /see p. 214/). They are thrust in the holes of
which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1, H /see
p. 142/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the
roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are
superimposed and are fastened at the intersection by solid ligatures.
Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cereus
wood /157/ /Figure 1 appears here/ /158/ in order to allow the
roofers to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum (pirina) made of
straw (Pit) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible
plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin cover-
ing, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the
straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are
hoisted up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where
they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the
faggots by means of a long wooden needle (Kapa) threaded with straw
cord (Fig. 1, A) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and
the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the
linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to
circumscribe a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged
in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence
of this thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of
wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is
made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of
this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the intercrossing
of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from
straw to straw in pace with the formation of the net.

The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross sur-
mounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house
from the effects of lightening.

Furnishings. The interior disposition of Chipaya huts is most
summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 143]

/334 cont./

The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play a foremost role in the religious life of the Čipaya. The majority of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku, he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /335/ of the pagan religion of the Čipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the sands of the puna. The pit is housed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a yareta.

The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The Čipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent to konopa, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).

1. On the konopa, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Latcham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 55-62, may be consulted.

/342 cont./

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One cannot give the officiant of Čipaya festivals the title of *796 791 "magician," although the Indians designate him by the name of yatiri (magician in Aymara). The personage who operates at the sacrifices, who prepares the masterly mixtures offered as libations to the demons, and who says the prayers, is not at all like a medicine-man /given in English/. He is generally an old Indian who has maintained the traditions of the past. Beyond the service which he renders the younger generation thanks to his knowledge of the ritual, he fills no particular office and enjoys no more esteem 791 than any other elderly man. It is not, however, impossible that my friend, Anacleto Mullu, was actually a real yatiri. This is only a supposition on my part after having seen him officiate at several festivals and having admired the competency with which he accomplished his task. The Indians frequently pointed him out to me as the man who best knew the prayers to the mal'ku. He also had some talent as a fortune-teller and was a past master of the 791 956 art of "reading in the coca." I do not know, however, if his skill was called upon in cases of illness. The only cure at which I was present was made by a Čipaya whom I had never seen officiate in any festival and whom I would never have suspected was versed in these superstitious practices.

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/342 cont./

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159 /343/ Anacleto Mullu, of whom I previously spoke, was the 791 most intelligent of all the Čipaya with whom I had dealings. His small, lively eyes sparkled with a mocking gleam, and he never missed an opportunity to tell a joke, even an improper one. His facial mobility was such that he could immediately abandon his jovial air to take on a grave and serious expression, as if he were the most respectable of men.

Festivals and Rites

*796 The taking of office of the new authorities (January 1).
622 The first of January, the day on which the transmission of powers is carried out in Chipaya, is the occasion of a festival, the only one in which only rare pagan elements are mingled. I shall mention a few of its details which illustrate the attitude of the [354] Čipaya toward the Catholic religion. That morning the small church of the tribe had been abundantly lighted; lamps or tallow candles were burning on all the altars and fragrant smoke was rising from all the censers. The outgoing alcaldes had gathered beside their successors near the altar, and a kind of sacristan was fumigating [152] them copiously. Some women squatting behind the men were sobbing and sighing as though their hearts were broken. They were only quiet when small baked clay llamas which they had placed on the altar were distributed; they kissed them and fondled

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Chipaya

/385 cont./

*798 *796 house and his patio. A few pinches of maize flour were thrown in the hole.

● [791] [796] /386/ The yatiri then walked around those present to greet them according to all the rules of Čipaya etiquette. The master of the flock and his wife offered him some alcohol and coca and invited their relatives and friends to take some of the leaves which they had spread out on the ground. They drank and chewed for [797] half an hour without exchanging a word and with all the gloomy gravity to which these Indians are accustomed. Next a stuffed lamb decorated with wool pompoms — the samiri — was brought out of a pile of material which enveloped it; the wife of the owner of the sheepfold added several supplementary tufts of red wool to it and all approached it in turn to offer a libation on its body, to offer it coca, and to recite a long prayer for it. It was then buried in the hole along with khoa, "copal," sprigs of rosemary, and a few pinches of coca which the Officiant threw with each lump of earth, continuously murmuring his prayers. His movements were imitated by the spectators, who rivaled him in zeal.

The hole was not entirely full. At one side of it on a small tablecloth the instigator of the festival had piled up the innumerable products with magical qualities which the Čipaya customarily *798 *796 791 offer to their divinities. The yatiri, after having subjected them to a detailed review, prepared paper sacks in which he put first pink, yellow, and green lozenges, pieces of pink and white candies, and lastly sprigs of rosemary and some starch.

*798 *796 791 822 He then proceeded to a minute selection from the ten to 12 colored mineral powders which had been put at his disposal. He kept only four: a deep green, a light green, a violet, and a brown. He poured them into separate little paper horns, with the exception of the light green, which he mixed with the brown. These colors undoubtedly had a special significance to judge from the attention which the yatiri gave to their selection and from the explanations which he gave to the master of the place. I have every reason to suppose that these four colors correspond to the

/386 cont./

778 vegetables, the knowledge and acquisition of which means the
796 most to the Čipaya. The green represents the fields, the brown
791 quinua seeds, the violet certain parts of quinua and cañave leaves.
[827]

With some mutton fat the yatiri modeled a lamb to whose neck he attached a tuft of wool. He put it in a bowl into which those present threw coca, and he offered libations to it and recited a long prayer where wishes for the prosperity of the flock were mingled with enumerations of the mal'ku and invocations to the Pačamama. Now taking pig fat the yatiri encrusted it with portions of gold leaf and stuck dried flowers in it. The choice of the flowers was as meticulous as that of the colored powders. When the slice of pig fat was covered with them, /387/ the wife of the master of the enclosure wrapped it with a tuft of red wool. The sheep made of fat, the flowers stuck in the pig fat, and the sacks of mineral powders were placed in a tin box and sprinkled with coca leaves. Among those present arose a real competition as to who would contribute the most coca leaves and recite his prayers with the most fervor. Then the bottle of eau-de-vie was uncorked, and all drank from it, beginning with the Officiant, without neglecting libations and the customary prayers before each bumper.

A few drops of alcohol were sprinkled on the offerings, to which the following things were added: llicta, candies, incense, khoa, copal, and sugar. The box was buried even with the ground and covered with a slab. The whole thing was carefully concealed under the ground, and the yatiri uttered a long prayer addressed, as previously, to the Pačamama and protecting demons on the site of the samiri. The ceremony ended, like all the Čipaya ceremonies, with mutual invitations to drink and chew.

23 Religious practices relating to putting domestic animals to
782 death.

When the Čipaya slaughter an animal in order to eat the meat, they perform a ritual which is in every respect analogous to the one which I have so often described in connection with sacrifices. The sheep or the pig receives an offering of coca and

/388 cont./

The fortune-teller is satisfied to chew the leaves[1] with which he has been provided for his trouble.

Magical treatment of illness.

The medical science of the Indians of the Andean altiplano is very extensive. To be convinced of this one need only go inspect the sector of any native market whatsoever occupied by the chifles, or vendors of medicinal plants. The abundance of vegetable, animal, and mineral products, carefully sorted out in small boxes, which they offer is extraordinary and deserves a long, methodical enumeration. If one considers that each of these substances, in addition to its special properties, also enters in the composition of anomalous and varied mixtures, one will have an idea of the number of medical recipes which the Indians of the altiplano have at their disposal. To tell the truth, many of the treatments recommended by the yatiri are strictly magical in nature; a number of the medicaments which they prescribe, however, are recommendable for their real and effective qualities. The Institute of Ethnology at the University of Tucumán possesses a very complete collection of these products and it is hoped that a study of them will some day be carried out by a pharmacist who is also a botanist. There can be no doubt that such an investigation, already begun by Nordenskiöld (1), has more than one

1. Nordenskiöld (Erland). "Recettes magiques médicales du Pérou et de la Bolivie /Magical Medical Recipes of Peru and Bolivia/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Paris, New Series, Vol. IV, 1907, pp. 153-174.

surprise in store and /389/ will open new perspectives on the medical knowledge of the Indians of Bolivia.

[1] [i.e., coca leaves--Analyst]

Plate XIII

A. — Festival of the samiri: the alferez and alfereza behind the sacred sheaves.

B. — Festival of Estewan mal'ku: magician offering up a libation; in back, the Estewan mal'ku.

C. — Festival of Estewan mal'ku: magician with his assistant preparing the Čal'a (libation and offerings) destined for the demon whose effigy dripping with blood stands in the background.

D. — Festival of Estewan mal'ku: the kneeling magician receives mugs from the hands of his assistant, the contents of which he offers to the demons.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The maλku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own maλku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant.

The cult of the maλku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "sevarios," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the maλku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candies are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

/342 cont./

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SF24 Uru SF24
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8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Ita

114 retire to our respective quarters. Before leaving, I arranged the remaining provisions, carefully propping up a thermos containing our precious hot coffee for the morning. I have but few manias, the principal one being to brush my teeth. I therefore hunted for a bottle of water and found it empty. My hygienic preoccupations vastly amused my companions, and someone offered me a bottle of lager. Not wishing to lose face I accepted, declaring that there was no better mouthwash, but feeling secretly rather sick at the idea of a combination of colgate and beer. But on carrying out the experiment, I found out that there *is* no better mouthwash in existence. By now the moon was high and full, and so strong was the light that finding it impossible to sleep I switched on the engine for heat, as in spite of my vicuña-lined sleepingbag, the cold was intense. I read for an hour or so, which gave me such a headache, that I had to take aspirin with the remaining beer. The next morning Abelot and I wound our way down to the river, which was frozen at the edge. We broke the ice, drew some water and washed, much to the surprise of the villagers. Again I brushed my teeth with the last drops of beer before the astonished gaze of the people who had never seen such a strange exhibition.

Arriving at the mayor's, we found the rest of the company singularly unglamorous and, o tragedy, someone had kicked over the thermos of coffee. We ate some apples and biscuits, but our depression melted away in the brilliant sun. The sky was blue as it is only to be seen on the Roof of the World. While the professor went off to take some sound-
433 recordings, we explored the village. There was prac-
[418] tically no sign of animal life or cultivation. This was normal, as the Aymara peasants refuse to allow
[396] the Uru, whom they consider as pariahs, to cultivate the ground. They have a narrow strip of shore on which to build their *balsas*.
346 We returned by the little church. Very occasionally
● [393] a priest comes over from Guaqui on the lake. There

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 313-A]

[p. 310-B]

/326 cont./

[771] [177] [782] [796] them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism. But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Sometimes even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

796 [177] There would be little required for certain festivals, such as those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous esslesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed [994] hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character [506] must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The 796 president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez, 554 "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard 177 (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

177 Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study [492] of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

/186 cont./

534 Panpipes. The Čipaya Indians have two types of Panpipes. The first (maiso) is extremely simple. It is composed of two tubes of unequal length, closed at one end and tied together with a wool cord (Fig. 8, D /see p. 173/). One of the tubes is 10 cm. long and the other 12.1 cm. This instrument was a particularly difficult acquisition for me. There was only one specimen in the whole village, [194] and it was moreover the property of the mayordomo, the official entrusted with maintaining places and objects of worship. He only resigned himself to giving it to me after much hesitation. Even before I had acquired this object it had been mentioned to me as a venerable piece. I had only one occasion to see it in use: this was at the Carnival, a particularly solemn and clearly pagan festival.

[120] One Čipaya had the happy idea of selling me a whole series of syrinxes which present several very interesting peculiarities. They are composed of a single row of bamboo tubes (five or seven) closed by a natural node and held inserted between two sticks themselves joined by a crossed string. Each of these pipes is provided on one side with a splinter of bamboo cut obliquely on its lower part (Fig. 8, B).

What is the purpose of this arrangement, which has not been found on any other Panpipes in the Old or New World? Mr. Izikowitz conjectures that it is a question of accessories of no practical value which have been substituted for a second series of tubes. This [114] hypothesis appears very far-fetched to me, and I ask myself if it is not a matter here of the fantasy of a flute-maker who thought of reinforcing the ligature by this means. The latter, in contrast, merits [191] our attention: it is actually a type which has only been found at Arica in the Andean region, but which still has a wide distribution in the west of the Amazon basin. Let us add that this ligature is always used for flutes with a single series of tubes.

The syrinxes which I have just described are apparently very old specimens. I have seen newer ones among the Čipaya of the [191] type common among the Aymara and among all the Indians of the altiplano in general.

[For additional information about religious ceremonies, especially in association with sacred objects and places, see category 116, pp. 54-58, 60-108, 118-120, 122-136, and 137-138a.]

/117 cont./

312 puna, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places
[346] lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants,
331 which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as boars. The
137 Cipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities. As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this assertion. It nonetheless reveals a certain care for precision among the Cipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the scantiness of this flora which a little wetness causes to grow in the
132 midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya
[133] has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate
[346] land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques, the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds draw into strange formations and assume a luster elsewhere unknown. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

[133] Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the existence of the Cipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River, which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the characteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months, threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation
132 of the "canton," the flocks which feed upon it. This is the most
221 crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe
796 are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals of the Cipaya take place at this time and that all have the

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Chijaya

/118 cont./

221 796 132 [152] objective of requesting the demons and saints to send them prosperity along with the rain. The beginning of the year 1931 was marked by a long period of dryness (1) and I witnessed the anguish

1. During the months of January and February I made a certain number of meteorological observations which were unfortunately incomplete because of my frequent moves. For January the average maximum temperature was 19° to 20° /centigrade/ and that of the minimum temperature 6°. In February we had an average maximum temperature of 19° and a minimum temperature of 5°. In January I noted a high of 24° and a low of 1°. For February the high was 23° and the low—1°. February was rainier than January although the end of the latter month was marked by some violent storms and hail.

of the Čipaya; this anxiety manifested itself perhaps in the pomp and seriousness with which they carried out the festivals which I shall describe later.

The winter is a testing time for the Čipaya. They spoke to me in eloquent language of its rigors—dried and yellowed pastures, thin and starving animals, icy winds which pierced to the /119/ [182] bone. This entire season passes without festivals, at least without pagan festivals, and this cessation of religious life is good evidence of the close correlation that exists between the pagan ceremonies of the Čipaya and their problems of subsistence.

/326 cont./

[177] them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism.
177 But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or
[182] demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Some-
196] times even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

796 There would be little required for certain festivals, such as
177 those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous esslesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed
[194] hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character
[576] must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The
796 president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez,
554 "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard
177 (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

177 Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study
[192] of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

/338 cont./

*7178 7176 823 [782] The mountains (1). In their prayers the Čipaya invoke the

1. On the worship of mountains in the ancient Peruvian empire, consult Jijón y Caamaño, La religion del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 328-342.

mountains on their horizon in general and certain summits, such [133] as the Sajama, in particular. The latter is the most sacred of all, for from it comes the Lauca River which fertilizes the wretched Chipaya plain. The Indians relate that there lived in Sajama a spirit (male or female) who made the contents of a pot boil so that steam was seen escaping. Sajama is now an extinct volcano.

[782] The Lauca River. Like the mountains the Lauca River is a divinity who demands offerings and blood sacrifices. As the Pača-mama has been associated with the Virgin, so the Lauca River has been confused with Maria, who for the Čipaya, it seems, is a personage distinct from the Virgin; this is why the Lauca River is called Santa María Lauca. Its name is followed in a prayer with the double epithet of mal'ku and tal'a. These qualificatives would oblige us to assume that this river is symbolized by a pair of demons or considered in itself as being both male and female. I have not been able to obtain any clarification on this point, all the less so as the Čipaya have very rudimentary if any knowledge of mythology. These contradictory attributes given to the Lauca River perhaps are only an empty form without importance.

●[796] [782] The Čipaya assured me that they hold a festival each year for the Lauca River. On this occasion one specimen of the three kinds of animals who live in Chipaya is sacrificed to it.

*7178 The sacred sticks. These are not lacking in any Čipaya hut, where they are set against the wall facing the door. The Indians worship them /339/ at home, as they told me, and I actually saw them placing censers at the foot. These sticks, one of which is reproduced here (Pl. XVI, D /see p. 137/), are made of palm-tree

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/180 cont./

534 [616] The saya taxata (west) owns a very old, very large drum, the only one of its kind in the village; unfortunately, the Indians did not want to sell it to me at any price, alleging that it was the property of the whole community. Its construction was, from what I could see, similar to that of the round tambourine which I have just described. A very special importance devolved on this drum during the festival /181/ /Figure 8 appears here/ /182/ of the Comadres. [198] During the whole day it remained hanging from a flagstaff and was the object, at the same time as the standard, of real worship.

The drum bears in Čipaya the Spanish name caja. We should not conclude from this that the instrument is of Spanish origin among them. Some details at the most are of post-Columbian origin, but they are not numerous. The "drum cord," for example, is certainly an element added to it in the course of the centuries which followed [194] the conquest. It is possible that for lack of flexible wood to make round drums, the Čipaya were obliged to make them with boards from old boxes and consequently to modify the original type.

Wind instruments.

[237] Trumpets. Čipaya trumpets are of the most rudimentary kind: they are made up of a cow's horn sawed off near the point and of a bell formed of the dried tail of the same quadruped.

Only very rarely did I see the Čipaya make use of this instrument, which makes a hollow sound resembling the lowing of one in [196] the state of having breath of exceptional power. The trumpets which figure in all the festivals play the role of ritual or decorative accessories in them. They are placed in front of the sacred sheaves or on the table in front of the heads of the sacrificed animals. They bear the name tʰoti in Čipaya.

Clarinets (Fig. 8, F /see p. 173/), which like trumpets have a cow horn for a bell, also have a reed mouthpiece from which a small tongue has been cut out and smoothed to make it more flexible. So that it would be easier to play on, it has been raised by means of a string passing under its lower part. It is made to vibrate by

[Text continues on p. 174]

/187 cont./ With the exception of the
534 bamboo splinters placed against each tube, these syrinxes are very
[191] like the rather similar ones which have been discovered at Arica and also like the Panpipes used by the Indians of the area northeast of the Andes in our day.

As for the small syrinx with two tubes, it is too simple an instrument to be considered at great length. In any case, up to the present its equivalent has been found nowhere.

[179] /188/ Aymara influence and through its medium that of Europeans have been strongly exerted on their musical instruments, just as on the rest of their culture. This penetration can be very simply explained when one thinks that aside from tola, they have no other material out of which they could make a musical instrument, and that they are obliged to import those that they use for their festivals.

Objects for purely ceremonial use

•796 There are a certain number of objects which I acquired among
[156] the Čipaya, whose use is purely ceremonial and which should be examined in a special chapter. These are, in the first place, the festive slings, several specimens of which I was able to get (1).

1. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, B.

These slings are passed over the wrist or carried crossed on the chest of individuals participating in the dances during great clan or tribal
[301] [337] festivals. Another accessory of the Indians on these occasions is the wig made of horsehair (2).

2. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, C.

/188 cont./

Some families still have kˣeru, i.e., large wooden mugs (3).

3. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII, Pl. XVII, D.

beautiful specimens of which have been recovered in Peru. These vessels come out of their hiding-places only at festival time and are used only for libations of chicha. According with the ancient Inca way, they are always presented in pairs in the same way as the drinking cups of alcohol. The kˣeru which I saw in the hands of the Čipaya lack decoration, but the greyish substance which adheres to them is without doubt all that remains of the lacquer which covered the outside surface of it. These pieces are not easy to get, for the Indians consider them of great value and are very attached to them. They assert, perhaps rightly, that they date from the Inca period.

The bowl (umaña) in the bottom of which allama with its young has been modeled (4) is destined to hold the chicha which the

4. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII, Pl. XVII, A.

Indians pour out as a libation in honor of the Pachamama when they request fecundity of the herds from her.

No Čipaya hut lacks one or two palm-wood sticks with a rope for suspension (5). These sticks (kamana-para) which are the /189/

5. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII, Pl. XVI, D.—Among the Quichua of Acomayo, to become mandón or campo it is indispensable to have made "the voyage to the valleys to bring back palms /palmes/ for certain religious ceremonies, such as the promenades after mass on Palm Sunday."

/189 cont./

after mass on Palm Sunday."
It is not impossible that the
palm /palmier/ wood of the
Čipaya corresponds to these "palms"
of the Quichua. Cf. Ordóñez
(Dr. Pastor), "Los Varayocc."
Revista Universitaria. Cuzco,
eighth year, No. 29, September,
1919, p. 43.

guardians of the house are worshiped with libations and fumigations. They are also indispensable accessories for the magicians who always plant them before themselves when they are going to make a prayer or a sacrifice to the demons. One must also not forget among the objects used in worship the baked clay censers which are shaped like a footed cup, and the small cupules for libations.

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Division of Labor

	Men	Women	
House-building	+	-	
Straw rope	-	+	
Spinning	+	+	
Weaving	-	+	
Weaving with treadle loom	+	-	
Cooking	-	+	
Livestock care	+	+	(preferably the children)
Cheese	-	+	
Milking of the sheep	-	+	
Shearing of the sheep	+	-	
Rope-making	+	-	

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Chipaya

paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The maλku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own maλku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant. The cult of the maλku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "sevarios," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the maλku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candies are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

tains; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Mallcu Mayor*. The other *mallcus* are represented by small conical sod towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; cheeses and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *yatiri*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

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Iru Itu

There were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him standing motionless and followed the younger one down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

Fortunately in these last few years the climatic conditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more increased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*piri*) and *bolas* (*škuni*), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peks* (Aymará *pusiṗ'ia*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *ṗ'oa*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusiṗ'ia* or *peks* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *k̆esana*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *čuñu*, *coca*, net-thread, *kañawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*k̆esana* and *čawara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me:

They are, Titicana, Konko, Kama, Kuipa.

2:Métraux--31 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Chipaya

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The Religion

Preliminary Remarks

Aymara and Spanish influence. The Čipaya /Chipaya/ have probably been Catholic for a very long time. I do not know the date when they were converted but I presume it to have been a long time ago. It is possible that their conversion to Christianity took place at the time when a priest came to settle at Corque, perhaps at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The churches of the neighboring Aymara villages were doubtless already in existence in the eighteenth century and perhaps even in the seventeenth. The one that stands in the middle of the Čipaya clans can hardly be more than 50 years old. The Indians were incapable of giving me information on this subject, as was the curé of Huachacalla on whom the Čipaya depend. These Indians are totally ignorant of all religious doctrine, for only once a year, in June, do they receive a visit from their spiritual shepherd, who has nothing more pressing than to leave this desolate region and this wretched flock. The Čipaya nevertheless insist on celebrating their marriages or the birth of their children at the church; in each of these circumstances they undertake the trip to Huachacalla.

The religion of the Čipaya is essentially pagan as you will be convinced upon reading the following chapters. The relative isolation of this Uro tribe, the often superficial work of the first Spanish missionaries, the worthlessness and lack of zeal of the modern Bolivian clergy have contributed in different degrees to the preservation of the beliefs and practices of the pre-Columbian epoch in this lost village. So many causes must have favored the persistence of the past that it is difficult to explain to oneself /326/ the number of Christian elements which are mingled with the ancient rites. The whole way of life of this fossilized people would make one think

/172 cont./

291 Next to the skin the women wear a square shirt (almil'a), which is identical in form to the masculine shirt (ira), although narrower (Fig. 5, B /see p. 163/). It is wide enough to make the shoulder line fall on the arm. Blue sleeves are sewn to the shirt. This accessory is modern as is proved by the name mankasa (from the Spanish: manga, sleeve) by which the Indians call it.

The Čipaya women wrap their bodies in a large piece of cloth (urku) which they pass under the arms and the ends of which, lifted to the shoulders, are held together with a cactus spine or a silver pin (kits, pāz-kits). This tunic is held at the waist by a large belt invariably decorated with brown and black chevrons (Pl. III, C /see p. 212/). Most of the women sew the lower part of this garment from the waist down on the side so as to make a skirt. This [177] innovation, post-Columbian in origin, dates from the beginning of [177] the Conquest and was imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities to safeguard the decency of their flock.

The urku is made of material woven with great care, brown or black in color and ribbed. It is always adorned above and below with a beige strip with white stripes. A specimen at the Museum of Ethnography at the University of Tucumán measures 1.58 meters by 1.36 meters. Over this tunic is thrown a long brown or black mantle (tsalu) which falls down the back to the knees and which is pinned at the breast. This garment is still worn by all the women of [171] the Andean region (lliclla), but whereas the Aymara and Quichua [53] Indians like to make it with varied motifs and bright colors alternating, the Čipaya are satisfied to decorate it with a white strip crossed with fine dark stripes (Pl. I, A,B,C /see p. 210/). The mantle of the Čipaya women is, in addition, much longer than that of the other [171] Indian women of the altiplano. It is only on the banks of the Titicaca that I met some women whose lliclla were as long as in Chipaya. These Indian women no doubt came from some distant village in the interior.

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/35 cont./

175 (Juan Alfonso Carrizo, Cancionero popular de Jujuy /Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy/, p. XV. Tucuman, 1935.)

/36/ Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada /Moral Chronicle/ of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

[162] [181] In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor Lorenço de Aldana gave us...; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uro Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscene and dark-skinned /renegrida/ they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. The chief [103] pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Volume I, p. 353.)

[162] [179] [181] This pueblo (of Challacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians who were being catechized by our Order.... These are crude Uro Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned /renegrida/, without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all [206] prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish in the lake of Paria...those who live on land /do so/ in [342] sepultures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails...the [137] Uro Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here [291] they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold [197] land) than some mats of these cattails.... Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion. [103] There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a [179?] Priory with a subsidiary church of Uro Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away.... There is another pueblo four leagues

[17th Century]

/36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopians they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town.... Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake.... They are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe...../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I. 650-651.)

In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Simillake.

...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

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[16th-19th Centuries]

/37 cont./

F75 .V61 V31 C48

Nearly all of this first book of Chapter XVII is devoted to the great rebellion of these Indians, led by mestizos or Spanish bandits, like their last chief, a certain... "Don Pedro Laine, a fierce and bold man, the son of the Auditor /Contador/ Anna, who is regarded by them as a great sorcerer.../cited in Spanish/."

(Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustin en el Perú /Moral Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru/. Lima, 1659. Vol. II, Chap. XVII, First Book.)

F75 Diligencias e informaciones hechas para sacar de la isla del Choro y del Paraje de Villivilli en el Lago Poopo a los indios sus habitantes, considerados como infieles y perniciosos /Measures and inquiries carried out to remove from the island of Choro and the region of Villivilli in Lake Poopo their Indian inhabitants, regarded as being infidels and destructive./

[131] Report made by General Don Francisco García Picado, Corregidor and Lord Chief Justice of Oruro, at the request of the Duke de la Palata, Viceroy of Peru, on the existence of savage Indians on Paria Lake.

[199] Among the witnesses whose testimony was gathered by the commissioners /Commissaires/ we find..."the Teaching Father Fray Nicolas de Loayza, a religious of the Order of [255] Our Father Saint Augustine...of Chacacollo, the principal [149] pueblo of the district of the corregidor of the province /38/ of Paria, and of its native Indians called Uru, and of some outsiders who live in said pueblo and the neighboring areas under its authority...a person who has known them for 35 [199] years and has more than sufficient experience...teaching them the Christian doctrine in three languages: the general one, Aymara, and their own mother tongue, which they call Uru.../cited in Spanish/."

(Document partly published in the Revista del Instituto de Sociología Boliviana in Sucre, by Gunnar Mendoza L. under

4cVellard--14 D,E-4,5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th - 17th centuries]

/28 cont./

native livestock, and in addition they share in more maize and wheat than those of other parts, because of /29/ having on their left the province of Larecaja, abundant in both.... /Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción colonial /Colonial Account/. Biblioteca Argentina. XIII-XIV. Buenos Aires. 1916. I. 227.)

Constituciones sinodales del Obispado del Cuzco, expedidas el 29 de Setiembre de 1591, por el Ilmo Sr. D. Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of Cuzco, issued on 29 September 1951 by the Illustrious Don Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo/.

...Because in many pueblos of this our Diocese as a rule all Indian women, as most of them and some of the Indian men, do not understand the Quechua language, but rather Aymara or Puquina, and for this reason do not know the mysteries of our Faith, and do not confess their whole life, not even at the hour of death, in order to remedy this we order that all parish priests among the Indians, in accordance with the mandate of the third Council, should hear confessions in the language peculiar to their parish, /whether/ Quechua, Aymara, or Puquina, and because this is so different in each pueblo where said language is spoken, within a year of their being appointed to said parishes, they should prepare with the help of Indians who know Spanish /a dictum/ a short Confession and Catechism wherewith to confess and instruct these persons, which they must do under penalty of 20 pesos the first time and twice as much the second, being warned that they will even be deprived of their parishes, if they are negligent in this respect..../Translated from the Spanish./

Statement of the Bishop of Cuzco, D. Antonio de la Raya, charging the Jesuits on 12 March 1569 to give examinations to clergymen applying for Indian parishes:

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[16th - 17th Centuries]

/39 cont./

...Because in like manner it is necessary that the said Aymara and Puquina languages should be taught in this city, since they are spoken in many parts of this diocese and there are great deficiencies in the administration of the holy sacrameats because the priests do not know them..../Translated from the Spanish./

Constituciones Sinodales del Obispado de Arequipa hechas y ordenadas por el Ilmo. y Rvdo. Senor D. Pedro de Villagomez, Obispo de la Santa Iglesia de Arequipa, en el primero Synodo que se celébró en dicho Obispado que fue por el ano de 1638 /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of Arequipa, issued and ordained by the Illustrious and Reverend D. Pedro de Villagomez, Bishop of the Holy Church of Arequipa, in the first Synod held in said Diocese, which took place in the year 1638/.

/40/ ...The Catechism must be taught in the Puquina language. Heedful that in some parishes of the Diocese the Puquina language is spoken, therefore, in conformance with the disposition of the law and of the Provincial Council, and having made inquiries as to who is most familiar with this language, we entrust the translation and interpretation of the Catechism which the said Council ordered to be published in the said first two languages (Quechua and Aymara), to Dr. D. Alvaro Mogrovexo, curate of the curacy /doctrina/ of the Zarumos, and to Dr. Miguel de Arana, curate of the Habaya and Locumba curacy, so that they may translate it into the Puquina language..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Book I, f. 17, Chap. V.)

...in the Catechism of the Lima Council no prayers were included for the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, and so that the Indians may learn them, they are ordered to be included here, in the two languages, and to be translated also into Puquina, that is to say, one for the elevation of the Host and one for that of the Chalice..../Translated from the Spanish./

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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197 2. The Uru-Chipayan stock is unrelated to either Quechua or Aymará, so far as is determinable from the heretofore solely lexical evidence; the phonemic systems of Aymará and Uru, for what this evidence is worth, seem quite wholly distinct.

114 197 802 3. There is an as yet unexplained misunderstanding concerning Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquina-Uro." The basis for this last judgment is, in part, the numerical systems:[9]

English	*Quechua*	*Aymará*	*Puquina*	*Uru*
One	huc	maya	pesc	či
Two	iscay	paya	so	Bisk
Three	quimsa	kimsa	capa	ček
Four	tahua	pusi	sper	Ba'Bi'
Five	pichka	pesqa	tacpa	ta'snuku
Six	soccta	soxta	chichun	taxčuku
Seven	canchis	paqalqo	stu	Doko
Eight	pusacc	kimsaqalqo	quina	onko
Nine	iscon	jatunka	checa	san'Gu
Ten	chunca	tunka	scata	kalo

Polo's numerals for the Uru, quoted in Chamberlain, even less resemble Ore's Puquina (shi; piske; chep; pácpic, páctic; pacnucu; pacchui; tohoco; cohonco; sankau; kalo) than do my recordings, and neither Puquina nor Uru resembles Aymará or Quechua.

114 199 There remains, however, the vexing problem of the identity of the Uru and Puquina of Brinton, Ehrenreich, Uhle, Hervas, and Adelung-Vater. Métraux, following Rivet and De la Grasserie, has brought impressive evidence of their identity. He writes: "The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language *bukina*, *pukina* to distinguish it from Aymará. This fact had already been brought to my attention at La Paz; it was later confirmed for me by all my informants." Chamberlain, however, thoroughly convinced by Polo's vocabularies, argued the absolute distinctness of Puquina and Uru, and has followed Eric Boman in stating that they are separate stocks

[9] Quechua quoted unchanged from Brinton, *American Races*, p. 223; Aymará from my own field notes; Puquina from Geronimo de Ore, *Rituale*, in Brinton *op. cit.*; and Uru from my own *kaq'o-kaq'e* notes. Since I am not wholly familiar with Uru, the rendering aims more for phonetic accuracy than phonemic economy. The vocabulary, moreover, embodies the considerable language difficulties of having passed from Uru through Aymara and Spanish (the two languages of my interpreter at Ancoaqui) to the present English. Other references in this paragraph are to Alfred Métraux, *Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya de Carangas*, (JSAP 27, 1935), pp. 111–128, 325–415; (JSAP 28, 1936), pp. 155–207, 337–394; *idem*, *Contribution à l'ethnographie et à la linguistique des Indiens Uro d'Ancoaqui* (Bolivia) (JSAP 28) pp. 75–110; *idem*, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67–102. Polo, *op. cit.* in Chamberlain (American Anthropologist 12: 417–24, 1910), pp. 412–413.

124 191 113

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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ence of this latter, however, is evident to anyone familiar with the Aymará. Inasmuch as the almost unique grammatical sketch of Uru has appeared in a somewhat obscure and inaccessible publication,[15] a summary of the language of this little-known group may be of value to scholars and linguists.

The sounds b, v, d, f, ll, rr and z do not seem to occur in the language of the Uros. The adjective always precedes the noun, and has no mark of gender. The infinitive of the verb has several different terminations, apparently according to the words from which, when secondary, it is derived. Three tenses, present, past, and future, are distinguished by prefixed or suffixed particles, but the material at hand is not sufficient to enable one to settle the whole matter of conjugation, etc. In compound nouns Polo says (p. 480), "the components are arranged in the order which their signification expresses, *e.g. chekere-koche* (shoe), from *chekere* (what is covered), and *koch.* (foot)." The number of Uran words, whose etymology is known is, however, too small to settle this point completely.

The nymerical system of the Uros deserves a few words. There are separate words for 1, 2, 3; then 4, 5, 6, are, respectively, *pácpic*, *paknucu*, *pacchui*, in which a common first element *pac* appears; 7, 8, 9, *tohoco*, *cohonco*, *samaco* (also *sankau*) seem to have a common terminal *-co; kalo*, 10, is unrelated to the other numerals; 11, 12, 13, etc., are *kalosi*, *kalo-piske; kalo-chep*, etc.; 100 is *kalo-kalo* (also *pac*); and 1000 could be expressed by *kalo-pac*.

Among the principal suffixes in the Uran language are the following:

-ai; in names of male relatives, etc. (*apai*, fathers; *suhuai*, son; *chichulai*, brother, etc.)

-chi; in certain names of female relatives, etc. (*achichi*, grandmother; *machi*, daughter; *ushakpischi*, girl).

-ni; in certain adjectives (*chakni*, green; *chikni*, old).

-si; a frequent termination in nouns (*coasi*, water; *muksi*, cigar; *chacsi*, coca; *lucsi*, spoon; *tucsi*, stomach; *potsi*, axe; *chequisi*, lasso; *chici*, moon; *masi*, stone; *pacsi*, bridge.

Among the suffixes of the infinitives are: *-ai*, *-ana*, *-ani*, *-ara*, *-chi*, *-i*, *-ini*, *-k*, *-n*, *-qui*, *-si*, *-u*, *-ui*, etc. There is a negative or privative particle *ana-*, used as a prefix (*e.g. ana- chuni*, "ugly," *i.e.* "not beautiful.") This particle is also used some times with nouns (*e.g. ana-karchichi*, handless.) Incorporation (or at least collocation) of the pronoun in the verb occurs, as, *e.g.*, *lulicunkipec*, "dost thou desire to eat"? This word is derived from *luli*, "to eat"; *cun*, "thou"; and *kipec*, "to desire." The Uran language belongs to the class of American tongues which do not possess grammatical

[15] Polo, in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima*, 10, 1901, pp. 445–482, from which Chamberlain's, and the present sketch, have largely been taken. Métraux' excellent work is predominantly on the Chipaya of Carangas; Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquinan" is not undisputedly identifiable with Uru; and Alonzo de Barcena's *Lexica et Precepta in Quinque Indorum Linguis* (Lima ?1590), which is said to have contained a sketch of the language, is not known to exist in even a single copy.

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Chipaya

/394 cont./

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The few tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

I 346 778 /122 cont./ in all that was conquered, charging them greatly with the benefit which they would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 3-43.

U I 346 778 171 succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominiums in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the I 361 empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

U 823 82 [361] [788] It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to U [782] the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. U [172] The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

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Chipaya

/123 cont./ Aside from one chapel

the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

The Čipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Čipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the saya tuanta overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the homes of the authorities.

The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Čipaya give them: kˣas-kˣoya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancias.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

/182 cont./

*539 101 829 the Aymara used by the Uru, who consider themselves as constituting a pre-human species (not a race) apart. There are two human species, the Uru, a primitive species representing the first, pre-human creations, and the Aymara, who belong, as do all the other present-day people, to the last creation.

*539 192 [648] 15. Note a Hispanicism, kumunitá, to designate the native community of Jesus de Machaca, upon which the Uru are now dependent; it is an idea which is foreign to their own sociology.

16-17. The narrator, tired by his interpretive efforts, has no more to say and wants to rest. Note the polite form háp'- pay, [576] father," corresponding to "monsieur."

*539 ●821

VIII. Xoxi-cay, the Thunder
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 166 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. It will still thunder very strongly; the storm is coming. 2. The roof of the house will let the water through; it is not good at all. 3. Look again to see if the storm is going away. 4. It is thundering again. 5. The thunder can only kill a person of another race. 6. Never, since the most ancient times, has the thunder killed one of us. 7. The thunder has made me very afraid.

Remarks

This text makes allusion to a very deeply rooted belief among the Uru: they cannot be struck by lightning, so feared [829] by all the populations of the altiplano. According to them lightning only strikes the people "of another race": Aymaras, half-breeds, or Europeans. Also the Uru do not have any

[pg 20 omitted in pagination.]

*539 /182 cont./ also the Uru do not have any
81 apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/
118 at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments
191 are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations.
152 However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kispe, is very frightened
829 of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure
Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood.
848 Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was father-
less, "hána hep' šeš- čay," "no father is," "an illegitimate
son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did
not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be
961 assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder,
829 drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which
848 the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable
proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

*539 From the point of view of vocabulary this text shows the
191 same irregularities as the preceding text by the same informant
192 (V) /see p. 15/ frequent elisions of final vowels: ča instead of
čay; the repeated use (1-7) of wáli, "much," an Aymara form
not found in the texts nor in the numerous phrases gathered
from the other informant. 2. wáli- píni, association of an
Aymara word and an Uru word with the same meaning to rein-
force the idea; we find an analogous case in ti- hún (5), the
Uru-Spanish association already noted. 2. hána Kála či čúña,
"not good good is," association of two words of almost identical
meaning to reinforce the idea: "this is not good at all." 3. The
particle -kála after the verb "to go" has the exact meaning
of ex in Latin, literally exit. 4. The correct form would be
war- tis. 6. háske indicates a very distant fact, an idea still
more strengthened by the suffix -ta, sign of the past: "a very
long time ago."

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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We the Kjotsuñi [*ʔ'otšoñi*, from Aymará *ʔ'ota*, "lake", and Uru *šoñi*, "men people"][n] are the oldest on this earth. A long time we were here, before when the sun was hidden.

Here where you see the suñi, in the time of our *Achichis* [ancestors], everywhere there was water with many fish; many rivers rose and flowed. Then our nation was large and happy.

Before the Sun hid himself for a long time we were in this place. Then the Kollas [Aymára] came, despoiling us of our lands; they used our bodies for *Kjuchos* [*kučo*, human sacrifice] when they laid the foundations of their temples.

When the Lake dried up we came out in search of food and thus encountered the Aymára.

Before *Čamak-pača* [Aymará, "time or epoch of darkness"] Tiahuanacu was built.

We have built our houses where our ancestors lived. The broken pots of many colors, and *topos* [copper pins] you find when plowing the ground, belong to them.

Métraux recorded in Quechua at Oruro a myth which tells of the tricking of the armadillo by the fox, who misled him concerning a fiesta; hence (say the Uru) the mantle of the armadillo is uneven on his neck and shoulders. Most of the Uru-Chipaya tales were learned from the Aymára.

Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes. Small children own property which cannot be sold without their consent; when a little girl refused to sell me a small cloth, in spite of my offering what must have appeared a fabulous sum, that was the end of it.

In greeting a white man on the road, the Uru, like the Aymára address him as *Wiracocha*, "sir," or *karai* "mister."

The Pleiades are called *kerkeru*, Venus *čauk-kola* ("big-?"), the Milky Way *čatu-likstai* (from *liks* "road"?) and another constellation *tsoxotsoxa;* a comet is called *mekala* (from the Aymará).

[n] Not, as Posnansky supposes, from the Aymará *suñi*, "puna." The meaning "men" is again obvious from the reference in the second paragraph. Further, the phoneme *š* is lacking in Aymará.

[For additional, scattered information about the use of colored items, the role of color, and possible color symbolism associated with rituals or organized religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-120.]

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Chipaya

/385 cont./

*798 *796 house and his patio. A few pinches of maize flour were thrown in the hole.

[791] [596] /386/ The yatiri then walked around those present to greet them according to all the rules of Čipaya etiquette. The master of the flock and his wife offered him some alcohol and coca and invited their relatives and friends to take some of the leaves which they had spread out on the ground. They drank and chewed for [197] half an hour without exchanging a word and with all the gloomy gravity to which these Indians are accustomed. Next a stuffed lamb decorated with wool pompoms — the samiri — was brought out of a pile of material which enveloped it; the wife of the owner of the sheepfold added several supplementary tufts of red wool to it and all approached it in turn to offer a libation on its body, to offer it coca, and to recite a long prayer for it. It was then buried in the hole along with khoa, "copal," sprigs of rosemary, and a few pinches of coca which the Officiant threw with each lump of earth, continuously murmuring his prayers. His movements were imitated by the spectators, who rivaled him in zeal.

The hole was not entirely full. At one side of it on a small tablecloth the instigator of the festival had piled up the innumerable products with magical qualities which the Čipaya customarily *798 *796 791 offer to their divinities. The yatiri, after having subjected them to a detailed review, prepared paper sacks in which he put first pink, yellow, and green lozenges, pieces of pink and white candies, and lastly sprigs of rosemary and some starch.

*798 *796 791 822 He then proceeded to a minute selection from the ten to 12 colored mineral powders which had been put at his disposal. He kept only four: a deep green, a light green, a violet, and a brown. He poured them into separate little paper horns, with the exception of the light green, which he mixed with the brown. These colors undoubtedly had a special significance to judge from the attention which the yatiri gave to their selection and from the explanations which he gave to the master of the place. I have every reason to suppose that these four colors correspond to the

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/386 cont./

vegetables, the knowledge and acquisition of which means the most to the Čipaya. The green represents the fields, the brown quinua seeds, the violet certain parts of quinua and cañave leaves.

With some mutton fat the yatiri modeled a lamb to whose neck he attached a tuft of wool. He put it in a bowl into which those present threw coca, and he offered libations to it and recited a long prayer where wishes for the prosperity of the flock were mingled with enumerations of the mai'ku and invocations to the Pačamama. Now taking pig fat the yatiri encrusted it with portions of gold leaf and stuck dried flowers in it. The choice of the flowers was as meticulous as that of the colored powders. When the slice of pig fat was covered with them, /387/ the wife of the master of the enclosure wrapped it with a tuft of red wool. The sheep made of fat, the flowers stuck in the pig fat, and the sacks of mineral powders were placed in a tin box and sprinkled with coca leaves. Among those present arose a real competition as to who would contribute the most coca leaves and recite his prayers with the most fervor. Then the bottle of eau-de-vie was uncorked, and all drank from it, beginning with the Officiant, without neglecting libations and the customary prayers before each bumper.

A few drops of alcohol were sprinkled on the offerings, to which the following things were added: llicta, candies, incense, khoa, copal, and sugar. The box was buried even with the ground and covered with a slab. The whole thing was carefully concealed under the ground, and the yatiri uttered a long prayer addressed, as previously, to the Pačamama and protecting demons on the site of the samiri. The ceremony ended, like all the Čipaya ceremonies, with mutual invitations to drink and chew.

Religious practices relating to putting domestic animals to death.

When the Čipaya slaughter an animal in order to eat the meat, they perform a ritual which is in every respect analogous to the one which I have so often described in connection with sacrifices. The sheep or the pig receives an offering of coca and

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in all that was conquered, charging them greatly with the benefit which they would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 2-43.

I 346 978 191

succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominiums in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the

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empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

U 823 [2] [361] [989]

It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to

U [989]

the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward

U [192]

the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

Carangas--
Chipaya

/123 cont./ Aside from one chapel

the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

The Čipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Čipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the saya tuanta overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the houses of the authorities.

The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Čipaya give them: č"as-k"oya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancias.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

2:Méxmss--48 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1938 SF24 Uru SF24
Cayapas-Chipaya
Folklore Quechua SEM
Inca SE13

/324 cont./

The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play a foremost role in the religious life of the Cipaya. The majority of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku, he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /325/ of the pagan religion of the Cipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the scrub of the puna. The pit is hewed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a screen.

The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The Cipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent to huaca, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).

1. On the huaca, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Lancham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 56-62, may be consulted.

2:Métraux--51 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

/338 cont./

The mountains (1). In their prayers the Čipaya invoke the

1. On the worship of mountains in the ancient Peruvian empire, consult Jijón y Caamaño, La religion del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 328-342.

mountains on their horizon in general and certain summits, such as the Sajama, in particular. The latter is the most sacred of all, for from it comes the Lauca River which fertilizes the wretched Chipaya plain. The Indians relate that there lived in Sajama a spirit (male or female) who made the contents of a pot boil so that steam was seen escaping. Sajama is now an extinct volcano.

The Lauca River. Like the mountains the Lauca River is a divinity who demands offerings and blood sacrifices. As the Pača-mama has been associated with the Virgin, so the Lauca River has been confused with María, who for the Čipaya, it seems, is a personage distinct from the Virgin; this is why the Lauca River is called Santa María Lauca. Its name is followed in a prayer with the double epithet of mal'ku and tal'a. These qualificatives would oblige us to assume that this river is symbolized by a pair of demons or considered in itself as being both male and female. I have not been able to obtain any clarification on this point, all the less so as the Čipaya have very rudimentary if any knowledge of mythology. These contradictory attributes given to the Lauca River perhaps are only an empty form without importance.

The Čipaya assured me that they hold a festival each year for the Lauca River. On this occasion one specimen of the three kinds of animals who live in Chipaya is sacrificed to it.

The sacred sticks. These are not lacking in any Čipaya hut, where they are set against the wall facing the door. The Indians worship them /339/ at home, as they told me, and I actually saw them placing censers at the foot. These sticks, one of which is reproduced here (Pl. XVI, D /see p. 137/), are made of palm-tree

/353 cont./

*1078 *1096 Some, kneeling before the latter, passed a censer in which copal or khoa were burning under their noses.

[782] Without waiting for the assembly to grow larger, the Officiant and his helpers proceeded to slaughter the llama, the pig, and then the ewe (Pl. XI, B, D /see p. 132/). The sacrifice done with a knife of poor quality was a painful sight. At the moment when the blood splashed from the severed arteries, the Officiant took from two bags a pinch of white maize flour (k^{x}uli l'umpaka) and black (tsox k^{x}uli l'umpaka), which he sprinkled on the spurt of blood. Then catching the blood in a bowl in the bottom of which [873] he had mixed a bit of the two kinds of flour, he walked around the animal sprinkling the ground at the four cardinal points. A certain amount of blood was poured on the samiri.

The rites were repeated identically for each of the victims. /354/ When the Officiant had ended his sprinkling, the sacrificed animals were drawn aside to be skinned and prepared immediately.

Only at this moment did the spectators, who up to now had remained bareheaded, their eyes fixed on the ground, put their hats back on and come out of their meditation.

Shortly afterward the Officiant, armed with an old bayonet, walked around the knoll, making holes in which he put a little copal and a small plant stuck in a pellet of fat the size of an egg.

*1078 *1096 539 He accompanied each of his offerings with short invocations to the Paˇa-mama, the text of which he recited to me later.

Werxina	unto-k^{x}al'u	Werxina	tima	am	amura	lo mismo
Virgin	fat pellet	Virgin	that	thee	love	likewise

parwal'a	am	amura	tunˇis	am	amuraˇja.
grass	thee	love	today	thee	it is thy love.

"Virgin, (take) this pellet of fat which thou lovest, likewise the grass which thou lovest, today (thou receivest?) that which thou lovest."

Carangas-
Chipaya

/354 cont./

*1778
*1796

He then put portions of gold and silver leaf in 18 mugs (12 gold and six silver). The mugs in the last row received grey and white flour and those in the first, feathers of a bird called čučí. The ten-centavo coin was placed in the middle of the mugs. On a neighboring cloth he placed 12 mugs two by two. Into the first two he poured cinnamon bark and white maize flour, into the two next ones grey flour. Two separate drinking cups were filled with alcohol and one of them received green mineral powder and the other blue powder.

[823]

In the mal'ku festivals I was able to ascertain that the contents of the phials was always poured in the direction of the cardinal points, in the midst of invocations to the mal'ku and to the earth-mother. The yatiri who officiated during the festival of the Kemperani-mal'ku poured out his phials beginning to the east, the north, and the west, and ending to the south.

/355/ by taking out three stones (yunka, tsox-yunka), apparently siliceous in nature, from his bundle, and then two ten-centavo coins, one of which he placed in front of himself and the other on the opposite edge of the cloth. He then passed on to the preparation of the mixture. To this end he set out in succession the following materials: small mica crystals, bird down, incense, copal,

/373 cont./

*1098 *1096 539 The prayer which recurred most often on the Officiant's lips clearly indicated that the Estewan-mal'ku alone was to receive the honors apparently being paid to his colleague:

Estewan-mal'ku	hasiki	am	kumpla	tonuja
Stephen demon	in this moment	thou	to accomplish	I have

ti	pak al'istan	pak al'a	cep-laiku
come	these heads of livestock	heads of livestock	three for

kasit	esposa	salut-laiku	hasiki
married-spouses		heath for	in this moment

kumplataja /374/	hasiki	t'apa	kumpaña
I have accomplished	in this moment	all	assembly

tonx-tuñi	kumpltuja	am-ki	mal'ku.
today	I accomplish	thou	demon.

"Stephen-demon, I have come to acquit myself toward thee (by offering thee) these animals on behalf of our three kinds of flocks and on behalf of married people. At this moment I have fulfilled my duty, at this moment, today, with the entire assembly I acquit myself toward thee, demon."

*1098 *1096 [824] [837] Aside from these insignificant details all the accessories of the festival of the samiri figured in this one but with more abundance. The sheaves of straw were more numerous and more ornate than before, and had some parina (flamingo) eggs placed at their base.

[823] [838] I observed only one new rite: the prayer that the alferez and his wife made successively to the four cardinal points. At the moment when they got up to proceed to this duty, the flutists began to play a melody backed by drumbeats. When they returned to the village in the evening, the alferez and alfereza both had a truss of straw on the back.

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and ill-treated, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.

Professor Vellard had arranged with KENNETH WASSON, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, JORGE ROJAS and AUGUSTO ROCA, and a young professor, RICHARD ARBELOT was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14.000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one sunny winter morning.

Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brazil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

/78 cont./

412 kneeling woman exerts on them is accompanied by gentle rocking, which facilitates the grinding.

372 /79/ The Uro have no combustible material other than dried
[232] animal excrement and tola branches, which they go far to seek.
[224] These things are precious, and the Uro, like the Čipaya and the Aymara, are sparing in their use.

231 Near the huts a type of earth niche is sometimes erected which is rather similar to the huts around the village of Chipaya; these are pigstys.

226 Fishing. The Uro, in our age as in pre-Colombian times,
[212] draw their main subsistence from the lake. They are excellent
[439] fishers. The fish they catch is partly consumed by themselves and partly sold to the Aymara and to the half-breeds of the capital. I did not have the opportunity to be present on a real fishing expedition, only at several demonstrations made at my request. They first taught me the way in which they use the landing net shown in Fig. 23, 1 /see p. 9/. The wooden frame which holds the stretched-out net is fastened to the end of a pole. The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or seated on his balsa until he sees an interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net delicately, then pulls it out of the water with a sudden motion.

227 There is another type of landing net which is much larger. It is composed of a circle from which wooden sticks joined at one end go out. This skeleton, conical in form, is covered with a net. Another net, as large as a hand, is stretched across the opening to make the escape of the fish even more difficult. This apparatus is often of considerable dimensions; some are more than three meters in diameter. They are always equipped with a handle by which they are held in the water and lifted up as soon as the fish have ventured in (Pl. III, B /see p. 23/).

The Uro Indians also possess bottom nets, which I regret not having seen employed. I have, however, acquired a perforated stone (Fig. 24, 2 /see p. 10/) which corresponds to our weights or ballast.

/84 cont./

396 the Uro are obliged to keep up with an incessant demand. They have veritable maritime shipyards on the steep bank of the Desaguadero, where constant activity reigns (Pl. IV, A /see p. 24/).

396 423 424 Each family owns a portion of the bank, whose limits are marked by small walls. Within these enclosures they heap the totora from which the balsas are made. This plant (Cyperaceae, of the genus Scirpus) (Scirpus totora, Kunth.) forms actual fields in the swamps which line the Titicaca. The Indians come to cut it as they need it. "Every family that owns a field near the shore considers itself the owner of a certain expanse of these totorales. It is the only family to exploit this area, and its rights are respected by the neighbors (1)."

[113]

1. Parodi (Lorenzo R.), "Las balsas usadas por los aymaras en el lago Titicaca /The Balsas Used by the Aymaras on Lake Titicaca/," Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. XI (Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 145-149.

396 424 It is a picturesque spectacle to see the Indians who went in search of totora return; the cut stalks have been tied together into huge bundles which are allowed to float like a train of wood after being secured to the rear of the balsa (Pl. III, A /see p. 23/).

The totora can be used only when it is dry. Hence, after having gathered it the Indians' first concern is to spread it out in their enclosures. They also make faggots out of it by standing the stalks upright to expose them to the wind and sun. It is only when it has lost all dampness that the totora can be used to construct balsas. Its thickness is thereby diminished, its immediate rotting prevented, and, above all, the possibility that the bundles which constitute the balsa might disintegrate because of a loss in volume is avoided.

/84 cont./

396 The construction of these rafts is rather simple, although
[147] it demands great manual skill and considerable expenditure of strength. The keel is composed of two enormous spindle-shaped sheafs of totora tied together. The natives obtain them by heaping up and intertwining stalks of totora of unequal length (Pl. IV, B /see p. 24/); they take care that the shortest remain inside and they cover these with progressively longer stalks until the total forms a compact mass. The rope which maintains each of these rolls /85/ /Fig. 25 appears here/ /86/ is crossed at each turn with that of the other sheaf. Two padded rims are then fastened to the edge, where they serve as a railing and add to the stability of the craft. The only instrument to which the Indians have recourse in making these rafts is a wooden hook (Fig. 24, 5 /see p. 10/), which they use to lift the straw rope, either to tighten it or to pass the rope which joins one sheaf to the other under it. This alternating play of the ropes obliges the balsa constructors to work always two by
501 two (Pl. IV, C /see p. 24/). For navigating, the Uro have long boathooks, l'okena, the wood for which comes from the eastern slopes of the Andes. The extremity of these poles ends in a sort of trident which prevents them from sinking too deeply in the mud of the lake (Fig. 25, 2 /see p. 15/).

285 Mats. The Uro Indians have several uses for the rush (totora) mats. They make the framework and roofs of their huts from it, their beds, the door of their house, and the sails of their balsas. Making them is not complicated. The totora stalks are spread out on five or six parallel ropes, stretched between stakes, and attached to them in little piles.

283 Rope-making. The Uro are obliged to constantly make rope, the indispensable accessory for the two industries which have just been mentioned. Different types of gramineous plants,
[124] among them the Stipa ichu Kunth, Festucha orthophylla Pilger, and F. dissiflora Griseb (1), furnish them with raw material of

1. Parodi, p. 4.

[text continues on p. 16]

/117 cont./

199 had to manifest itself through the intermediary of Aymara. The Uro dialect of the Čipaya is thus an ailing language in the process of disappearing in the future that I believe to have saved from oblivion, if not in its entirety, at least to a great extent.

133 137 The territory. The physical environment is that of the puna (Pl. VI, A /see p. 30 /) artificially altered by man. If one arrives in Chipaya coming from the north, one traverses for almost a day an uninterrupted succession of sand dunes, to which some tufts of long, hard gramineous plants (ičú, Stipa ichu (Jarava) or the black, twisted stalks of tolas (Baccharis Lepidophyllum and other Compositae) cling. Once the dune area has been crossed the terrain becomes completely flat, and the rarer tolares alternate with the mossy swellings of yareta (Azorella). In places the vegetation disappears completely, but the most sterile parts are adorned with some Alpine flowers, which make imperceptible spots of color against the greyness of the ground. The Indians are [301] not disdainful of them. I remember having seen them gather [824] bunches of them during a festival to stick in their hair or to decorate [134] the images of saints. The aridity of this sandy soil manifests itself with an intensity which becomes more and more acute the closer one comes to Chipaya territory. The boundary is marked by the complete disappearance of the plants mentioned above and by the appearance of stunted grass, thinly sown, which hardly [311] reaches a few centimeters in height. These wretched pastures are 312 the product of human industry. The Čipaya obtain them thanks to a system of irrigation that would do honor to their spirit of enterprise were it not the necessary condition of their existence in this environment. Using canals, some of which are almost two meters deep and three meters across, they have diverted a part of the waters of the Lauca River and conducted it by secondary branches across the entire extent of their territory. During the rainy season and the period of great floods, they provoke inundations by raising a few dams here and there. The water fertilizes the sands of the

/343 cont./

*796 677 them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

692 The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the 692 506 other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They [273] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

627 535 [292] Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the outgoing alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He [301] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold [824] at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead. [939] Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

/352 cont./

*796 The saints and mal'ku were requested with more insistence to grant the Čipaya a good year, without dry spells or frost, in the course of which the flocks would multiply. At a given moment [824] [301] all left to gather little mountain flowers with which the men decorated their hats and the women their braids. They also spread bouquets on the small tablecloths covered with coca. "The flowers bring luck," they replied to the question I put to them on this subject.

Shortly before sunset all those present knelt in a line before the chapel, whereupon the Officiant took the box containing Santiago /James/ and put it on the head of each of the faithful. He left it there during an entire prayer, doing the same for all, and did not proceed to the next person until the hoofs of Santiago's horse had been respectfully kissed. On the way back they stopped in front of every chapel as before to kneel, this time to the east. Several times I noted that before getting up again, the men, and more especially the women, touched the ground with the hand and then brought it to the mouth.

Espíritu Mamani put a pinch of copal or incense on the east side of the niche with which each oratory is provided.

When the group arrived at the village it headed first toward the chapel of the saya tuanta and on their knees went around the cross placed near the threshold. They then reached the church, where they performed the same ceremony, accompanied with prayers and chants. The Officiant, who had armed himself with censers, put them under the noses of the faithful as if to make them inhale the fragrant smoke which was released from it.

[209] On the next day the saya was awakened by the beating of a drum as on the day before. All the inhabitants hastened to reach the surroundings of the alferez' house to take part in the feast that [214] the latter, aided by his relatives, had prepared. The women ate squatting in front of blankets on which various types of hash had been spread out. The men carried off their rations in the flaps of their poncho or their cape. When the feast was finished the

/356 cont./

*778 *796 Offerings of coca, pinches of which were sown in the wind in the direction of the four cardinal points, followed the libations (č'al'a). /Fig. 35 appears here/

The alferez' wife then arose and went to attach tufts of red and yellow wool around each samiri. Then kneeling in front of the Officiant and his assistant, she and her husband made a pretense of clasping them in their arms in order to thank them for their work.

During the entire ceremony two censers (Fig. 35, C /see p. 78/) had been kept lit in front of the /357/ samiri; the alferez and his wife took hold of them to go render homage to the Officiant. This same gesture was repeated by all the new arrivals who were beginning to come in great numbers. Each Indian upon arriving at the ceremonial area began by taking one of the censers, the flame of which he re-animated by blowing on it and adding a few pinches of incense. Then, getting down on his knees, he covered several meters toward the east in this position. He then put down his censer, recited a prayer, and then dragged himself to the samiri to fumigate them. Finally, without getting up he went to greet the alferez and the alfereza with the gestures previously described.

*778 *796 824 While the Officiant was ending the first part of the ceremony, the alferez and his wife had begun to lay out the straw that they had brought in sheafs. Each sheaf was tied with festive slings and on the front new sacks of coca in gaudy colors and decorated with glass beads were attached. A few quinua plants had been mingled with the stalks of straw. The alferez and his wife stood these bunches of straw upright by squashing the roots in front of the place from where they presided over the ceremony (Pl. XIII, A /see p. 134/).

The new arrivals brought other sheaves of straw with them as gifts, some of which, tied with festive slings, were in addition decorated with garlands made of ring-shaped bread (pil'u), a shape which I saw among the Čipaya only during festivals. In the sheaf delivered by the alcalde his stick of authority was planted. The

[Text continues on p. 79]

/357 cont./

*1778 *1796 824 alferez and his wife received in addition cheeses, eggs, and even some small silver coins which they placed in front of the sheaves along with two horns and some flutes. They then proceeded to the distribution of part of the straw, which the women passed between the twists of the braids on their temples. The men decorated their hats with it.

In the samiri's cellar (Fig. 35, A /see p. 78/) the Officiant placed four small bags of white paper tied with strings of red wool, which contained respectively the following items: in the first, lozenges and white, yellow, and pink candy destined for the Earth-mother to make her sweeter; in the second, cloves, pimento, cinnamon bark, pallios (a type of cinnamon), and maté leaves; in the third, olives, orange peel, Carob-tree pods (kˣoka), dried pieces of peach, guava, quince, and apple; and in the fourth, dark red, clear blue, and brown mineral powders (sevarios), each in a separate little paper bag, rosemary, starch, and lastly two white and pink candies. Next to the little bags he then placed two small plants stuck into a pellet of fat and a bunch of pinks.

*1778 *1796 On the other hand he then took out a bottle which had /358/ been in the cellar, into which those present one by one came to pour the contents of a drinking cup of alcohol. At the same time as this offering they sprinkled several drops of alcohol on the samiri and pinches of coca into the cellar. This libation was ceaselessly [539] [231] accompanied with this prayer muttered in a low voice:

Haˇča	pakˣal'a	samiri	kulumayo	pakˣal'a	samiri	kon
Large	livestock	"	pigs	livestock	"	with

usita	pakˣal'a	samiri	maitarapita.
sheep	livestock	"	give to me.

"Samiri of the large livestock (llamas), samiri of the pigs, samiri of the sheep, give to me."

/363 cont./

*798 *796 504 [262] this time with two soups, one of quinua and the other of ẍuño and quinua leaves. They were distributed in small individual bowls which, as soon as they were filled by the efforts of the alferez' wife and several other women, were carried to the guests by a group of little boys. Inside the hut the alferez was standing behind a table on which the heads of the sacrificed animals and the sheaves which had been used the day before were placed. As usual, the alferez' wife was in her place, to the left of her husband. The most respected guests were seated inside the hut.

[239] [824]

[554] The meal did not last long. When the last guests were on the point of leaving, the flag was rolled up and carried away by an individual, undoubtedly the person who the day before had been proclaimed katokere, i.e., alferez of the next festival.

/364/ Several hours later a large group formed again in *798 *799 [273] the alferez' hut, this time occupied in drinking according to the usual ritual. Two old men uttered prayers to the mal'ku without pause, even while drinking. At a given moment they knelt in the middle of the hut, their bodies turned toward the east, and, in this position, addressed a long invocation to them, which they concluded by kissing the ground.

*798 *796 539

Kant-mal'ku,	Kusil'er-mal'ku,	Kilimint-mal'ku,	Kusil'aviri,
Kant-demon,	Kusil'er-demon,	Kilimint-demon,	Kusil'aviri,

márka-kol'o,	Kemperan	mal'ku,	Estewan-mal'ku(1).
country mountains	Kemperan	demon,	Stephen-demon,

1. During the feast of the Estewan-mal'ku, the alferez threw beans, peas, and dried fruit to the winds.

/373 cont./

The prayer which recurred most often on the Officiant's lips clearly indicated that the Estewan-mal'ku alone was to receive the honors apparently being paid to his colleague:

Estewan-mal'ku	hasiki	am	kumpla	tonuja
Stephen demon	in this moment	thou	to accomplish	I have

ti	pak al'istan	pak al'a	cep-laiku
come	these heads of livestock	heads of livestock	three for

kasit	esposa	sahut-laiku	hasiki
married-spouses		heath for	in this moment

kumplataja /374/	hasiki	t'apa	kumpañi
I have accomplished	in this moment	all	assembly

tonx-tuñi	kumpltuja	am-ki	mal'ku.
today	I accomplish	thou	demon.

"Stephen-demon, I have come to acquit myself toward thee (by offering thee) these animals on behalf of our three kinds of flocks and on behalf of married people. At this moment I have fulfilled my duty, at this moment, today, with the entire assembly I acquit myself toward thee, demon."

Aside from these insignificant details all the accessories of the festival of the samiri figured in this one but with more abundance. The sheaves of straw were more numerous and more ornate than before, and had some parina (flamingo) eggs placed at their base.

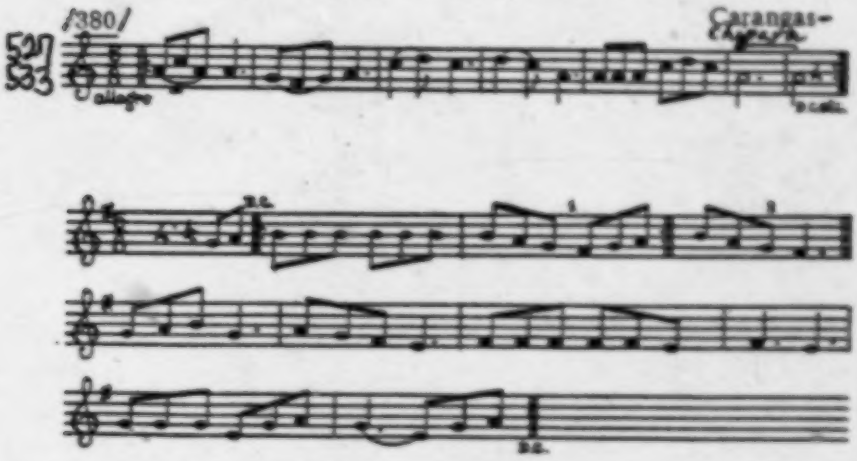
I observed only one new rite: the prayer that the alferez and his wife made successively to the four cardinal points. At the moment when they got up to proceed to this duty, the flutists began to play a melody backed by drumbeats. When they returned to the village in the evening, the alferez and alferezа both had a truss of straw on the back.

2:Métraux--109 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas—
Chipaya

/378 cont./

Fig. 38. — A. Čipaya Indian in festival clothes. Notice the crown of flamingo eggs on the head. B. Čipaya Indian equipped to participate in the Carnival dances. On his back a wild duck secured by means of a festive sling and the straw hola perdida.



527 535 974 Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to [816] everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

527 In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

527 The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week. [533] At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few [973] madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol [54] did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not [171] present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

2:Métraux--121 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas--
Cajaraya

/387 cont./

alcohol, and its blood is offered to the demons. The animal's head is placed on a table where it remains on display for several days. It is surrounded with bunches of flowers, and under the beast's snout a napkin covered with coca leaves and small dishes containing various substances, all invested with magical qualities, is placed. The residents of the hut, who have set up this altar, worship it in summary fashion, the principal manifestations of which are gestures of respect and offerings of coca and alcohol.

Divination.

Like the Aymara the Čipaya Indians practice divination on a large scale. I had one occasion to have the future predicted to me by the most highly reputed specialist of the tribe, Anacleto Mullu. The latter used only a napkin and a certain amount of coca provided by the client as accessories. He began with a short prayer murmured in a low voice, during which he carefully spread out his leaves, patting them with the palm of his hand. He brought his right hand to his mouth /388/ forming a horn and blew gently into it. Then, putting his hand gently back on the leaves, smoothing and caressing them, he repeated the question. After a short invocation he took hold of a handful of leaves which he turned with a quick movement. He separated the significant leaves from the pile to show them to me. From what I could ascertain, a leaf must be turned with its nervures on top, have the petiole behind, and the point of the limb toward the end of the fingers to be considered a good omen. The hand is always kept open, the fingers directed toward the consultant.

To be good the leaf also must not be covered by any other. The leaves which are clearly bad are those which are presented in an inverted position. The worst have their shiny side up and the petiole directed toward the consultant. The precision of the more or less categorical reply of the diviner depends on his general appraisal and on the proportion of good and bad leaves. Folded leaves are taken out and have no significance at all.

2.Mirsos--141 E-9 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 9F34 Ure 9F34
Carnegie—
Chipewyan

/956 cont./ The framework of the latter is actually formed by fagots

of tola (ʔoka, ʔoɣa) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes (xuzu) (Pl. VI, 8 /see p. 215/). They are thrust in the holes of which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1, H /see p. 142/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are superimposed and are fastened at the intersection by solid ligatures. Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cereus wood /157/. /Figure 1 appears here/ /158/ in order to allow the roofers to walk on the arches without risking them fall in.

On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum (pizina) made of straw (ɬ'it) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin covering, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are hoisted up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the faggots by means of a long wooden needle (ʔaɣa) threaded with straw cord (Fig. 1, A) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to encompass a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence of this thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the intercrossing of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross surmounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house from the effects of lightning.

Furnishings. The interior disposition of Čipeya huts is most summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[Text Continues on p.143]

Cayapa
Chipaya

/172 cont./

To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Cipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here./ /174/ a folded cloth (cabello) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric identical to the muceta; like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip.

Style of Wearing the Hair

The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (ikuru) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each other by small strings. On these strings are hung small bronze medals (ipuraba), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 198/).

The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kin, pis-kin, kwalu), the round, flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 183/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two ruinous traits which are completely typical of Andean culture.

The women know no other toilette other than the care given their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity of restoring their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few friends who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kʷaro) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig-bristles (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in

[Text Continues on p. 164]

Smithsonian--163 E-5 (1930-1931) 1930, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas -
Chipaya

/173/

/See captions on next page./

/173 cont./

29
30
302
412
53
214
134

Fig. 5. — Čipaya material culture. Clothing and accessories.

A: Diadem spangled with glass beads.
B: Woman's shirt of white wool (almil'a).
C: Cap of knitted wool (čyl'y).
D: Pin (pāz-kits) which the Čipaya women stick in their hair.
E: Hairbrush (kˣara or čaxraña) of roots.
F: Hairbrush of pig bristle.
G: Man's tunic (ira).

/184 cont./

534

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Thumb
19.8	22.6	25.7	28.9	31.8	35.0	1.65

The total length of the flute is 39.8 cm.

[177] We do not find the same disposition of the holes on pre-Spanish quena; according to all probability European influence has played a part here.

Flutes with mouthpieces. When the quena is played the current of air is shaped and directed with the lips and must be conducted against the beveled edge of the mouth to break up there and set the column of air in the pipe vibrating. For flutes with mouthpieces (Fig. 11) the formation of the current of air and the direction given to it are produced automatically; it is sufficient to blow and to control the strength of the air current. The air is led through a "vent" (see Figure 10, a /see p. 175/, which shows us a flute with mouthpiece in section) composed of the space between the walls of the pipe and a block of some material inserted in the opening of the flute. The air passes through this channel and strikes against the lower brim (lip).

[824] Čipaya flutes with mouthpieces are made of tola (Baccharis tola). These Indians /185/ make them themselves, taking an old one as a model to give them the distance between the holes. These flutes are made of a branch which is split along its entire length. The two halves are hollowed out and then joined again in such a way that the air cannot escape. Where a perfect joint could not be made, the chinks have been sealed with resin. Since it is difficult with the bushes at the disposal of the Čipaya to come across straight branches, most of the flutes are not straight. Some even have the shape of a segment of a circle, a form which is perhaps intentional (Fig. 8, H /see p. 173/).

Fig. 11. Flute with mouthpiece.

U 796 415

/188 cont./

Some families still have kˣeru, i.e., large wooden mugs (3),

3. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII, Pl. XVII, D.

beautiful specimens of which have been recovered in Peru. These vessels come out of their hiding-places only at festival time and are used only for libations of chicha. According with the ancient Inca way, they are always presented in pairs in the same way as the drinking cups of alcohol. The kˣeru which I saw in the hands of the Čipaya lack decoration, but the greyish substance which adheres to them is without doubt all that remains of the lacquer which covered the outside surface of it. These pieces are not easy to get, for the Indians consider them of great value and are very attached to them. They assert, perhaps rightly, that they date from the Inca period.

U [782]

The bowl (umaña) in the bottom of which allama with its young has been modeled (4) is destined to hold the chicha which the

4. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII, Pl. XVII, A.

Indians pour out as a libation in honor of the Pachamama when they request fecundity of the herds from her.

U 778 [824]

No Čipaya hut lacks one or two palm-wood sticks with a rope for suspension (5). These sticks (kamana-para) which are the /189/

M 554 824

5. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII, Pl. XVI, D.—Among the Quichua of Acomayo, to become mandón or campo it is indispensable to have made "the voyage to the valleys to bring back palms /palmes/ for certain religious ceremonies, such as the promenades after mass on Palm Sunday."

/189 cont./

after mass on Palm Sunday."
It is not impossible that the
palm /palmier/ wood of the
Čipaya corresponds to these "palms"
of the Quichua. Cf. Ordóñez
(Dr. Pastor), "Los Varayocc."
Revista Universitaria. Cuzco,
eighth year. No. 29, September,
1919, p. 43.

guardians of the house are worshiped with libations and fumigations. They are also indispensable accessories for the magicians who always plant them before themselves when they are going to make a prayer or a sacrifice to the demons. One must also not forget among the objects used in worship the baked clay censers which are shaped like a footed cup, and the small cupules for libations.

Division of Labor

	Men	Women	
House-building	+	-	
Straw rope	-	+	
Spinning	+	+	
Weaving	-	+	
Weaving with treadle loom	+	-	
Cooking	-	+	
Livestock care	+	+	(preferably the children)
Cheese	-	+	
Milking of the sheep	-	+	
Shearing of the sheep	+	-	
Rope-making	+	-	

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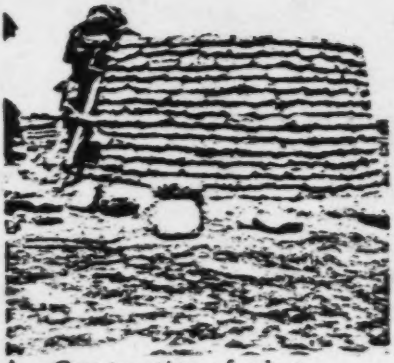
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

/190 cont./

the circular hut is not exclusively peculiar to Chipaya. Near Toledo at Kxulliri an agglomeration exists formed of perfectly round huts which from a distance recall those of the Čipaya although much larger. I stopped for a night in this village to study them, but unfortunately having used up my store of film I could not take photographs of them. These huts were architecturally much more perfected than those of Chipaya. The dome which surmounted them although covered with straw did not rest on a frame of tola but on a cupola made of 22 tiers of clods whose perfection I could admire. The clods that composed it were smaller than in Chipaya and fitted with more care. Given the width, the diameter of the hut, and its height, the erection of this roof must have demanded much time and not a little precision. When going through this village so like that of the Čipaya which I had just left, I though that I had discovered a new Uro tribe. My hypothesis was legitimate because the region which I was traversing had formerly been occupied by numerous ethnic islands of this race. I inquired among the inhabitants for the reasons which made them prefer the circular form of the huts to the rectangular plan adopted everywhere else in Aymara territory. They replied that they were obliged to build houses on this model because of lack of wood. The plain where the village of Kxulliri was standing does, in fact, very much recall in its bareness that of Chipaya. This is, I believe, the reason why the Čipaya also have kept the circular hut of their ancestors. To construct a house on a rectangular plan with a double-pitched roof, wood is necessary. /191/ at the very least laths of Cereus, and this cactus does not grow everywhere. The Aymara who have been fortunate enough to have this plant close to them have been able to change the type of their primitive habitation. The others, less favored by nature or too poor to buy the necessary wood, have remained, like it or not, more conservative. Midway between Oruro and La Paz when traveling by train, one sees some villages on the right where the huts are round and of an identical construction with those of Kxulliri. Besides this Forbes (1)

2:Métraux--215 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

Plate VI



A. Construction of a hut.

B. Construction of a hut: the faggots of tola are arranged in arches.

C. Čipaya hut made entirely of clods.

D. The Aymara church in Iscara (Carangas Province).

3:Vellard--6d D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

283
412

9. Fisher preparing straw ropes to make a balsa. He is using a stone hammer.

396
824

10. Construction of a balsa: preparation of the three totora cylinders: the heart and the two side parts.

/171 cont./

*539 192 193 1. píni means "many"; with hána it may be rendered by "no more"; učúmi, exclusive personal pronoun /172/ for the first person plural. 2. šalák, probably the Spanish chacra, "cultivated field"; the Uru do not have their own word to designate fields. 4. The ending čay added to a root gives it [136] the verbal form. 6. xui, interrogative particle. 7. suche, small kind of sheatfish from the Titicaca region; it is the [824] Trichomycterus dispar. 8. totora, Scirpus totora, the reeds of Lake Titicaca used by the Uru to build their balsas, cover their houses, and for other uses. 12. ke-, particle of repetition. [101] 14. tòxša, literally "other persons," designates all men other than the Uru; nak' for náka, plural form of pronouns.

*539 396

II. Manufacture of Balsas from Totoras
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 154 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. Let us go, as is our custom, to find totoras to make a [283] balsa. 2. We are accustomed to go far to make the straw ropes /necessities/. 3. Three days are needed to dry (the straw ropes). 4. The straw ropes are well dried now. 5. Now all these totoras are well dried. 6. Let us make the balsa. 7. A man cuts the totora. 8. The totora is tied (in bunches). 9. Three have to be made (bunches of totora): the heart (the middle spindle) and the two side spindles of the balsa. 10. We tie (the spindles); now we are going to squeeze them together very tightly, at first it takes two men to squeeze it together. 11. We have the custom of sprinkling (the totora) with water so that it does not dry. 12. Now we are going to tighten; to tighten we are accustomed to use a hook. 13. We beat (the totora) with /173/ a rock (in order to compress it).

/173 cont./

*539 [396] 14. We are going to place a rim of totoras. 15. He attaches the rim of the balsa. 16. He tightens the rim of the balsa. 17. We are going to finish. 18. (The totora) is still a bit loose; we are going to tighten it a bit more. 19. All is finished. 20. Now the balsa is ready. 21. Let us go fishing [501] with the new balsa. 22. We are not going to hoist a sail? 23. We are not accustomed to use a sail; there is too little water. 24. We always use a boat hook manipulated by hand. [226] 25. Here is the stone which is attached to the large net so that the fish can enter. 26. The fish is going to enter (the net); now we are going to lift (the net) up and put it in the balsa.

Remarks

This text is divided into two parts. The first, 1 to 20, describes the making of balsas from totoras. The second is a succinct description of fishing with a net in the swamps of the Desaguadero.

*539 396 [824] To build their balsas the Uru use the Scirpus totora, which used to grow in abundance in the swamps of the Desaguadero and at numerous points on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Two Indians work at the same time on the con- [114] struction of a balsa. First they lay out the bunches of totoras on the ground, from which they make three spindles the length of the balsa, two large side ones and a middle one which is shorter and thinner; this middle cylinder, the "heart of the balsa," used to stabilize the craft, has passed unnoticed by practically all the authors who have concerned themselves [171] with the Uru. Only the fishers on the lagoon of Arapa, to the north of Lake Titicaca, who speak Keĺwa, build balsas, small and rather narrow, formed with two cylinders.

[284] The totora of three cylinders is held in place with the aid of thin straw plaits (2-4), which hold the cylinders evenly between them. These straw ropes are tightened in a progressive and methodical fashion by two /174/ men, working alternately

/180/

Remarks

*539 206 The Uru build dams of totoras in a V-form on the Desaguadero, the point oriented toward the direction of the current. A narrow passage contrived at the point is closed at the time of fishing by means of a large circular net, the kâku, installed on a balsa. Fishers standing on one or several balsas go downstream, beating the water with long poles furnished with a totora ball, in order to frighten the fish which, descending the river course, enter the enclosure and fall into the net [423] placed at the point. Each Uru family has its fishing enclosure, very far away from those of its neighbors (6-7). The distribution of the location of these enclosures as well as the use of the totora fields which are used to make balsas was ruled by Uru customary law.

*539 193 1. ti- ki or simply -ki, a particle to designate the object about which one is speaking: this enclosure here; this river here (5). 6. ɟîla- ɟîla, literally "one," means "one for each"; the repetition of the adverb hâske hâske has the value of a superlative; "far, far, very far"; Aymara and Keĕwa form the superlative in an identical manner: eg.: Kala- Kala, "rock rock," in Aymara: "many rocks."

VII. The Village of the Uru at Iru-Itu
Comments on photographs by Manuel Inta

(See p. 164 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 [346] 1. Is this your chapel? 2. It is our chapel. 3. These are our houses. 4. The chapel is seen from behind. 5. The chapel is good that way (seen from the front). 6. The totora [214] is kept upright in a heap. /181/ 7. It is kept in a heap so that it will not rot.

4:Vellard--4 D.E-4, 8 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th Century]

/31 cont./

[175] [342] They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes, which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tule....

[262] [181] ...They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant, although not very good.... They dress badly and eat, aside from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land; they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They [248] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general [251] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/...., 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua: Juicio de límites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/, Barcelona, 1906, I, 295-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[124] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats [101] and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/...., Madrid, 1601-1615, III, 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[33] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current, according to what they say.

[16th Century]

/32 cont./

175 according to what they say. It[1] is crossed on a remarkable
[491] contrivance, peculiar to the Indies, a straw bridge placed on
[824] the water itself, which is of such light material that it does not sink, and it is a very safe and easy crossing...there grow large quantities of a type of reed that the Indians call totora, which they use for a thousand things, because it is food for pigs and for horses, and for the people themselves; and with it they make house and fire, and boat and whatever is needed;
[101] so much do the Uros find in their totora. These Uros are so brutish that they themselves do not regard themselves as men. It is said of them that when asked what people they were they replied that they were not men but Uros, as though this were
[361] another class of animals. Entire pueblos of Uros were found living on the lake, on their totora rafts, joined together and fastened to some large rock, and they may fetch themselves off from there and move a whole pueblo to another location; and thus when sought today where they were yesterday, no trace of them is to be found, or of their pueblo..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia natural y moral de las Indias /Natural and Moral History of the Indies/, 1590. Book II, Chap. VI.)

Noticia sobre los Indios Uros en un Memorial de la Epoca del Virrey Toledo /Note on the Uro Indians in a Memorial of the Epoch of the Toledo Viceroy/.

175 The Inca, being below Lima, sent one of his captains,
648 called Casiracapa, to those heights with many men, to survey
[511] the land and recount to him what he saw there, /33/ and while traveling through the land he came across some people whose dwellings were like those of animals, and who lived in them like brutish animals, around a large Lake, naked, and eating nothing but roots of plants that grew in the Lake, and some Fish if they caught it, and when the Captain saw these people,
[728] he recounted the fact to the Inca and was sent by him to re-
[949] move them from the Lake and resettle them among the

[1] [ie., Lake Titicaca outlet--Ambrt]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Anciently, it is said, the *Uru* went entirely nude, which is quite incredible in view of the bitterly cold winters in this region. The essential male costume is like the pre-Columbian *Chipaya* uncu—a sleeveless, sacklike garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This is woven of llama yarn on a simple bar loom staked in the ground. Recently, most *Uru* males have adopted trousers of the *Aymara* style: short, with a slit at the heel, and tailored of native homespun after a Colonial pattern. The slit permits the trousers to be rolled up more easily when a man fishes from a balsa or wades in shallow water. Leather sandals are sometimes worn when traveling, but people usually go barefoot. A knit wool cap, with *Aymara*-style earflaps, is sometimes topped with a crude, *Aymara*-manufactured felt hat. A belt is sometimes worn, and occasionally a thick woolen poncho. Caps woven of bird feathers were known in ancient days.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts, girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at the top over each shoulder with a large-headed copper pin (tupu). When traveling in cold weather, the women wear woven woolen wimples over the head under the hat.

Women part their hair in the middle and wear it in two braids tied behind the back with vicuña-wool filets; only a few still wear the ancient style "Titicaca braids"—countless small braidlets all over the head. Women wash their hair in fermented human urine. *Uru* men wear their hair short in quasi-European fashion or in an all-around tropical bang.

BOATS

The *Uru* are famous balsa builders (pl. 115, *bottom*). Their craft, though actually rafts made of totora reeds, are shaped like boats and are highly navigable even in narrow, shallow swampways. The reeds are cut with knives attached to poles, then, after drying, are stacked in shocks like corn. Nearly every able-bodied *Uru* male has quantities of this material in all stages of preparation for balsas. During spare moments in their houses, they are continually braiding ichu grass into tough ropes to bind the reed bundles. The keel is formed of a long, thin, tubular bundle of reeds; and separately lashed to this keel are two thick, cigar-shaped pontoon-bundles. Each of these pontoons is built up of reeds so arranged as to be very thick in the middle of the boat and to have upturned points at each end. An acute-angled wooden tool with a groove inside one arm is used to tighten the binding. To keep out small waves, gunwales consisting of much thinner bundles of totora are lashed to the upper outside

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with variolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The malku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own malku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant. The cult of the malku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulas and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (thicha, "severine," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the malku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candles are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

Tribute Committee [-1 (per diem) 1969 SP34 Uru SP34

women. The hair is divided into innumerable tiny braids, each decorated with a small flat piece of bone, or a miniature bronze idol exactly like those found at Tiahuanaco. 304 [301]

Chipaya men wear a costume similar to the ajoy used by various Indians in eastern Bolivia. It resembles the shirt worn by the women, but is fuller because it is square. In former times it was the only garment worn by the men; trousers are a recent addition. Colorful decorated ponchos are always slung from the left. The short striped poncho is known as the Chipaya capa. The hair is cut short all the way around and is covered with a cap similar to the chullo of the Aymaras; the distinction lies in the broad ear flaps worn by the Aymaras in contrast to the smaller ones and the earth fiber cloth of the Chipaya caps. 291 [277] [293] [300] [277]

Every Chipaya family owns at least one drum. These instruments are common in the altiplano, but the square shape of the Chipaya drum makes it unique. It is also unusually small, measuring six to eight inches on a side and about two inches in thickness. It is covered with tanned llama skin, stretched over a wooden frame. This instrument is thought to be pre-Columbian, since its unusual construction is no dissimilar to that of the drums introduced by the Spaniards. The Chipayas make two kinds of flutes. The straight Andean flutes are generally made of bamboo, which is brought from other regions and becomes brittle very quickly in the dry climate here. 324 [281] [324] •

[Text Cont'd from p. 24-B]

[p. 21-B]

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Chipaya

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chinese vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *machos*; the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P 22-8]

8/Pak T-5 (ca.1954) 1955

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rily to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Roca, not having sleeping-bags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies.

Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *pampa*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or greatcoats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* *). This latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to RETIRE TO OUR RESPECTIVE QUARTERS.

*) Yareta, a fungus which grows just under the turfs and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[D-310-A]

B/Peru T-6 (pa.1954) 1956
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were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been pressured to supplement with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him standing motionless and followed the younger one down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe drought. The watertevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the totora, withered and disappeared. These totora play as important a part among the Uru as the lliata among the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the stems are used for making balsas, mats and ropes, the roots or *kaware* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

Fortunately in these last few years the climatic conditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totora have once more increased. These reeds, with their tall pointed leaves, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, entwined and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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stone mine, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no huts at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymara villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kotawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pito*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *tuba* (Uru *suni*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*cala*, *kauri*, or *kaima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymara.

Kotawa is ground on a stone sloping outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likta* or *likti*, or *cawinchamia* according to Paloveciuo. Pomansky (page 162) says they sometimes make chicha of masticated maize also; *likti* is made from a plant called *kiawi* or *kiari*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymara but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pulida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "chola" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kowla*, of *totora* bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Paloveciuo thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their balsas to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of totora into the mud they use the *gaff* (*almea*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W. Loh.)] The bundle is placed against the *gaff*, the end of which rests on the lip-

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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wooden hafts and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.[8] They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking; spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yoḍewa*), and kill with their *balsa* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*liñi*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *ṭarki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña; ruhaja*, a word obviously related to Aymará *kaja*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold[9] small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lanced, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the viscacha (*ajiłoi*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, roof-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails; and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymara neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

[8] An Uru lance from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

[9] The Aymara have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "bone-monkey" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *hakaya* ("to split"), *wawi* (vicuña), *q'awaya* ("snakes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-coated vicuña scream. The Aymara schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "chicha" interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("barbed") yell of this familiar phrase: *q'ala hakaya wawi q'awaya, ara ara!*

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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396 knives on the ends of poles, then stacked in shocks like corn, after they have been dried spread out in the sun. Nearly all able-bodied Uru males have quantities of these materials in various stages toward the manufacture of the complete boats. In their houses, even, in spare moments, men are continually braiding *ičw*-grass into tough ropes to bind the boats together.

Though shaped like a boat, the *balsa* is of course actually a raft. A handful of reeds is bound together and repeatedly thickened with more reeds as the middle of the cigar-shaped element is reached, then tapered off again into a point. The only tool used in the manufacture of this is a wooden hook [413] (*kaχlu*) with a handle at an acute angle to it, used to tighten the lashing of grass rope. A more tubular and thinner sheaf of reeds forms the keel of the *balsa*, and two of the fat cigar-shaped bundles are separately lashed to it, forming a sort of sea-sled type of hull, which cannot be overturned in a storm; the thinner ends of these cigar-shaped bundles are slightly raised fore and aft of the boat. To form gunwales, a still thinner and tubular sheaf of reeds is lashed (during its own round-and-round binding with braided grass rope) through the original lashing of the hull-elements. One of these gunwales (*pinča*) is placed on each side of the top of the hull-elements to prevent splashing of water onto the occupants of the boat as it is poled along. The Uru *balsa* thus differs from the Aymára[36] type in that its two [191] large basic elements are lashed to a central "keel" and not to each other (though the bulwark lacings are similarly looped through the lacings of the two hull-elements); it has therefore five instead of four elements. The Uru also rig their *totora*-mat sails with a slight difference from the Aymára. [502] Sails, however, can only be used on the Lake and on the open river "before the wind" since the boat has no center-board and cannot tack. In the narrow swampways a punt pole or gaff (*teksi*) with a stubby trident at its end is [824] used to push the boat along. The wood for these comes from the *yungas* of the Cordillera Real's eastern, tropical slopes. (See Posnansky, Fig. 83.) A complete *balsa* cost in 1937 from ten to sixteen *bolivianos*, then worth about 5¢.

285 Of Uru textiles we have already noted twined single-element *totora balsa*-sails, twined many-element mattress-mats of reed, fish- and bird-nets (which they themselves make of cord obtained in Guaqui from La Paz), and 283 single-element twined roof mats of *totora*. Métraux has an excellent description (page 86) of the preparation by soaking, pounding, and rolling of the wiry grasses of the region (*Stipa ichu*, *Festucha orthophylla*, and *F. dis-*

[113] [36] Lorenzo R. Parodi, *Las balsas usadas por los Aymaras en el lago Titicaca* (Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. 11, Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 145-149. Métraux' description (JSAP 27: 84) is of the Aymára type.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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FIG. 3. Making an Uru balsa, Arcoaqui, Bolivia.

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133 No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence
187 the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly was credited to it there can be no doubt that Cipaya mythology would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the
[54] Carangas deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness: "these bare plains where we live," such is the expression which
133 most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an impression of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes in a pale stroke.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous without the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Cipaya worship, is not visible from the village itself. Cerro Camacha hiding it from sight.

136 The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina) (Phoenicopterus andinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly disdained by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining themselves in red against the brilliant blue of the puna sky. The
237 Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the
325 great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated
[182] with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I
[301] have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of flamingo eggs threaded together.

/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Chipaya tales have a small rodent, the toxo (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), promoted to the rank of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 230 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jímenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

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/327 cont./

consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerónimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku, Kemperani-mal'ku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, and their church tower (Turi-mal'ku).

The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio mal'ku, and by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

/328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumaries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Čipaya.

The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that of Virxina, which they make follow the word for earth (taika). Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

/331 cont./

Further on (p. 115) the description of a sacrifice made by a Čipaya Indian in honor of a titi-mal'ku, i.e. the wildcat protector of his house will be given. In a hut which served as a storage place in Chipaya, I saw a stuffed hawk, mamani, which was likewise pointed out to me as the mal'ku of the family which owned the hut.

Certain characters in Aymara folklore also bear the epithet mal'ku. Thus the Wasa mal'ku, mysterious protector of wild animals. These examples allow us at present to form a fairly clear idea of the evolution undergone by the word mal'ku and of its present meaning. In the beginning this term denoted pre-eminence, whether it was purely secular and due to social rank or derived from the sacred nature of the object or person thus qualified. The substitution of approximate Spanish equivalents for the ancient native names designating the different degrees of authority has caused the use of the word mal'ku in the sense of chief to disappear. It is only preserved in the language to denote excellence, that which is worthy of respect, and consequently the supernatural and sacred. This evolution has been carried through to its most extreme limit, and today mal'ku can be translated in certain instances by "demon." In some Čipaya prayers the magician calls indiscriminately upon "all the mal'ku"; he invites the "mal'ku" to come eat the pieces of meat which are tossed to them in the air.

/332/ The bibliographical research which I have undertaken has brought me only rare examples of the word mal'ku being attributed to supernatural beings or being invested with the meaning "sacred." The present natives of the Huarochirí region (1) worship

1. Tello (Julio C.) and Mirando (Prospero). "Wallallao. Ceremonias Gentílicas realizadas en la Región Cisandina del Perú Central /Wallallao. Pagan Ceremonies carried out in the Cisandean Region of Central Peru/." Inca, Lima, Vol. I. No. 2. 1923. pp. 475-549, 510, 532, 545.

2:Métraux--109 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Fig. 36. — A. Čipaya Indian in festival clothes. Notice the crown of flamingo eggs on the head. B. Čipaya Indian equipped to participate in the Carnival dances. On his back a wild duck secured by means of a festive sling and the straw bola perdida.

[824]
[982]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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fered to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulas with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by *Métraux* (1935 c, pp. 398–418) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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Bertonio, 1879 b; Brinton, 1890; Chamberlain, 1910; Crépin-Montfort and Rivet, 1933–37; Ehrenreich, 1905; Forbes, 1870; La Barre, 1941; La Grasserie, 1894; Latcham, 1910; Métraux, 1934 c, 1935 b, 1935 c, 1936 a, 1936 b, 1936 c; Ore, 1607; Polo, 1901; Posnansky, 1934; Rivet, 1933–37; Uhle, 1896; Vásquez de Espinosa, 1942.

/181 cont./

*539 [501] it will not rot. 8. This is a balsa from the big lake. 9. Its prow is raised. 10. That one is a big balsa. 11. That one is a small balsa. 12. There are no other balsas. 13. This is a house of the other people (the Aymara). 14. This is a house of unburnt bricks (adobes). 15. This is a house of the Aymara community (lit., "of the other people"). 16. What more shall I tell thee? That is all. 17. Now I want to rest, oh father.

Remarks

*539 124 This text reproduces the comments of old Manuel Inta, looking at a series of photographs of his native village, Iru-Itu, and of the region. The photographs of Iru-Itu were recognized without difficulty; those of less familiar sites provoked various reflections before being well identified (13-15).

*539 193 1. xwĩ, interrogative particle; kapĩĺá, this is the Spanish word capilla, "chapel." 4. We have not found any passive form among the Uru; to express the idea "has been seen from the back," the informant used the active voice: cèrk'- ku ɨi- nís- ɨay, literally one he has seen; ku indicates the recent past. It must be noted that this cast of mind was spontaneous, no question having been put to him; ɨ used in the text is an elision for i, "one," and has suffered a contraction with the previous vowel. 9. hoća expresses the idea of "point," being able to indicate as well as the raised prow of the balsa, a mountain summit, the nose, or the verb "to point" in the sense of being in a pointed form. 9-10-11. The narrator describes the three principal types of balsas of the Uru: with a raised, pointed prow for navigation on Titicaca (big lake); the big fishing balsas of the Desaguadero for three or four people, and the small balsas for one or two people. 13-15. tòxĩa, "others," or tòxĩa nãka, /182/ "other people," the usual way to designate

*539 [501]

[101] [824]

/182 cont./

the Aymara used by the Uru, who consider themselves as constituting a pre-human species (not a race) apart. There are two human species, the Uru, a primitive species representing the first, pre-human creations, and the Aymara, who belong, as do all the other present-day people, to the last creation.

15. Note a Hispanicism, kumunitá, to designate the native community of Jesus de Machaca, upon which the Uru are now dependent; it is an idea which is foreign to their own sociology.

16-17. The narrator, tired by his interpretive efforts, has no more to say and wants to rest. Note the polite form híp'- pay, "father," corresponding to "monsieur."

VIII. Xoxi-cay, the Thunder
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 166 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. It will still thunder very strongly; the storm is coming. 2. The roof of the house will let the water through; it is not good at all. 3. Look again to see if the storm is going away. 4. It is thundering again. 5. The thunder can only kill a person of another race. 6. Never, since the most ancient times, has the thunder killed one of us. 7. The thunder has made me very afraid.

Remarks

This text makes allusion to a very deeply rooted belief among the Uru: they cannot be struck by lightning, so feared by all the populations of the altiplano. According to them lightning only strikes the people "of another race": Aymaras, half-breeds, or Europeans. Also the Uru do not have any

[p. 10 omitted in pagination.]

/182 cont./ Also the Uru do not have any apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/ at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations. However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kispe, is very frightened of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood. Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was fatherless. "hána hap' ?a?- ?ay." "no father is," "an illegitimate son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder, drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

From the point of view of vocabulary this text shows the same irregularities as the preceding text by the same informant (V) /see p. 15/ frequent elision of final vowels: ?a instead of ?ay; the repeated use (1-7) of wáli, "much," an Aymara form not found in the texts nor in the numerous phrases gathered from the other informant. 2. wáli- píni, association of an Aymara word and an Uru word with the same meaning to reinforce the idea; we find an analogous case in ji- hán (3), the Uru-Spanish association already noted. 2. hána kála ?i ?óla, "not good good is," association of two words of almost identical meaning to reinforce the idea: "this is not good at all." 3. The particle -kála after the verb "to go" has the exact meaning of ex in Latin, literally exit. 4. The correct form would be war- ji. 6. háshe indicates a very distant fact, an idea still more strengthened by the suffix -ta, sign of the past: "a very long time ago."

/193 cont./

162 Besides these 21 subjects, who considered themselves as pure Uru, three Aymara women living with some Urus had settled in the village with five children.

129 The concept of pure Uru is completely arbitrary; 211 its value is more social than racial. At all times adoption in 218 various forms made the incorporation of a subject of another origin into the group possible, and he was from then on con-
[128] sidered a true Uru. This was the case with an Aymara child, whom we, of course, dropped from our list.

129 Children of an Uru mother and an unknown father were considered pure Uru.

One of our informants, Carlos Kispe, was himself, as we have seen, a "without father." Although considered an Uru, all his physical and mental characteristics clearly distinguished him from the other members of the group.

The Uru considered Aymara women born in neighboring villages and their children, even if born of Uru fathers, as foreigners. This matrilineal law is interesting to note.

124 Aymara women refused to let themselves or their children be examined. Nothing could persuade the two old Uru women.

We were hence reduced to the nine following subjects:

Men

142 Manuel Inta. An old patriarch 80 to 90 years old, born of Uru father and mother. White, rather thick hair; beard reduced to a few short hairs, entirely white. Thin lips; a straight-nosed profile. No Mongolian fold, /194/ but the presence of a male-marginal fold, very distinct, on the far part of the eyelid.
[63] Four living sons. Tomas and three others who have left the village; three daughters, among them Andrés and Célestine, and four dead children.

Tomas Inta. 50 to 60 years old. Manuel's son. Considered pure Uru. No white hair. Thin lips, straight nose. Very marked male-marginal fold.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

601 female baby, little girl = ul-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa in; young girl = paz-pak-uk; young woman = ut.

585 *Marriage.* Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is 591 patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male 163 than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with 553 other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára 548 women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, 632 and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

621 *Political Organization.* If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *kilacata*, commonly called *ilacata* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde?*) is called in 692 Uru *lupuli* or *newatuttiki* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *loud lupuli* ("big *lupuli*"). 701 Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *kilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

195 *Dances and Ceremonies.* Bertonio[29] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 535 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchku* (*kuču*) or *ti-a quir-*198 *kitku* (*kirkiñ'a*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chunpas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the 529 vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 22rd to the 533 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of 535 the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *willaxlu* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *purip'ia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurilla* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panza" or "panzilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kowa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurilla" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[29] Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 84 and 101. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 105.

Archives--112 E-8 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SP24 Uru SP24
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/381 cont./ [illegible], I believe, had a few quarrels and exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Condoriri-mal'ku, is common to the two ayu, was recited in the course of this sacrifice:

Turi-mal'ku.	Tawk	mal'ku.	Santa Ana.	mal'ku	tuanta.
Tower-demon.	great	demon.	Saint Anne.	demon	east.

tantatino.	maintli.	ephiti	kaiki	
west of	he who obtains.	who prays.	in this manner.	

cuma.	waina.	tiempo	t'maintlamal'a.	wala.	wala.
good	young	weather	hearken to me.	good.	good.

cuma	wata	t'maintlita	t apa	awayantlita.
good	year	grant us	all	servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuanta and Tuaata ayu, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol. Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred sticks. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

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/206 cont./

of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to drama: a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me, bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of freedom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They speak to their husbands in firm and decisive tones, and no decision can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never mistreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya compare very favorably with the Uro of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race, who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence. The last 20 Uro of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to stay with them.

/206 cont./

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/116 cont./

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that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

163 The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

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[858]

162 One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants [439] of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Incara seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have [439] shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

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[197]

The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

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/389 cont./

The Čipaya Indians of Carangas have been so deeply impregnated with the influence of the Aymara Indians that we may presume that, in the sphere of medicine, they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbors of the altiplano. It is completely justifiable if their knowledge is more rudimentary because of their isolation and the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the medical substances, almost all of which come from the Yungas. I was able to convince myself of this by examining one day a bag of medicine which had been left by a deceased Čipaya, the father of a young Indian with whom I had a friendly relationship. In the legacy of the old man I found several pharmaceutical products which I had obtained in the Oruro market. The deceased possessed small amounts of them which he had carefully wrapped in some small rags. His son refused to sell them to me, allegedly because of their great value and the difficulty of procuring them. I doubt, however, that anyone in Chipaya could have benefited from them, for, to my knowledge at least, there is no Indian in this village who possesses sufficient skill to carry out their application.

Practically every day in the hut which I was occupying I received visits from Indians coming to ask me for remedies for various ills. The most frequent was constipation, which seems to frighten the Čipaya very much. I was also able to see a hernia and a terrible infection which the Indians treated by applying a piece of llama heart to the abscess. The Indians often called upon me to care for swellings, the result of drubbings which they had not spared themselves in their domestic quarrels. Some also came to beg me to cure them of impotence. In some not very serious cases of swellings or localized pains, the Indians content themselves with sticking a coca leaf on the skin.

At present the empirical medicine of the Čipaya seems to be limited to a certain number of insignificant recipes, frequently and easily applied. Faced with a serious case they have recourse to complicated magical processes which I had the good fortune to observe. I should not be able to say, however, if the exceptional

/160 cont./

233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to them[1] at more or less
close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their
[234] cheeses. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the chil-
dren from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them
• [235] the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from
whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous
progeny.

[236] Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20
[237] sheep (ušа), an indefinite number of pigs (kuči), and several llamas
(uwala). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut
in the ear.

[238] Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on
/161/ the pastures belonging to his saya (moiety). No markers mark
the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal
which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the
members of the other saya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

231 The shepherds have dogs /paku/, middling in size, with
232 rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals,
which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I
have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye with-
out its astounded owner having time to intervene.

236 Sheep shearing (čipla) takes place at the same time for the
233 whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for
[240] this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and
all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

233 Like all pastoral people the Čipaya are loath to consume the
224 meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the
occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the
meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from
time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their
[231] flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied
by a certain religious ceremony.

1 [i.e., to their "water houses" or estancias -- Analyst]

2:Métraux--31 E-S (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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The Religion

Preliminary Remarks

Aymara and Spanish influence. The Čipaya /Chipaya/ have probably been Catholic for a very long time. I do not know the date when they were converted but I presume it to have been a long time ago. It is possible that their conversion to Christianity took place at the time when a priest came to settle at Corque, perhaps at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The churches of the neighboring Aymara villages were doubtless already in existence in the eighteenth century and perhaps even in the seventeenth. The one that stands in the middle of the Čipaya clans can hardly be more than 50 years old. The Indians were incapable of giving me information on this subject, as was the curé of Huachacalla on whom the Čipaya depend. These Indians are totally ignorant of all religious doctrine, for only once a year, in June, do they receive a visit from their spiritual shepherd, who has nothing more pressing than to leave this desolate region and this wretched flock. The Čipaya nevertheless insist on celebrating their marriages or the birth of their children at the church; in each of these circumstances they undertake the trip to Huachacalla.

The religion of the Čipaya is essentially pagan as you will be convinced upon reading the following chapters. The relative isolation of this Uro tribe, the often superficial work of the first Spanish missionaries, the worthlessness and lack of zeal of the modern Bolivian clergy have contributed in different degrees to the preservation of the beliefs and practices of the pre-Columbian epoch in this lost village. So many causes must have favored the persistence of the past that it is difficult to explain to oneself /326/ the number of Christian elements which are mingled with the ancient rites. The whole way of life of this fossilized people would make one think

B:Métraux--209 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Uro SF24

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/206 cont./

of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

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large part, and this to the great dismay of the respectable guardian of the ruins of Tiahuanaco who had accompanied him to La Paz and whose watchfulness he tricked in order to enter his village alone. A very limited knowledge of Aymara, none of Spanish or Kelwa /Quechua/. An excellent informant.

Carlos Kispe, from 45 to 50 years old, one of the youngest men in the group. He displayed characteristics in his physical appearance which led one to suspect a certain degree of Aymara crossbreeding (see the Endnote, on Physical Anthropology /p. 30/). Besides he was an illegitimate son, born of an unknown father. Much more enterprising than Manuel Inta, he spoke Aymara fluently, but neither Spanish nor Kelwa. He had frequent contacts with the neighboring Aymara populations and, faced with the persistant drought, was thinking of leaving Iru-Itu to go live as a fisher at Guaki. He also proved to be an excellent informant, but his syntax was less pure and less varied than that of Manuel Inta and his vocabulary poorer and more mixed with Aymara; he did not use, or even did not know, a certain number of words used by his companion.

It is interesting to underline these differences in /150/ language between individuals of the same village, belonging to two different generations. They allow us to follow the rapid evolution of languages entrusted to oral tradition alone without any monument to establish them.

Outside these two principal informants, we utilized other inhabitants of the village, either for the general investigation or for word comparisons.

For each text we shall indicate the informant who provided it. These texts were gone over several times with the informant in order to obtain as exact a transcription as possible. Their translation was always checked in Aymara. Even so, in the course of the same text, considerable variations in pronunciation will be observed, which do not appear to follow any definite rule. They indicate a certain phonetic instability, more marked, of course, between different observers.

/182 cont./ also the Uru do not have any apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/ at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations. However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kispe, is very frightened of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood. Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was fatherless. "hána hep' ǰeǰ- ǰay," "no father is," "an illegitimate son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder, drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

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Schifferus--106 E-S (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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/377 cont./

Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Čipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Čipaya Indian is the festival par excellence beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here./ /379/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other ayas are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only heaven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its sottishness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extoled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Čipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Čipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text Continues on P. 110]

Campas--
Campa

/160 cont./

233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to their [illegible] at more or less
234 close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their
● [234] houses. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the chil-
[235] dren from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them
the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure -- from
whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous
progeny.

[232] Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20
[233] sheep (ñiñi), an indefinite number of pigs (boᵛi), and several llamas
(wasia). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut
in the ear.

[236] Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on
/161/ the pastures belonging to his niya (misery). No markers mark
the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal
which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the
members of the other niya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

231 The shepherds have dogs /pako/, middling in size, with
233 rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals,
which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I
have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye with-
out its astounded owner having time to intervene.

234 Sheep shearing (ᵛipiña) takes place at the same time for the
235 whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for
[240] this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and
all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

233 Like all pastoral people the ᵛipaya are loath to consume the
234 meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the
occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the
meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from
time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their
[231] flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied
by a certain religious ceremony.

[i.e., to their "water houses" or estancias -- Analyst]

Residence--LAC 6-6 (1000-1011) 1938, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga-
Chipaya

/[illegible]/

after mass on Palm Sunday."
It is not impossible that the
palm /palmas/ used of the
Chipaya corresponds to these "palms"
of the Quichua. Cf. Chávez
(Dr. Pastor), "Las Yaraquez."
Revista Universitaria. Cuzco,
eighth year. No. 28. September,
1918. p. 43.

[illegible] guardians of the house are worshiped with libations and fumigations.
They are also indispensable accessories for the magicians who al-
ways place them before themselves when they are going to make a
[illegible] prayer or a sacrifice to the demons. One must also not forget among
the objects used in worship the baked clay censers which are shaped
like a footed cup, and the small cupules for libations.

[illegible]

Division of Labor

	Men	Women	
House-building	+	-	
Straw rope	-	+	
Spinning	+	+	
Weaving	-	+	
Weaving with treadle loom	+	-	
Cooking	-	+	
[illegible] Livestock care	+	±	(preferably the children)
Cheese	-	+	
Milking of the sheep	-	+	
Shearing of the sheep	+	-	
Rope-making	+	-	

/205 cont./

same. Boredom and silence overwhelm the village. The children themselves share in this general sullenness: they never have fun, so to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a vague eye or stay squatting in their huts chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material or occupy their leisure time by looking for fleas on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

The Čipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mistrust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of strangers. They know how to appear well-wishing, and my relations with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /206/ liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they never forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for my collections in broad daylight: all feared the unkind comments of those near them.

Carangas—
Chipaya

/116 cont./

651
659 that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

163 The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous,
163
-849
[597
[858] and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

162 One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants
[439] of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Iscara seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have
[439] shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

197
[197] The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

We the Kjotsuñi [*q'otšoñi*, from Aymará *q'ota*, "lake", and Uru *šoñi*, "men people"][11] are the oldest on this earth. A long time we were here, before when the sun was hidden.

Here where you see the suñi, in the time of our *Achichis* [ancestors], everywhere there was water with many fish; many rivers rose and flowed. Then our nation was large and happy.

Before the Sun hid himself for a long time we were in this place. Then the Kollas [Aymára] came, despoiling us of our lands; they used our bodies for *Kjuchos* [*kučo*, human sacrifice] when they laid the foundations of their temples.

When the Lake dried up we came out in search of food and thus encountered the Aymára.

Before *Čamak-pačа* [Aymará, "time or epoch of darkness"] Tiahuanacu was built.

We have built our houses where our ancestors lived. The broken pots of many colors, and *topos* [copper pins] you find when plowing the ground, belong to them.

Métraux recorded in Quechua at Oruro a myth which tells of the tricking of the armadillo by the fox, who misled him concerning a fiesta; hence (say the Uru) the mantle of the armadillo is uneven on his neck and shoulders. Most of the Uru-Chipaya tales were learned from the Aymára.

Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes. Small children own property which cannot be sold without their consent; when a little girl refused to sell me a small cloth, in spite of my offering what must have appeared a fabulous sum, that was the end of it.

In greeting a white man on the road, the Uru, like the Aymára address him as *Wiracocha*, "sir," or *karai* "mister."

The Pleiades are called *kerkeru*, Venus *čauk-kola* ("big-?"), the Milky Way *čatu-likščoi* (from *liks* "road"?) and another constellation *tsoxotsoxa;* a comet is called *mečala* (from the Aymará).

[11] Not, as Posnansky supposes, from the Aymará *suñi*, "puna." The meaning "men" is again obvious from the reference in the second paragraph. Further, the phoneme *š* is lacking in Aymará.

/366 cont./

[796] [562] [887] [732]

In this case the alferez was an old woman, wrinkled and respectable, /367/ assisted by her son, a young boy 18 to 20 years old who was a deaf-mute. She led the procession dressed in her most beautiful attire with flowers stuck in her hair.

The procession returned to the chapel to kneel and to perfume again the altar, on which a spot of still fresh blood stood out. The procession broke up shortly afterward, but part of those present accompanied the alfereza and her son, who proceeded with one of the banners from the church up to the door of their hut. There the standard, which the alfereza and her son kissed respectfully, was rolled up and attached to a stake of Cereus.

[616] The authorities of the soya seated themselves behind a table, and a mantle (talu) was spread out on the ground a certain distance away, on the edge of which the alfereza and her daughter-in-law squatted. They were promptly surrounded by a large number of women who grouped themselves in a horseshoe. A small tablecloth covered with coca leaves was placed on the table, as on the talu.

The alfereza and her son began to pray on their knees before the banner and offered up a libation of alcohol to it; then the young man went to get his wife and repeated the same ceremony with her (Pl. XII, A /see p. 132/). The alcaldes congratulated the alfereza, repeating the sacred formula of suma hora. This rite of politeness accomplished, they went to kiss the post against which the standard had been fastened, and then, taking two wooden cups with two bulls carved on the inside from the table, they offered up a libation of chicha accompanied by a prayer (Pl. XVII, A /see p. 138/).

[415] [278] On the two sides of the talu behind which the women were seated a very old footless wooden cup, very old, had been placed, from which the women one after the other drank chicha (Pl. XVII, D).

The audience began to chew and to offer up libations. Prayers crossed each other, and in this exchange of vows and

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

101 36 161 The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-Itu, or Angoake, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

731 133 A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

[101] [62] [137] At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Itu had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

731 433 178 Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulets), bogas, hispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

16 [67] [887] [178] Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

[356] [162] [144] In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.